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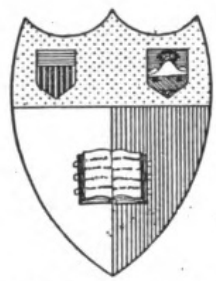

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG,

BY E. J. EITEL, PH.D.

(*Continued from Vol. XX, No. 6, p. 371.*)

CHAPTER XIII.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN F. DAVIS.—8 May, 1844 to 18 March, 1848.

We pointed out above what a serious error it was that was committed when the British Cabinet, sending out Lord Napier as the King's representative at Canton, associated him in office with men who had been trained in the East India Company's Canton school of truculent submission to Chinese mandarindom and who were looked upon by Chinese officials as contemptible traders. A similar mistake was made when Her Majesty's Government, looking out for a successor of Sir H. Pottinger, in that game of diplomacy with Chinese statesmen in which he had been so smartly duped, and in the government of a Colony established on the express principles of free trade, selected for this difficult post a gentleman who, as a former member of the East India Company's Select Committee at Macao and Canton, was altogether identified with the ideas of mingled servility, autocracy and monopoly as exemplified in the history of that Company. Mr. (subsequently, since July, 1845) Sir John Francis Davis, Baronet, had indeed great experience of Chinese affairs. In his youth (1816 to 1817) he had served on the staff of Lord Amherst's mission to China. He had spent the best part of his life in the service of the Company in South China, bowing to Chinese officials and frowning upon European free traders, till he retired (21 January, 1835) in all the glory of a Chief Superintendent of Trade. He had meanwhile composed and published a work on 'China,' in two volumes which is still recognized as one of the best descriptions of the Celestial Empire, and he posed now as a great sinologue and scholar. No doubt he knew the Chinese character and naturally he thought also he knew the typical British free trader, despoiled and despondent as the latter was (at the close of Sir H. Pottinger's administration), under the conviction that the free port of Hongkong had proved a commercial failure. If Sir Henry had been duped by the Chinese mandarins in connection with his Supplementary Commercial Treaty, it was no doubt because he knew nothing of commerce and even less of Chinese. But here was Sir John, a China merchant and Chinese sinologue rolled in one. Who could be a better successor for Sir Henry? And as to the puzzle of Hongkong's commercial decay, why Sir John Davis understood it perfectly: the China Trade had reached its zenith under the regime of the East India

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Company, and where the Company could do no more, free trade was naturally bound to bring about a gradual diminution of the volume of trade. He understood it all: protection and monopoly was the remedy, and free traders must simply draw in their horns and learn to eat humble pie. His mission was to teach them to do that. And he did it—with what result, we shall see. But one thing more we have to add to these introductory remarks. Sir John Davis was not merely a scion in Chinese diplomacy and an exponent of British protectionism, but above all he was a scholar and a philanthropist: in this British Colony, placed at the very gates of China's antiquated semi-barbarism, he would demonstrate the kindlier humanities of British law and government and illustrate by the example of his administration the superiority of European learning and civilization.

Before Sir H. Pottinger left China, Sir John Davis, having entered (8 May, 1844) upon the duties of Superintendent of Trade under the Foreign Office, as well as upon those of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hongkong under the Colonial Office, had an opportunity to show off his diplomatic prowess by assisting his predecessor, at a meeting with Kiying (13 June, 1844) to try and persuade the latter to surrender, or make amends for, some of the advantages he had gained by his trickery in connection with the Supplementary Treaty of 8 October, 1843. Two of the newly-arrived Colonial officials, F. Bruce (Colonial Secretary) and M. Martin (Colonial Treasurer) assisted at the memorable interview. But Kiying was a match for them all, blandly explained away everything that seemed shady and conceded nothing. The Treaty remained as it was, and our two diplomatists were reluctantly compelled to try and gloss things over by publishing a garbled account by a proclamation (10 July, 1844) and an imperfect translation (16 July, 1844), leaving it to the public to find out the mischievous provisions of the Treaty for themselves in course of time.

An illustration case soon occurred. On 10 August, 1844, a Chinese junk, heavily armed and manned by a crew of 70 ruffians, but having no clearance papers as required by Article XIV of the Supplementary Treaty, ventured to drop anchor in Hongkong harbour. The junk had really come to frighten away or report upon any Chinese trading junks that might be in harbour. But the harbour police mistakenly suspecting her to be a piratical vessel, arrested her, and as there were doubts whether she was a trader without papers or a pirate, Sir John Davis ordered her to be delivered to the Kowloon Mandarin as having come into harbour without the clearance papers required by treaty. This was the first and only case when the foolish concessions of the Supplementary Treaty, constituting the harbour police of Hongkong as underlings of the Chinese revenue preventive service, were acted upon by a benighted Hongkong governor. The denouement was too ridiculous: the junk turned out to be neither a trading nor a piratical craft but a Chinese revenue farmer's guardboat. However, the news got abroad that every Chinese trading junk, visiting Hongkong without those precious clearance papers which no Chinese customs office would grant, were to be handed over by the British harbour police to the tender mercies of the Kowloon Mandarin. This contributed materially to injure the native commerce of the Colony and to keep away the junk trade for some time to come.

As Superintendent of Trade and Head of the Consular Service in China, Sir John Davis had to visit all the treaty ports once a year, in order to inspect the Consulates and give the necessary directions. During his periodical absence from the Colony in connection with these duties, Major-General D'Aguilar used to administer the government of the Colony as Lieutenant-Governor. In the matter of the Supplementary Treaty, the mischievous provisions of which were condemned by Her Majesty's Government

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as much as by the community, Sir John had another interview with Kiying at the Bogue (April, 1846) but failed again to get any concession in favour of the Chinese trade of Hongkong. Nor did he succeed to wring from that astute diplomatist anything but vague promises as to granting British merchants in Canton the rights secured by the Nanking Treaty with reference to protection from mob violence, freedom of building residences on a separate concession, liberty to enter the city of Canton, or to make excursions inland. Again and again British subjects were assaulted at Canton and all he could get from Kiying was a series of specious pretexts for blaming British merchants for being so insolent as to ask for their rights or to expect exemption from molestation by mob violence. Sir John Davis used the hints of Kiying freely and, without rhyme or reason, accused the merchants of being the prime movers in all disturbances and made himself as much hated by the British community at Canton as he made himself, by his gullibility, ridiculous to Kiying, who, however, played the rôle of Sir John's very good friend and even came to visit him in Hongkong (22 to 25th November, 1845) when the compliment could be turned to good account. One thing, however, Sir John did succeed in obtaining from the Canton Authorities and that was the publication of a dispatch by the Provincial Treasurer of Canton, addressed (26 December, 1844) to the Hongkong Government, in which the former magnanimously renounced all claims to the landtax of Hongkong and virtually admitted the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the whole island. It was worth something, to be sure, to have this not merely stated in a Treaty which most Chinese now regarded as waste paper but actually acknowledged by a subordinate Chinese official. It was indeed a great deviation from the practice hitherto adopted by Chinese officers. For instance, on 23 November, 1844, it was accidentally discovered that officers of the San-on District Magistrate openly collected at Stanley, as they had all along been accustomed to do, the annual fishing tax of 400 cash per boat for the privilege (granted to 150 junks) of fishing in Hongkong waters. This was merely one of many cases shewing that the San-on Magistrate still considered Hongkong to be part and parcel of the Chinese dominions, and all further doubts on the subject were removed by a case (14 November, 1846) in which Chinese officers boldly arrested some Chinese-British subjects within the Colony and carried them off by force.

Meanwhile the complaints of the Canton merchants as to the utter insecurity of life and property in Canton and as to the striking want of sympathy and energy displayed on their behalf by Sir John Davis, made themselves heard in England and as usual stirred Lord Palmerston's spirit. Two sailors of a British ship at Canton, strolling into the city, had been frightfully illtreated by a Canton mob in autumn 1846. Sir John, as usual, instead of claiming redress at the hands of the Cantonese Authorities, ordered the Consul to fine the captain for turning the two seamen loose upon the populace and thereby causing a disturbance. In a dispatch to Lord Palmerston he casually alluded to the case as one of no importance, asking for no powers at all to proceed in the matter, but in reply he received the following stunning instructions. 'I have to instruct you,' wrote Lord Palmerston (12 January, 1847), 'to demand the punishment of the parties guilty of this outrage, and you will moreover inform the Chinese Authorities in plain and distinct terms that the British Government will not tolerate that a Chinese mob shall with impunity maltreat British subjects whenever they get them into their power, and that, if the Chinese Authorities will not by the exercise of their own authority punish and prevent such outrages, the British Government will be obliged to take the matter into their own hands.'

On receipt of this dispatch Sir John Davis

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lost his head completely. He thought he had an apportunity now to steal a march upon the Chinese Authorities, to take them by surprise, to occupy Canton city by a sudden descent upon it with on armed force, and then to dictate his own terms as a triumphant conqueror. He consulted Major-General D'Aguilar, who reluctantly yielded to the Quixotic plan. An engineer officer went secretly to reconnoitre the Bogue Forts and reported them to be practically untenanted. So a force of 1,000 men was quietly mobilized, part of Lord Palmerston's dispatch was published on fools' day and next morning (2 April, 1847) the expedition started with three men-of-war (H.M.S. *Vulture*, *Pluto* and *Espiègle*) and a chartered steamer (*Corsair*), the latter having on board Sir John and the Major-General with his staff. In the course of 36 hours this redoubtable force, waging a private war of Sir John's upon a defenceless and unwarned foe, captured all the principal forts and batteries in the Canton river without the loss of a man on either side, spiked 827 guns without opposition, and on 3 April, 1847 the expedition dropped anchor at Canton abreast of the factories, and disembarked the troops, to the utter amazement of Kiying and the British community. The British Chamber of Commerce sent a deputation to Sir John to inquire what it all meant, but they were told by Consul Macgregor that Sir John did not wish to see them. Kiying was blandly informed of Sir John's demands and told that, unless these were granted at the interview for which he fixed a certain time, the city of Canton would be bombarded and taken by assault. At the time appointed for the interview, Kiying sent a subordinate to act for him. This was declined and after some hesitation Kiying at last consented to meet Sir John Davis (6 April), and, as usual, satisfied him with empty promises. He offered to let the British community take 15 acres on Honam island as a foreign concession, if the owners should be willing to sell. He further offered to open Canton city to foreigners on or about 6 April 1849, if it were practicable by that time. Meanwhile he secretly made his arrangements for an attack. But Sir John at once accepted the terms, though they virtually were below the level of what the Nanking Treaty had granted in 1842, and on 8 April, 1847, the British expedition returned to Hongkong triumphantly, leaving Kiying to report to the Emperor that he detained Sir John in parleys whilst collecting and bringing up his army but that Sir John precipitately fled to Hongkong as soon as he found himself threatened by the Chinese troops. The British communities at Canton and Hongkong were indignant at this wanton and bootless 'buccaneering expedition' which merely served to cause a sudden stagnation of the Canton trade, to render the lives and property of foreigners in Canton even less secure than before, and to make European views of state policy and international law ridiculous in the eyes of the Chinese. It seemed clear to them that Sir John Davis was even a worse failure as a diplomatist than Sir Henry Pottinger had been. Lord Palmerston, however, approved of Sir John's proceedings and so the matter rested for the time, the more so as Kiying treated Sir John's warlike frolic with silent contempt.

A few months afterwards, however, a new disturbance arose in Canton, and when Sir John Davis, none the wiser for his past experiences, meditated another military expedition against Canton, and induced Major-General D'Aguilar to write to Ceylon for re-inforcements, Sir G. Grey peremptorily prohibited any further offensive operations to be undertaken against the Chinese without the previous sanction of Her Majesty's Government. At the same time Earl Grey censured the April expedition in plain terms. 'Although the late operations,' he wrote (22 September, 1847), 'were attended with immediate success, the risk of a second attempt of the same kind would far overbalance any advantage to be derived from such a step. If the conduct of the Chi-

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nese Authorities should unfortunately render another appeal to arms inevitable, it will be necessary that it should be made after due preparation and with the employment of such an amount of force as may afford just grounds for expecting that the objects which may be purposed by such a measure will be effectually accomplished without unnecessary loss.' It has been alleged that Sir John was so taken aback by this censure, that he forthwith resigned, but at the time when this dispatch was penned, Sir John Davis had already sent in his resignation which was unhesitatingly accepted (18 November, 1847). Sir John's term of the Superintendency of Trade closed with another sad outbreak of popular temper at Canton. Six young foreigners, visiting a village some three miles above Canton, in autumn 1847, were set upon by a mob, tortured and murdered in cold blood, whereupon Kiying had some of the guilty parties executed near the village in question (Wongchukee) and in the presence of a company of the 95th Regiment, sent up for the purpose, from Hongkong, in H.M.S. *Pluto*.

Sir John Davis had an opportunity to distinguish himself as a diplomatist in another field. He was directed to arrange a commercial treaty with Annam. Had he been furnished with proper information, and especially with capable interpreters, there would have been a chance for him to do a great work for the expansion of British trade, opening new markets, new trade routes, tapping Yunnan and Kwangsi, and keeping the French out of Annam and Tungking. But being without any diplomatic link of connection whatever and having neither agent nor friend at the Annamese court, where French influence was already at work to keep off British intervention, nor even a capable interpreter, he naturally failed as signally with the Annamese officials as he had failed with Chinese diplomatists. Leaving Hongkong on 6 October, 1847, he in vain attempted to open up negotiations with the officials on the coast near Huéh. Every Annamese officer appealed to refused to take any message. Leaving a letter addressed to the sovereign of Annam deposited on the beach, he at last received a message by subordinate officials, declining all negotiation and refusing admittance to Huéh. Sir John gave up any further attempt to thwart French influence in Cochin-China and returned to Hongkong (30 October, 1847) disappointed.

Sir John's relations with the neighbouring Colony of Macao were peaceful but by no means of the happiest sort. As the fortunes of the Colony of Hongkong were visibly declining, the Macao Government thought there was a chance of retrieving the mistakes of the past and bringing back to Macao the discontented free traders of Hongkong as well as the American, Dutch, French and Parsee merchants established at Canton. Accordingly a decree was obtained at Lisbon (20 November, 1845) which, though far from being a complete free-trade measure, reduced the harbour dues and custom house exactions to the lowest possible minimum and virtually made trade at Macao less cumbersome and more propitious than it was at Hongkong. The measure failed to re-establish the former fortunes of Macao: it came too late for that. But it contributed its quota towards a further diminution of the commerce of Hongkong and a considerable increase of the discontent felt by Hongkong merchants. An assault that was committed on Sir John Davis (11 April, 1845) whilst on a visit to Macao, was without any political significance, but indicative of that turbulent character of the Macao Chinese which was so fatally to manifest itself against the next Governor of Macao (Senhor Amaral) who, within a year after his arrival (18 April, 1846), ordering a road to be cut through the Campo and interfering thereby with Chinese graves, had subsequently to pay with his life for this disregard of Chinese religious superstition. In March 1847, the prospects of Macao were as discouraging

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as those of Hongkong and a cession of Macao to France was talked of, but the movement, if it ever had any reality, came to nothing.

Turning now to Sir J. Davis' gubernatorial measures, we find that the expansion of the Civil Service and reforms in the constitution of the Councils occupied much of his time. He brought with him, on his arrival (7 May, 1844) a Colonial Secretary (Hon. F. Bruce), a Colonial Treasurer (M. Montgomery Martin), a Court Registrar (R. D. Cay), a Private Secretary (W. Mercer), an Auditor General (Shelly), a Civil Engineer (J. Pope, to whom we owe the designs of Government House, Colonial Offices, and Cathedral) and a warrant appointing Major Caine (the Chief Magistrate) as Sheriff and Provost Marshal of Supreme Court. The Chief Justice (J. W. Hulme) came a month later (9 June, 1844) and the first Hongkong Barrister (H. Ch. Sirr) arrived on 1 July, 1844, but as the Colonial Office postponed the appointment of an Attorney General (P. T. Stirling) till 5 August and made some other important omissions, the Supreme Court could not be opened until 1 October, 1844. Two years later (18 November, 1847) the present Court House was obtained by purchasing from Dent & Co. the so-called Exchange Building. The working of the Supreme Court, which held its first criminal sessions on 2 October, 1844, was gradually perfected by a series of legislative enactments, dealing with the constitution of the Court (No. 6 of 1845 and 2 of 1846), trial by jury (No. 7 of 1845), criminal procedure (No. 8 of 1845 and 6 of 1846), summary jurisdiction (No. 9 of 1845), insolvency (No. 3 and 5 of 1846) and coroner's juries (No. 5 of 1847). A Vice-Admiralty Court was established (4 March, 1846) and held its first session on 14 January, 1847. The division of the town into the present three districts (Sheungwan, Chungwan, Hawan), the lines of demarcation being Aberdeen Street in the West and Elliot's Vale (the present Glenealy ravine) in the East, dates from 24 July, 1844, when the previously existing popular terms were officially adopted. By the opening of a new market (25 July, 1844) at Taipingshan, the congested state of the Chungwan and Sheungwan markets was considerably relieved. Owing to the dearth and high rents of houses suitable for Civil Servants, the Government provided (16 August, 1844) special Civil Service Buildings (now known as Albany) which were, however, later on (15 May, 1847) transferred to the Military Authorities. Two new offices were established by Sir J. Davis, viz. the office of Registrar General and Collector of the land-tax (S. Fearon) who commenced his duties on January, 1845, and the office of Marine Magistrate (15 March, 1845) the duties of which were, however, during Mr. W. Pedder's absence on leave, temporarily discharged by Mr. S. Fearon, whilst Mr. A. Lena acted as Harbour Master. A paid Coroner (Ch. G. Holdforth) was substituted (11 October, 1845) for the popular voluntary Coroner (E. Farncomb) who had joined the opposition against certain Government measures. After various changes in the constitution of the Councils, and in spite of the continuous demands of the British community for adequate representation in the Legislative Council at least through the nomination by the Crown of an equal number of official and unofficial Members, this burning question was temporarily decided by Sir John Davis refusing all popular representation. Warrants were issued (1 December, 1845) for the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonial Secretary and Police Magistrate to be Members of Executive Council, and for the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice and Attorney General to constitute, with the Governor, the Legislative Council of the Colony. For some inscrutable reason the Surveyor General's title was reduced to that of Colonial Surveyor (8 August, 1846) on the occasion of the abolition of the office of Assistant Surveyor General, and by the amalgamation of the duties of

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Auditor and Colonial Secretary (15 September, 1846) the audit of local official accounts was reduced to a mere formality. These two measures were but equalled in want of foresight by the decision of the Military Authorities (8 March, 1847) to erect defensible barracks—'soldiers' grave yards' they ought to have been called—at Stanley.

The legislative labours of Sir John Davis commenced with the knotty problem of regulating the Chinese population. The humble attempt to control the Chinese in Hongkong quietly by means of their own elders on the basis of the Pocheung and Pokap system (Ordinance 13 to 31 May, 1844) was one of the legacies handed over to Sir John Davis by his predecessor. Sir John Davis, however, disliked such a non-autocratic measure, having his own ideas on the subject. Although he got that Ordinance passed by the Council, he practically disregarded it and set to work to devise a measure of his own which, by means of registration, should immediately purge the Colony of the bad blood imported into it by the continuous influx of criminals from the neighbouring districts, as if registration would keep them away or reveal their habits. The cure proved to be worse than the evil.

On 21 August, 1844, the Legislative Council, intending to check the indiscriminate influx into Hongkong of the scum of the population of the neighbouring mainland and at the same time anxious to avoid class legislation, passed a Bill to establish a registry of all the inhabitants of Hongkong without distinction of nationality. Neither the European nor the Chinese mercantile communities were consulted in the matter, nor was anything done, after passing the Bill, until Sir J. Davis returned (18 October, 1844) from a visit to the Consular ports, when the Ordinance was made public and it was notified that it was to come into force on 1st November. Then the European community woke up to the startling discovery that a poll-tax was to be levied not only on Chinese vagabonds but on all the inhabitants without exception, that all British residents, as well as Chinese, were to appear once every year before the Registrar General, answer questions as to birth, parentage, age, income and so forth, being liable to be deported if the answers were not satisfactory, and that the only distinction between a British merchant and a Chinese coolie was the enactment that the former should pay five dollars and the latter one dollar a year for his registration ticket. The reception by the British residents of such an Ordinance may well be imagined. They rose up like one man in wrathful indignation, feeling their personal self-respect, their national honour, the liberty of the subject trampled under foot even more ruthlessly than in the days of the Co-Hong bondage at Canton. Accordingly, the first Public Meeting of Hongkong was held (28 October, 1844) at the residence of Mr. A. Carter. This meeting, after unanimously condemning the Bill as iniquitous, unconstitutional and un-English in principle, appointed a Committee (T. A. Gibb, D. Matheson, S. Rawson, Pat. Dudgeon and A. Carter) to memorialize the Government accordingly. On the same day the Government published an obscurely-worded Chinese translation of the Ordinance which only added to the excitement and misunderstanding that prevailed among the Chinese, giving them the impression that the poll-tax to be levied from 1st November was monthly and not annual. 'The Celestials,' said the *Friend of China* a few days later, 'are a passive race and will bear squeezing to any ordinary extent, but when this blundering translation would squeeze one half of their monthly wages out of them, then they thought it was time to return to their own country, nor would we blame them had they left in a body.' On the 30th October there was a universal suspension of all forms of Chinese labour. The shops and markets were shut, cargo boats, coolies, domestic servants, all went on strike simultaneously and

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all business was at a standstill. The Chinese made preparations to desert Hongkong *en masse* on the next day, if the Government should enforce this law, but there was no rioting of any sort. At 4 p.m. the deputation of the European community waited on the Governor to present a Memorial dated 30 October and signed by 107 British subjects. This Memorial stated that the principles of the Ordinance were as unjust as they were arbitrary and unconstitutional, because taxing unrepresented British subjects in the most iniquitous of forms, that the provisions of the Ordinance violated the Treaty with China, that they interfered with labour and consequently with the prosperity of the Colony and that it would be found impracticable to work this Ordinance. Unaware at the time of the strong language of the Memorial, which was handed by the deputation to the Clerk of Councils, the Governor told them that the Ordinance would not be enforced for two or more months to come and that it would then be carried out but partially. Subsequently, however, the Memorial was returned to the Committee by the Clerk of Councils, as disapproved on the ground that the language of the Memorial was of a character directly opposed to respect for the constituted authorities of the Colony and it was requested that the document be properly worded. But before this message could be delivered, the Committee, observing the alarming state of affairs in town, had drafted a second Memorial, dated 31 October, 1844, drawing attention to the suspension of all business and the stoppage of provisions, and begging that some official notification be immediately promulgated to allay the excitement prevailing among all classes. After forwarding this second Memorial, the Committee wrote to the Clerk of Councils, saying that the language of the first Memorial, though strong, represented their sentiments and was imperatively called for by the urgency of the occasion, but at the same time they disavowed the remotest intention of addressing the Governor in Council in any other than the most respectful terms. But this letter did not reach the Governor till 1st November. Meanwhile, in reply to the second Memorial, the Clerk of Councils informed the Committee (31 October) that, whereas all seditious rioting on the part of the Chinese had been easily suppressed, the Governor and Council were now prepared to receive properly-worded suggestions. Thereupon the Committee at once suggested (31 October) the ultimate abrogation of the Ordinance, but, as meanwhile an exodus of some 3,000 Chinese had taken place and business was for several days at a complete standstill, the Committee summoned another Public Meeting on Saturday, 2nd November. Before that meeting, the Committee received a letter from the Clerk of Councils (dated 2 November, 1844) censuring the unbecoming reiteration in their last letter of those disrespectful sentiments and stating that, while the Committee continue to maintain such views, all further communication between the Government and the Committee must cease. At the same time an official notification (2 November, 1844) was issued in which the Governor, on the ground that the comprador of a leading firm was reported to have called a meeting of Chinese who used the same disrespectful language, accused the British community of 'having, by unworthy practices, tampered with an ignorant and unfortunate Chinese population by instigating them to passive resistance.' An enthusiastic Public Meeting, however, unanimously endorsed forthwith the procedure and the views of the Committee, as all residents looked upon the ticketing and labelling of British subjects as an inequitable if not iniquitous procedure. The speakers congratulated each other upon their escape from a system of petty tyranny which, however, they admitted was not really contemplated by Government in passing the objectionable Ordinance. A standing Committee was appointed to co-operate with the Government in remodelling the Ordinance, and the

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formation of a Chamber of Commerce was suggested. But a threat was also expressed that British merchants might return to Macao where, under a foreign flag, they would not be subjected to laws repugnant to their feelings and utterly opposed to the enjoyment of that personal freedom which was their inalienable birthright. One of the speakers quoted Blackstone's commentaries to prove that without representation there can be no legal taxation of British subjects. This made a great impression. Representative and municipal government was thenceforth frequently but vainly demanded. The Public Meeting having thus abstained from condemning the registration of Chinese and confined itself to a protest against the taxation connected with it and against the application of the proposed Ordinance to British subjects, 'as putting Europeans upon a par with the *canaille* of China,' there was a way open for reconciliation with the Government. Accordingly, on 4 November, 1844, the standing Committee (T. A. Gibb, Don. Matheson and A. Carter) wrote to the Clerk of Councils expressing regret as to the strong language used by them and disavowing any motive of disrespect. Thereupon the Governor in Council, accepting this declaration, made his peace with the community. But the British residents of Canton (most of whom were representatives of firms established in Hongkong) sent to the Governor (6 November, 1844) a stately remonstrance, signed by W. Leslie, W. Bell and 38 other British subjects, recording 'their respectful but firm remonstrance against a measure unexampled in modern British legislation, fraught with great and certain mischief, calculated in no ordinary degree to interfere with and restrict the rights and liberties of Her Majesty's subjects, and utterly subversive of that confidence, cordiality and co-operation which ought to subsist between Governors and the Governed, and are so essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of every Colony, and which, if forced into operation, will reduce apparently the Island of Hongkong to the level of a Penal Settlement.' It was also proposed in Hongkong to memorialize Her Majesty's Government to say that the Colonists had lost faith in the local Government. However, after a few days, moderate counsels prevailed, and the whole excitement gradually subsided. On 13 November, 1844, the Legislative Council passed an amended Registration Ordinance (16 of 1844), applying registration only to the lowest classes, abandoning the idea of any poll-tax of Chinese residents and exempting from registration all civil, military and naval employees, all members of the learned professions, merchants, shopkeepers, householders, tenants of crown property and persons having an income of $500 a year. In fact, this Ordinance granted all that the British community had contended for, and if the Governor had consulted the leading merchants or allowed them representation in Council, the whole conflict between the community and the Government, and the defeat and consequent humiliation and degradation of the Government, in the eyes of the astounded Chinese population, would have been avoided. On 1 January, 1845, this Ordinance came into force and worked so smoothly that, on 31 December, 1846, it was possible to modify it (No. 7 of 1846) so as to provide also for a periodical census of the whole population.

An outgrowth of the mistaken autocratic attitude which Sir John Davis assumed towards the community in connection with the registration question, was his Martial Law Ordinance (20 of 1844) which he passed through Legislative Council on 20 November, 1844, in order to give the Executive the power of declaring the Island to be under martial law without the concurrence of that Council. Never in the whole history of Hongkong was there, nor is there ever likely to be, any need for such a measure. The characteristic attitude towards any enlightened and strong government, which Chinese residing on British soil

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display in every part of the world, gives a complete denial to the supposition which called forth this enactment. Yet the accomplished sinologue misread the character of the Chinese so completely that he passed this Bill which, when it became known to the Chinese that Her Majesty's Government curtly disallowed it, only served to lower him in the eyes of the Chinese people as a defeated would-be autocrat.

But there is worse to tell. Mandarin misrule of the neighbouring provinces of China had at this time reached such a pitch that throughout South-China the population was honeycombed with secret political societies, the principal of which was called the Triad Society. The aim of these secret associations was to act on the first suitable occasion upon the recognized right of rebellion, a right plainly taught in the authorized national school-books. To drive out the Manchus and to re-establish a Chinese dynasty, was the secret desire of almost every energetic Chinaman unconnected with mandarindom. When the first mutterings of the coming storm of the Taiping Rebellion, which in the providence of God was destined to re-establish the waning fortunes of Hongkong, were observed by the Cantonese Authorities, they shrewdly availed themselves of the known fact, that the Chinese in Hongkong were as much influenced by that secret political propaganda as those in the interior of China, to strike another blow at the success of Hongkong as a Colony for Chinese. So they persuaded Sir J. Davis into passing an Ordinance (No. 1 of 1845) the effect of which was that the Hongkong Police should search out and arrest political refugees as being members of the Triad and other secret societies, who, after a term of imprisonment, should be branded each on the cheek and then be deported to Chinese territory where of course the Mandarins would forthwith arrest, torture and execute them. That a British Governor should ever have enacted such a monstrously barbaric and un-English law is hardly credible. It is a strange fact that with all his experience of Chinese, philanthropic Sir John Davis allowed himself to be so duped by Chinese diplomatists as to become the unconscious tool of Mandarin oppression in its worst form. It was not merely an unwise disregard of the sound principle formulated by Gladstone, that 'England never makes laws to benefit the internal condition of any other State'; it was not merely a drastic denial of the world-wide assumption that British soil is a safe refuge from political tyranny and oppression; but it was also a positive assertion, in the face of all China, that Hongkong Governors would pledge themselves to co-operate with the Manchu conquerors of China in arresting, imprisoning, branding on the cheek (as the life-long mark of the outlaw) and delivering into the hands of Mandarins for execution any hapless Chinese patriot that should be fool enough to put his foot on British soil. By order of the Home Government this barbaric Ordinance (No. 1 of 1845) was modified nine months later (20 October, 1845) by substituting, in an amendment (No. 12 of 1845), branding under the arm for that mark on the cheek which would have made reform even in the case of a criminal absolutely impossible. That this Ordinance, though now deprived of its cruel features, is still on the statute book of this British Colony, is an anomaly requiring correction, as a standing menace to Chinese patriots and a powerful encouragement of that mandarindom which has always been the sworn foe of Hongkong's prosperity.

Not quite so bad, but based on an equal ignorance of the utter inapplicability of European enactments to the peculiar features of the social and political organism of China, was the interference with local Chinese bond-servitude which Sir H. Pottinger had attempted in his Slavery Ordinance (No. 1 of 1844), the disallowance of which Sir John Davis had now (24 January, 1845) to proclaim. He announced by a proclamation that the said Ordinance was

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null and void, and gave notice 'that the Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slave trade and slavery extend by their own proper force and authority to Hongkong, and that these Acts will be enforced by all Her Majesty's officers civil and military within the Colony.' The secretly underlying insinuation that Hongkong bond-servitude belongs to the category of slavery as defined by the Slave-trade Acts was a pure fiction, put forward only to gloss over the defeat of the Government in attempting to meddle with Chinese national customs.

Unfortunate as the Governor was as a legislator, riding rough-shod over the whole community both European and Chinese, he was even more unfortunate in his dealings with the local representatives of British judicature. From the time of the arrival of the Chief Justice (J. W. Hulme) and the establishment of a Supreme Court, there was a standing feud between the Governor and the Chief Justice. It arose first of all out of the mistaken view of their position, adopted by the local Police Magistrates (Major Caine and Mr. Hillier) who supposed themselves to be rather executive officers under the direct orders and control of the Governor, than independent expositors of the law. The Chief Justice did not conceal from the Governor his disapproval of this anomalous connection existing between the Magistrates and the Head of the Executive. The result was for the first few years merely a straining of the relations between the Chief Justice on the one hand and the Governor and the Magistrates on the other hand. Soon the community began to take sides with the former against the latter. Great indignation was expressed by the whole British community when the Police Magistrates, at the order of the Governor who appeared to be simply desirous of obliging the Macao Governor by complying with an informal request of the latter, signed a warrant (25 August, 1846) for the arrest and extradition, without any *prima facie* evidence, of three Portuguese gentlemen, who, after being sent to Macao as prisoners by a British gunboat (H. M. S. *Young Hebe*) were, when tried at Macao, found not guilty in the suit (a civil one) which they had sought to postpone by coming to Hongkong. A similar case occurrred soon after (23 October, 1846), when some Portuguese slaves, vainly supposing that British Slavery Acts were in force in Hongkong (for others than Chinese), fled to the Colony. Their masters, however, brought against them, in Macao, a charge of theft. Although there was no extradition treaty to rely on, the Macao Governor forthwith requested Sir John Davis to extradite those slaves, and as the Magistrates again complied, without the formality of a trial, with the orders of the Governor, the latter forthwith informed Senhor Amaral, that the slaves were in custody and would be delivered on application. Soon after this, the conflict between the Governor and the Chief Justice became more pointed. A prominent British Merchant at Canton, Mr. Ch. Sp. Compton, happened one day (4 July, 1846) to overturn a huckster's stall, obstructing one of the Factory lanes, and two days afterwards he pushed a coolie out of his way, telling Consul Macgregor, who was close by, that he had done so. On 8 July, 1846, one of those periodical riots occurred for which Canton mobs were notorious. Three months later, the Consul informed Mr. Compton that Sir John Davis as Superintendent of Trade had (without trial) fined him £45 for upsetting a huckster's stall, intimating that this circumstance had caused the riot of 8th July. Further, on 12 November, 1846, a local paper published a dispatch by Sir J. Davis to Kiying, in which Mr. Compton was referred to as 'the exciter of the riots.' As the whole European community of Canton supported Mr. Compton in his contention that the Canton riots had no connection with his doings, Mr. Compton appealed to the Supreme Court against Sir John Davis' sentence. Chief Justice Hulme tried the case, and, on giving judgment in favour of appellant, pronounced the sentence of the

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Consul (i.e. the decision of Sir John Davis) as 'unjust, excessive and illegal' and as 'evincing a total disregard for all forms of law and for law itself.' Moreover the Chief Justice added, that 'in this first Consular appeal case the whole proceedings were so irregular as to render all that occurred a perfect nullity.' The whole British community applauded this decision, but the Governor interpreted it as a personal affront. At the same time the differences between the Chief Justice and the Magistrates became accentuated. On 27 October, 1846, a typical case was tried in the Supreme Court and attracted general attention. Two Chinese junks had collided in the harbour, and as the junk which was manifestly at fault attempted to sail away, the crew of the injured junk fired their muskets to attract attention. A police boat, supposing the runaway junk to be a pirate, fired into her and in the mêlée five men were drowned and thirteen captured. The Police Magistrate, dealing with the case in his usual off-hand manner, flogged the 13 men and then handed them over to the Kowloon Mandarin to be further dealt with. But the Coroner's jury, after three days investigation, returned a verdict of manslaughter against the Police and (by implication) declared the innocence of the 13 men who had been flogged and deported by the Magistrate. The Supreme Court now set aside the verdict on the ground of the irregularity of the whole proceedings, the prisoners having been sworn to the truth of their depositions, thus making them to incriminate themselves. The community, convinced for some time past that a reform in the Police Court personnel was needed, drew the conclusion that Magistrates should have a legal training. The following day (28 October, 1846) another case, heard in the Supreme Court, strongly confirmed them in this conclusion. The Magistrate had sentenced nine men to three months' imprisonment on a charge of intent to commit a felony, but when, on appeal to the Supreme Court, the intent of felony was clearly disproved, the Magistrate explained to the Chief Justice that he, in reality, had sentenced the prisoners under the Vagrants' Act of George IV. This practice of the Magistrates had often been complained of by the public, and the Chief Justice now severely reprimanded the Magistrate for sentencing the men under an Act which had locally been superseded by Ordinance 14 of 1845 and discharged the prisoners forthwith. When, some time later, the Chief Justice complained to the Governor that the Magistrates appeared to pass sentence in cases which ought to have been remitted to the Supreme Court, the two Magistrates commenced systematically to commit for trial at the Supreme Court the most trivial offences. This became so painfully evident during the criminal session of 14th to 19th February, 1847, that the jurors addressed a formal complaint to the Court of having their time wasted on cases of petty larceny which ought to have been summarily dealt with by the Magistrates. The Chief Justice agreed with them and addressed the Government accordingly. During the same sessions it was stated in evidence that the Police, who had refused to protect a citizen against an assault by a soldier, had been ordered by the Government not to interfere with soldiers, and that a general order was read in barracks informing the soldiers of the instructions given to the Police. The Chief Justice, commenting adversely on this point, remarked that the general order referred to was waste paper, as only an Act of Parliament could exempt soldiers from being amenable to the civil authorities. The Adjutant General thereupon wrote to the papers denying that any such general order had been issued, but the truth soon leaked out, viz. that, what the evidence before the Court had referred to as a general order was a speech addressed to the regiment by the Major-General. After this the relations between the Governor and the Chief Justice

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became marked by personalities. On 16 April, 1847, the Governor had an altercation with the Chief Justice, as the former claimed the right to fix the sittings of the Vice-Admiralty Court for any day he pleased, and as the latter claimed that he should be addressed as His Lordship, which title the Governor refused to allow. It was stated that the Governor had threatened the Chief Justice with suspension. A lull now ensued, but on 22 November, 1847, the Chief Justice was tried by the Executive Council on certain charges of private misconduct which, it appeared, Sir John Davis had detailed in a confidential communication to Lord Palmerston. The latter, disregarding the private character of the document, had sent it to the Colonial Office, which forthwith ordered an Executive Council inquiry into the charges as formulated in the Governor's original letter. Major-General D'Aguilar, as Lieutenant-Governor, protested indignantly against the whole inquiry. Two members of the Council (Major Caine and Mr. Johnston) gave evidence in support of the charges, but all the other witnesses exonerated the Chief-Justice. Nevertheless the Governor in Council pronounced his suspension from office. The moment this became known in town the whole British community (apart from the officials) called and left their cards at the Chief Justice's residence. Once more, as in the registration days, a unanimous outcry of indignation was raised against the Government. Three days later, the local Solicitors (N. D'E. Parker, R. Coley, W. Gaskell, P. C. McSwyney, and E. Farncombe) presented (25 November, 1847) an address denouncing the Governor's action as an 'attack of enmity,' and a gold snuff box bearing the inscription '*indignante invidia florebit justus.*' Later on (30 November, 1847) the community presented a sympathizing address signed by 116 residents, and on 2 December, 1847, all the special jurors addressed the Chief Justice, expressing their respect for his character and their sympathy and regret with reference to his suspension and temporary retirement.' By this time the Governor had already sent in his resignation and the dispatch accepting it (dated 18 November, 1847) was already on its way. The news of the Governor's resignation having been accepted served to blunt the edge of popular excitement and the Colonial Office, which considered the charges not proved, immediately removed the suspension and reinstated the Chief Justice, who soon after (2 March 1848) resumed his duties.

In his endeavours to improve the revenues of the Colony, which naturally constitute one of the most anxious cares of a Colonial Governor, Sir John Davis ran counter to the deepest feelings and most inveterate principles of the mercantile community. Though he encountered in this respect no such bitter hostilities as in the above mentioned conflicts with the Canton merchants, with the local community and the Chief Justice, he laid himself open to attack by one of his own officials and to the deserved censure which a Committee of the House of Commons pronounced upon his financial policy when they reported (12 July, 1847) that he had sacrificed the real interests of a settlement, which could only prosper under the greatest amount of freedom of intercourse and traffic, to a desire to raise a revenue in some degree adequate to the maintenance of the civil government. Whilst the mercantile community contended that Hongkong was simply a depot for the neighbouring coasts, a mere post for general influence and for the protection of the general trade in the China Seas, benefitting Imperial rather than local interests, and that therefore Great Britain ought naturally to bear the greater share in the expenses of the Colonial establishment, Sir John Davis acted on the assumption that Hongkong was a Colony in the ordinary sense and should not only bear the whole burden of its own civil government but contribute also, as soon as possible, towards the military expenses of the Em-

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pire. Whilst the merchants therefore looked to free trade principles to further the growth of Hongkong, Sir John Davis thought only of license-fees, farms and monopolies. Compromise or reconciliation was out of the question. Free trade was officially derided, and protection gained the ascendancy. On the day when Sir John announced his fatal intention of extending registration to all the inhabitants of the Colony in the interest of good order (24 July, 1844), he declared also his determination to establish a quarry farm, a salt farm and an opium farm for the purpose of raising a revenue, and on the day when he passed his absurd Martial Law Ordinance (20 November, 1844), he launched his first revenue Ordinance (No. 21 of 1844) by licensing the retail of salt and opium and levying a duty of 2½ per cent. on all goods sold by auction. In connection with these purposes he regulated also local weights and measures (No. 22 of 1844). The British community growled at the auction duty (though on 15 January, 1845, it was decided to remit it in certain cases), derided the salt and opium farms, and made fun of the tax imposed on marriage licenses, coupling them with the new burial and tombstone fees (15 January, 1845). But when the Governor (23 February and 23 May, 1845), proceeded to introduce police rates (Ordinance 2 of 2 of 1845) and to ascertain the rateable value of all house property, the merchants declared the ruin of Hongkong to be complete and began to talk seditiously of united resistance. So great was the popular excitement that the Governor became afraid and announced his willingness to reduce the assessment made by the two official valuators (Tarrant and Pope) by 40 per cent. (14 July, 1845). In spite of this concession the leading paper of the Colony declared this tax to be a most tyrannical and intolerable encroachment upon the rights of the inhabitants, because passed by a Council in which the community was not represented. However the Ordinance received Her Majesty's consent (25 December, 1845), and the people soon learned to submit to it gracefully. Not satisfied with the financial results of these measures, Sir John added, by Ordinances 3 and 4 of 1845 duties on the retail of tobacco and fermented liquors (7 July, 1845). So great was his craving for monopolies that he persisted in farming out the monopoly of fishing in Hongkong waters, though it brought in only 17 shillings for the year 1845. His great grief and trouble was 'the total absence of a custom-house establishment' in the free port of Hongkong. He was decidedly of opinion that, as most of the available spots for building purposes had already been disposed of (thanks to the gambling mania which his predecessor and himself had unconsciously fostered), no great expansion of the land revenue could be looked for in the future. Consequently he turned his attention to licenses and excise farms and among these he commended to Her Majesty's Government the opium farm as being 'the most productive source of revenue and one that should increase with the progress of the place.'

E. J. Eitel.

(To be continued.)

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CHINESE RELATIONSHIPS.

Although the Chinese possess a multiplicity of terms—some of which are reduced to a great nicety—to represent both close and distant relationships, yet I have often been struck with the fact that they constantly take refuge in, and seem satisfied with, the general terms ˏts'an t'sik, 親戚 and ˏhing tai² 兄弟, and when pressed for a more precise term have seemed somewhat puzzled in finding it. This difficulty led me to make as complete a list as I could of the various relationships most commonly used, and with a view to making it useful I have thought it best to break it up into *three* parts.

Part I consists of a table of English relationships arranged in alphabetical order with the corresponding Chinese *general* term, given both in Chinese character and Romanised form in the Cantonese dialect.

Part II is tabulated in a similar manner to Part I, but the Chinese equivalent is rendered in full, and divided into *four* different classes, as follows:—

1. General term 名目 ming² muk₂.
2. Colloquial term 俗話 tsuk₂ wa².
3. Polite term 稱呼 ˏch'ing ˏfù (Used when making enquiries of a person).
4. Self-depreciating term 自謙 tsz² ˏhim. (Used when answering enquiries).

Part III consists of the Romanised terms (in the Cantonese dialect) given in Part II, arranged alphabetically; together with the Chinese characters and the English equivalents.

As I have found the Chinese whom I have consulted on the matter somewhat foggy themselves with regard to the precise terms to be used, I trust that all readers of the *China Review* who are interested in Chinese, will kindly suggest corrections or additions so that the list may be rendered as complete as possible.

Alfred J. May.

Aunt.—

Father's elder sister 姑媽 ₒkú ₒmá (ˏkú ˢma).
„ younger „ 姑姐 ˏkú ˢtse.
Mother's elder „ 姨媽 ˢi ₒma.
„ younger „ 姨娘 ˢi ˢneung.

Aunt-in-law.—

Father's elder brother's wife 伯母 pák₀ ˢmó.
„ younger „ 叔母 shuk₅ ˢmó.
Mother's brother's wife 舅母 ˢk'au ˢmó.

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Brother.—

Elder 兄長 ʻhing ʻcheung.

Younger 弟 tai².

Brother-in-law.—

Husband's elder brother 伯爺 pák₀ ʂye.

„ younger „ 叔爺 shuk₃ ʂye.

Wife's elder „ 大舅 tái² ʂk'au.

„ younger „ 小舅 ʻsiú ʂk'au.

Husband's elder sister's husband } called by the husband } 姐夫 ʻtse ʻfú.

„ younger „ } called by the husband } 妹夫 mui² ʻfú.

Wife's elder sister's husband } called by the wife } 姐夫 ʻtse ʻfú.

„ younger „ } called by the wife } 妹夫 mui² ʻfú.

Husband's elder sister's husband } called by the wife 姑爺 ʻkú ʂye.

„ younger „ }

Wife's elder sister's husband } called by the husband } 婭兄 a' ʻhing.

„ younger „ } called by the husband } 婭弟 a' tai².

Children.—細蚊仔 sai' ʻmau ʻtsai. 仔女 ʻtsai ʂnü.

Concubine.—庶室 shü' shat₃. 妾侍 ts'ip₀ shi².

Cousin.—

Same surname, boys 堂兄弟 ʂt'ong ʻhing tai².

„ girls 堂姊妹 ʂt'ong ʻtsz ʂmui.

Different surname, boys 表兄弟 ʻpiú ʻhing tai.²

„ girls 表姊妹 ʻpiú ʻtsz ʂmui (müi²).

Cousin-in-law.—

Wife's sister's children as called by her husband's children, and vice versa 姨表 ʂi ʻpiú.

Daughter.—女仔 ʻnü ʻtsai, (ʂnü).

Daughter-in-law.—媳婦 sik₃ ʂfü.

Father.—父親 fü² ʻts'an.

Father-in-law.—

Wife's father 岳父 ngok₀ fü².

Husband's father 家翁 ʻká ʻyung.

Foster-father.—

Same surname 繼父 kai' fü².

Different „ 義父 i² fú².

Foster-mother.—

繼母 kai' ʂmó.

義母 i² ʂmó.

Grand-aunt.—Father's father's sister 姑婆 ʻkú ʂp'o.

Grand-children.—

Same surname 孫 ₀sün (ʻsün).

Different „ 外孫 ngoi² ₀sün (ʻsün).

Grand-daughter.—

Son's daughter 孫女 ʻsün ʻnü (ʂnü).

Daughter's „ 外孫女 ngoi² ʻsün ʻnü.

Grand-daughter-in-law.—

Son's son's wife 孫媳 ʻsün sik₃.

Daughter's son's wife 外孫媳 ngoi² ʻsün sik₃.

Grand-father.—

Father's father 祖父 ʻtsó fü².

Mother's „ 外祖父 ngoi² ʻtsó fú².

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Grandfather-in-law.—

Husband's father's father 家太爺 ˏká t'ái ˏyung.

Wife's ,, 太岳 t'ái ngok$_{o}$.

Grandmother.—

Father's mother 祖母 ˊtsò ˋmò.

Mother's ,, 外祖母 ngoi^{2} ˊtsò ˋmò.

Grandmother-in-law.—

Husband's father's mother 家太姑 ˏkà t'ái ˏkù.

Wife's ,, ,, 太岳母 t'ái ngok$_{o}$ ˋmò.

Grand nephew.—

Brother's son's son 姪孫 chat$_{2}$ ₀sün (ˏsün).

Sister's ,, ,, 外甥孫 ngoi^{2} ₀shang ₀sün.

Grand niece.—

Brother's son's daughter 姪孫女 chat$_{2}$ ˏsün ˊnü (ˋnü).

Sister's ,, ,, 女甥孫 ˊnü ˏshang ˏsün.

Grand-son.—

Son's son 孫 ₀sün (ˏsün).

Daughter's son 外孫 ngoi^{2} ₀sün.

Grandson-in-law.—

Son's daughter's husband 孫壻 ˏsün ˊsai.

Daughter's ,, ,, 外孫壻 ngoi^{2} ˏsün ˊsai.

Grand uncle.—

Father's father's elder brother 伯祖 pàk$_{o}$ ˊtsò.

,, ,, younger ,, 叔祖 shuk$_{ˏ}$ ˊtsò.

,, mother's brothers 舅公 ˋk'au ˏkung.

Husband.—丈夫 cheung^{2} ˏfù.

Madam-Mrs.—氏 ˊshi (shi^{2}).

Mother.—母親 ˋmò ˏt'san.

Mother-in-law.—

Husband's mother 家姑 ˏkà ˏkù.

Wife's ,, 岳母 ngok$_{o}$ ˋmò.

Nephew.—

Brother's son 姪 ˊchat (chat$_{2}$).

Sister's ,, 外甥 ngoi^{2} ₀shang (ˏshang).

Nephew-in-law.—

Wife's brother's sons 外姪 ngoi^{2} ˊchat (chat$_{2}$).

,, sister's ,, 姨甥 ˏi ₀shang (ˏshang).

Brother's daughter's husband 姪壻 chat$_{2}$ ˊsai.

Sister's ,, ,, 甥壻 ˏshang ˊsai.

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Niece.—

Brother's daughter 姪女 Chat$_2$ ʿnü (ˢnü).

Sister's „ 甥女 ˏshang ʿnü. 外甥女 ngoi^2 ˏshang ʿnü.

Niece-in-law.—

Brother's son's wife 姪婦 chat$_2$ ˢfù.

Wife's brother's daughter 外姪女 ngoi^2 chat$_2$ ʿnü (ˢnü).

„ sister's „ 姨甥女 ˢi ˏshang ʿnü.

Relatives.—親戚 ˏt'san t'sik$_2$.

Sister.—

Elder 大姊 tài^2 ʿtsz. 大姐 tài^2 ʿtse.

Younger 妹 ʿmùi (mùi^2). 妹子 mùi^2 ʿtsz.

Sister-in-law.—

Husband's elder sister 大姑 tài^2 ˏkù.

„ younger „ 小姑 ʿsiù ˏkù.

Wife's elder „ 大姨 tài^2 ˢi.

„ younger „ 細姨 sai^3 ˢi.

Husband's elder brother's wife } called by the husband. { 嫂氏 ʿsò shi^2.

„ younger „ „ } { 弟婦 tai^2 ˢfù.

Husband's elder brother's wife } called by the wife. { 伯娘 pàk$_0$ ˢneung.

„ younger „ „ } { 叔娘 shuk$_5$ ˢneung. 亞嬸 a^3 ʿsha-n.

Wife's elder „ „ } called by the husband. { 內嫂氏 noi^2 ʿsò shi^2.

„ younger „ „ } { 內弟婦 noi^2 tai^2 ˢfù.

„ elder „ „ } called by the wife. { 大嫂 tài^2 ʿsò. 嫂氏 ʿsò shi^2.

„ younger „ „ } { 弟婦 tài^2 ˢfù.

Son.—男仔 ˢnám ʿtsai.

Son adopted.—

Same surname 承繼子 ˢshing kai^3 ʿtsz.

Different „ 義子 i^2 ʿtsz.

Son-in-law. 女婿 ʿnü ʿsai (ˢnü sai^3).

Step-father and other Step-relatives.—Same as natural relations.

Uncle.—

Father's elder brother 伯父 pák$_0$ fú^2.

„ younger „ 叔父 shuk$_5$ fú^2.

Mother's brother 母舅 ˢmó ˢk'au.

Uncle-in-law.—

Father's sister's husband 姑丈 ˏkú ʿcheung (cheung^2).

Mother's „ 姨丈 ˢi ʿcheung.

Wife.—妻 ˏts'ai.

Number one; legally married 結髮妻 kit$_0$ fát$_0$ ˏts'ai.

„ two; „ 平妻 ˢp'ing ˏts'ai.

The second No. one, after decease of the first 繼室妻 kai^3 shat$_5$ ˏts'ai.

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Aunt.—(Father's elder sister).

1. 姑媽 ₒKú ₒmá (₍kú ₅má).
2. 姑媽 „ „
3. 令姑媽 ling² ₒkú ₒmá.
4. 家姑媽 ₒká ₒkú ₒmá. (₍ká ₍kú ₅má).

Aunt.—(Father's younger sister).

1. 姑娘 ₍kú ₅neung
2. 亞姑 a' ₒkú.
3. 令姑娘 ling² ₍kú ₅neung.
4. 家姑娘 ₍ká ₍kú ₅neung.

Aunt.—(Mother's elder sister).

1. 姨媽 ₅i ₒmá (₅má).
2. 大姨媽 tái² ₅i ₒmá.
3. 令姨媽 ling² ₅i ₒmá.
4. 姨媽 ₅i ₒmá.

Aunt.—(Mother's younger sister).

1. 姨娘 ₅i ₅neung.
2. 亞姨 a' ₒi (₅i).
3. 令姨娘 ling² ₅i ₅neung.
4. 姨娘 ₅i ₅neung.

N.B.—If there be more than one sister older or younger than the father or mother the first of the elder ones is designated 大 tái² and the others, whether older or younger according to their number, 2, 3, 4, &c.

Aunt-in-law.—(Father's elder brother's wife).

1. 伯母 pák₀ ₅mó.
2. 伯娘 pák₀ ₅neung. (*Vide note above for order*)
3. 令伯母 ling² pák₀ ₅mó.
4. 家伯母 ₍ká pák₀ ₅mó.

Aunt-in-law.—(Father's younger brother's wife).

1. 叔母 shuk₅ ₅mó.
2. 亞嬸 a' ₍sham. (vide 'N.B.' after Aunt).
3. 令叔母 ling² shuk₅ ₅mó.
4. 家叔母 ₍ká shuk₅ ₅mó.
   家嬸 ₍ká ₍sham.

Aunt-in-law.—(Mother's brother's wife).

1. 舅母 ₅k'au ₅mó
2. 妗母 ₅ k'am ₅mó. (vide 'N.B.' after Aunt).
3. 令舅母 ling² ₅k'au ₅mó.
4. 舅母 ₅k'au ₅mó.

Brother.—(Elder).

1. 兄長 ₍hing ₍cheung.
2. 大佬 tái² ₍ló. (vide 'N.B.' after aunt).
   亞哥 á' ₒko.
3. 令兄 ling² ₍hing.
4. 家兄 ₍ká ₍hing.

Brother.—(Younger).

1. 弟 tai².
2. 細佬 sai' ₍ló. (vide 'N.B' after aunt).
3. 令弟 ling² ₍tai (tai²).
4. 舍弟 she' ₍tai.

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's elder brother).

1. 伯爺 pák₀ ₅ye.
2. 大伯 tái² pák₀. (vide 'N.B.' after aunt)
3. 令伯爺 ling² pák₀ ₅ye.
4. 大伯 tái² ₍pák (pák₀).
   家伯爺 ₍ká pák₀ ₅ye.

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's younger brother).

1. 叔爺 shuk₅ ₅ye.
2. 亞叔 á' shuk₅. (vide 'N.B.' after aunt).
3. 令叔爺 ling² shuk₅ ₅ye.
4. 小叔 ₍siú shuk₅.
   家小叔 ₍ká ₍siú shuk₅.

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Brother-in-law.—(Wife's elder brother).

1. 大舅 tái² ˢk'an.
2. 大舅爺 tái² ˢk'au ˏye. (vide 'N.B.' 內兄 noi² ₒhing (ˏhing). after aunt).
3. 令大舅 ling² tái² ˢk'au. 令妻舅 ling² ˏts'ai ˢk'au.
4. 妻舅 ˏts'ai ˢk'au.

The husband when *addressing* his wife's brother calls him by the same terms as she does.

Brother-in-law.—(Wife's younger brother).

1. 小舅 ˊsiù ˢk'au.
2. 舅仔 ˢk'au ˊtsai. (vide 'N.B.' after aunt). 細舅 sai' ˢk'au. 亞舅 a' ˊk'au (ˢk'au). 內弟 noi² tai².
3. 令舅爺 ling² ˢk'au ˏye. 令妻舅 ling² ˏt'sai ˢk'au.
4. 妻舅 ˏt'sai ˢk'au.

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's elder sister's husband—as called by the *wife*).

1. 姑爺 ˏkù ˏye.
2. 大姑爺 tài² ˏkù ˏye. (vide 'N.B.' after aunt).
3. 令姑爺 ling² ˏkù ˏye.
4. 家姑爺 ˏkà ˏkù ˏye.

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's elder sister's husband—as called by the *husband*).

1. 外兄 ngoi² ˏhing.
2. 姐夫 ˊtse ˏfù.
3. 令姐丈 ling² ˊtse cheung². 姊夫 ˊtsz ˏfù.—used in letter-writing.
4. 姐丈 ˊtse cheung².

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's younger sister's husband—as called by the *husband*).

1. 外弟 ngoi² ˊtai (tai²).
2. 妹夫 mùi² ₒfù (ˏfù).
3. 令妹丈 ling² mùi² cheung².
4. 妹丈 mùi² cheung².

Brother-in-law.—(Husband's younger sister's husband—as called by the *wife*—same as the husband's elder sister's husband.—which see!)

Brother-in-law.—(Wife's elder sister's husband—as called by the husband).

1. 姻兄 a' ˏhing.
2. 襟兄 ˏk'am ˏhing 老襟 ˢló ₒk'am (ˏk'am).
3. 令姻兄 ling² a' ˏhing.
4. 襟兄 ˏk'am ˏhing.

Brother-in-law.—(Wife's elder sister's husband—as called by the *wife*. Same as husband's elder sister's husband).

1. 外兄 ngoi² ˏhing.
2. 姐夫 ˊtse ˏfú.
3. 令姐丈 ling² ˊtse cheung²; 姊夫 ˊtsz ˏfú (used in writing letters).
4. 姐丈 ˊtse cheung².

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Brother-in-law —(Wife's younger sister's husband—as called by the husband).

1. 婭弟 a' tai².
2. 衿弟 ʿk'um tai².
3. 令婭弟 ling² a' tai².
4. 婭弟 a' tai².

Brother-in-law.—(Wife's younger sister's husband—as called by the wife—same as husband's younger sister's husband—as called by the husband), which see!

Child or Children.—

細蚊仔 sai' ʿman ʿtsai. 仔女 ʿtsai ʿnü.

Concubine.—

1. 庶室 shü' shat₂.
2. 妾侍 ts'ip₀ shi². 亞奶 a' ʿnài (nài').
3. 令寵 ling² ʿch'ung. 如夫人 ʿü ʿfù ʿyan.
4. 賤妾 tsin² ts'ip₀ 小妾 ʿsiù ts'ip₀

Cousin —Of same surname. Sons and daughters of brothers call each other by the same terms as brothers and sisters do; but to shew they are not of the same father the following terms are used:—

Cousin.—Boys (elder).

1. 堂兄 ʿt'ong ʿhing. 從兄 tsung² ʿhing.
2. 疏堂大佬 ʿsho ʿt'ong tai² ʿló.
3. 令兄 ling² ʿhing. 令昆季 ling² ʿkwan kwai'.
4. 家兄 ʿká ʿhing. 堂家兄 ʿt'ong ʿká ʿhing.

Cousin.—Boys (younger).

1. 堂弟 ʿt'ong tai². 從弟 tsung² tai².
2. 疏堂細佬 ʿsho ʿt'ong sai' ʿló.
3. 令弟 ling² ʿtai (tai²).
4. 舍弟 she' ʿtai (tai²). 堂舍弟 ʿt'ong she' tai².

Cousin.—Girls (elder).

1. 堂姊 ʿt'ong ʿtsz; 堂姐 ʿt'ong ʿtse. 從姊 tsung² ʿtsz; 從姐 tsung² ʿtse.
2. 疏堂大姊; (疏堂大)姐 ʿsho ʿt'ong tái² ʿtsz (or ʿtse).
3. 令姊 ling² ʿtsz; 令姐 ling² ʿtse.
4. 家姊 ʿká ʿtsz; 家姐 ʿká ʿtse. 堂家姊 ʿt'ong ʿká ʿtsz; 堂家姐 ʿt'ong ʿká ʿtse.

Cousin.—Girls (younger).

1. 堂妹 ʿt'ong ʿmúi (múi²). 從妹 tsung² ʿmúi „
2. 疏堂妹 ʿsho ʿt'ong ʿmúi (múi²).
3. 令妹 ling² ʿmúi (múi²).
4. 舍妹 she' ʿmúi „

Cousin.—Different surname. A sister's children would call her brother's children—and vice versa—as follows:—

1. 姑表 ʿkú ʿpiú.
2. 中表 ʿchung ʿpiú.
3. 令姑表 ling² ʿkú ʿpiú.
4. 姑表 ʿkú ʿpiú.

NOTE.—To distinguish boys from girls the terms ʿhing 兄 (elder) and tai² 弟

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(younger) are used for boys, as 姑表兄 ˌkú ʻpiu ˌhing. 姑表弟 ˌkú ʻpiu tai² —and 姐 ʻtse (elder) and 妹 múi² (younger) for girls; as 姑表姐 ˌkú ʻpiú ʻtse; 姑表妹 ˌkú ʻpiú ʻmúi.

Cousin-in-law.—(Sisters' sisters' children). Call each other as follows:—

1. 姨表 ˏi ʻpiú.
2. 姨表 ˏi ʻpiú.
3. 令姨表 ling² ˏi ʻpiú.
4. 姨表 ˏi ʻpiú.

There is the same difference made between elder and younger, and boys and girls as mentioned above, under Cousin.

These *may* or *may not* be of the same surname. In adding ˌhing 兄, tai² 弟, ʻtse 姐, ʻmúi—the ˏi 姨 is left out—as ʻpiú ˌhing 表兄, ʻpiú ʻtse 表姐, &c., &c.

Daughter.—

1. 女仔 ʻnü (ˏnü) ʻtsai.
2. 女 ʻnü (ˏnü).
3. 令千金 ling² ˌts'in ˌkam. / 令嫒 ling² ʻoi (oi²). / 令媛 ling² ˏüin.
4. 小女 ʻsiú ʻnü.

Daughter-in-law.—

1. 媳婦 sik, ˏfú
2. 新婦 ˌsau ˏfú; 新抱 ˌsan ˏp'ó.
3. 令媳婦 ling² sik, ˏfú.
4. 小媳婦 ʻsiú sik, ˏfú.

Father.—

1. 父親 fú² ˌts'an.
2. 老豆 ˏló tau²; 亞爹 a' ₒte (ˌte). / 亞巴 a' ₒpá (ˌpá); 伯爺 ₒpak ₒye (ˏye). / 老人家 ˏló ˏyan ˌká.
3. 令尊翁 ling² ˌtsün ˌyung. / 令尊君 ling² ˌtsün ₒkwan (ˌkwan). / 尊大人 ˌtsün tái² ˏyan.
4. 家父 ˌká fú²; 家嚴 ˌká ˏim. / 家君 ˌká ˌkwan.

Father-in-law.—(Wife's father).

1. 岳父 ngokₒ fú².
2. 外父 ngoi² fú². 岳丈 ngokₒ cheung². / 丈人 cheung² ˏyan.
3. 令岳丈 ling² ngokₒ cheung². / 令丈人 ling² cheung² ˏyan.
4. 妻父 ˌts'ai fú².

NOTE.—When the husband *addresses* his father-in-law he uses the same terms as his wife does, i.e. *father*, which see.

Father-in-law.—(Husband's father).

1. 家翁 ˌká ˌyung.
2. 家公 ₒká ₒkung (ˌkung)
3. 令家翁 ling² ˌká ˌyung.
4. 家翁 ˌká ˌyung.

The wife *addressing* her husband's father calls him ˏló ˏye 老爺.

Foster-father.—(Same surname).

1. 繼父 kai' fú².
2. 承繼老豆 ˏshing kai' ˏló tau².
3. 令尊翁 ling² ˌtsün ˌyung. / 令尊君 ling² ˌtsün ˌkwan.
4. 家繼父 ˌká kai' fú². / 家嚴 ˌká ˏim. 家君 ˌká ˌkwan.

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Foster-father —(Different surname).

1. 義父 i² fú².
2. 養父 ʻyeung fú².
3. 令尊翁 ling² ˏtsün ˏyung.
4. 家父 ˏká fú².

NOTE.—These may also be called by the same terms as those used by the natural children.

For *Foster-mother* see *Mother-foster* under '*M.*'

Grand-aunt —(Father's father's sister).

1. 姑婆 ˏkú ˏp'o.
2. 姑婆 ˏkú ˏp'o.
3. 令姑婆 ling² ˏkú ˏp'o.
4. 家姑婆 ˏká ˏkú ˏp'o.

NOTE.—If there be more than one older than the grandfather, the numbers 二 三 i², ˏsám, &c. is put before the 大姑婆 tái² ˏkú ˏp'o. The general term for all those younger is 細 sai³, but for distinction they are also numbered 二 三 i², ˏsám, &c. but the word sai³ 細 is left out; e.g. 三姑婆 ˏsám ˏkú ˏp'o.

Grand children.—(Son's son, same surname).

1. 孫 ₒsün, (ˏsün).
2. 孫 „ „
3. 令孫 ling² ₒsün,
4. 小孫 ʻsiú ₒsün.

Grand children —(Daughter's son—different surname).

1. 外孫 ngoi² ₒsün, (ˏsün).
2. 外孫 „ „ „
3. 令外孫 ling² ngoi² ₒsün.
4. 小外孫 ʻsiú ngoi² ₒsün.

NOTE.—For grand daughters—son's daughters—the word ʻnü 女 is suffixed; as, 孫女 ˏsün ʻnü; and for daughter's daughter—different surname—as 外孫女 ngoi² ˏsün ʻnü.

Grand daughter in-law.—(Son's son's wife).

1. 孫媳 ˏsün sik₅.
2. 孫新婦 ˏsün ˏsan ʻfú.
3. 令孫媳 ling² ˏsün sik₅.
4. 小孫媳 ʻsiú ˏsün sik₅.

For *daughter's son's wife* add ngoi² 外 before the ˏsün 孫, as ngoi⁵ ˏsün sik, 外孫媳

Grand father.—(Father's father).

1. 祖父 ʻtsó fú².
2. 亞爺 á² ˏye. / 亞公 á² ˏkung.
3. 令祖父 ling² ʻtsó fú².
4. 家祖父 ˏká ʻtsó fú².

Grand father.—(Mother's father).

1. 外祖父 ngoi² ʻtsó fú²
2. 外公 ngoi² ˏkung (sometimes á² ˏkung).
3. 令外祖 ling² ngoi² ʻtsó.
4. 外祖 ngoi² ʻtsó.

Grand father-in-law.—(Husband's father's father).

1. 家太翁 ˏká t'ái² ˏyung.
2. 太公 t'ái² ₒkung (ˏkung).
3. 令太公 ling² t'ái² ₒkung.
4. 家太翁 ˏká t'ái² ˏyung.

Grand father-in-law —(Wife's father's father).

1. 太岳 t'ái² ngok₀.
2. 太岳父 t'ái² ngok₀ fú².
3. 令太岳 ling² t'ái² ngok₀.
4. 家太岳 ˏká t'ái² ngok₀.

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Grandmother —(Father's mother).

1. 祖母 ʻtsó ʂmó.
2. 亞媽 a˅ ˌmá (ʂmá). 亞婆 a˅ ˌpʻo.
3. 令祖母 ling² ʻtsó ʂmó.
4. 家祖母 ˏká ʻtsó ʂmó.

Grandmother.—(Mother's mother).

1. 外祖母 ngoi² ʻtsó ʂmó.
2. 外婆 ngoi² ˌpʻo. 亞婆 a˅ ˌpʻo.
3. 令外婆 ling² ngoi² ˌpʻo.
4. 外祖母 ngoi² ʻtsó ʂmó.

Grandmother-in-law —(Husband's father's mother).

1. 家太姑 ˏká tʻái˅ ˏkú.
2. 太婆 tʻái˅ ʻpʻo (ˌpʻo).
3. 令太姑 ling² tʻái˅ ˏkú.
4. 家太姑 ˏká tʻái˅ ˏkú.

Grandmother-in-law —(Wife's father's mother).

1. 太岳母 tʻái˅ ngokₒ ʂmó.
2. 太岳母 „ „ „
3. 令太岳母 ling² tʻái˅ ngokₒ ʂmó.
4. 家太岳母 ˏká tʻái˅ ngokₒ ʂmó.

Grandnephew —(Brother's son's son).

1. 姪孫 chatₒ ₒsün (ˏsün).
2. 姪孫 „ „ „
3. 令姪孫 ling² chatₒ ₒsün.
4. 小姪孫 ʻsiú chatₒ ₒsün.

For *Grandniece.*—(Brother's son's daughter) add 女 ʂnü at the end; as 姪孫女 chatₒ ˏsün ʻnü.

Grandnephew.—(Sister's son's son).

1. 甥孫 ˏshang ˏsün.
2. 外甥孫 ngoi² ₒshang ₒsün.
3. 令甥孫 ling² ˏshang ˏsün.
4. 小甥孫 ʻsiú ˏshang ˏsün.

For *Grandniece.*—(Sister's son's daughter) add 女 ʻnü as:—外甥孫女 ngoi² ˏshang ˏsün ʻnü; but for the general term. 1. the 女 is put first, as:—女甥孫 ʻnü ˏshang ˏsün.

Grandson.—(Son's son) vide Grandchildren.

Grandson-in-law.—(Son's daughter's husband).

1. 孫壻 ˏsün ʻsai (sai˅).
2. 孫女壻 ˏsün ʂnü ʻsai „
3. 令孫壻 ling² ˏsün ʻsai (sai˅).
4. 小孫壻 ʻsiu ˏsün ʻsai „

NOTE.—For daughter's daughter's husband prefix ngoi² 外, as 外孫壻 ngoi² ˏsün ʻsai.

Grand uncle.—(Father's father's elder brother).

1. 伯祖 pákₒ ʻtsó.
2. 伯公 pákₒ ˏkung.
3. 令伯公 ling² pákₒ ˏkung.
4. 家伯祖 ˏká pákₒ ʻtsó.

Grand uncle.—(Father's father's younger brother).

1. 叔祖 shuk˩ ʻtsó.
2. 叔公 shuk˩ ˏkung.
3. 令叔祖 ling² shuk˩ ʻtsó.
4. 家叔祖 ˏká shuk˩ ʻtsó.

Grand uncle.—(Father's mother's brother).

1. 舅公 ʂkʻau ˏkung.
2. 舅公 „ „
3. 令舅公 ling² ʂkʻau ˏkung.
4. 舅公 ʂkʻau ˏkung.

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Husband.—

1. 丈夫 Cheung^2 ˏfú.
2. 老公 ˢló ˏkung.
   男人 ˢnàm ˢyan (ˏyan).
3. 良人 ˏleung ˏyan.
4. 丈夫 cheung^2 ˏfú.

Madam. Mrs. 氏 shi^2, 奶奶 ˏnái ˢnái.

Supposing a woman's maiden name to be 王 ˏwong, and she marries a man named 陳 ˏch'an, she is styled 陳王氏 ˏch'an ˏwong shi^2, or more fully 適陳門王氏 shik, ˏch'an ˏmun ˏwong shi^2. In general the wife does not call herself after her husband's surname, but her maiden name; the term 氏 shi^2 shews she is married. In legal documents both her own and her husband's surnames must be given, as above, 陳王氏 ˏch'an ˏwong shi^2.

Mother.—

1. 母親 ˢmó ˏts'an.
2. 老母 ˢló ˋmó (ˢmó). 老媽子 ˢló ₒmá ˋtsz.
   亞媽 á˃ ₒmá (ˢmá). 亞嬸 a˃ ˋsham.
   亞娘 á˃ ˏneung. 亞奶 a˃ ₒnái (ˋnái).
3. 令壽堂 ling^2 shau^2 ˏt'ong.
   令尊慈 ling^2 ˏtsün ˏt'sz.
4. 家慈 ˏká ˏt'sz.
   家母 ˏká ˢmó.

Mother-in-law.—(Husband's mother).

1. 家姑 ˏká ˏkú.
2. 家婆 ˏká ˢp'o (ˏp'o).
   安人 ˏcn ˏyan.
3. 令家姑 ling^2 ˏká ˏkú.
   令家婆 ling^2 ˏká ˏp'o.
4. 家姑 ˏká ˏkú.

Mother-in-law.—(Wife's mother).

1. 岳母 ngo'ₒ ˢmó.
2. 外母 ngoi^2 ˋmó (ˢmó).
3. 令岳母 ling^2 ngokₒ ˢmó.
4. 岳母 ngokₒ ˢmó.

NOTE.—The husband in *addressing* his wife's mother uses the same terms as she does.

Mother-foster.—(Same surname).

1. 繼母 kai˃ ˢmó.
2. 承繼老母 ˏshing kai˃ ˢló ˋmó (ˢmó).
3. 令壽堂 ling^2 shau^2 ˏt'ong.
4. 家繼母 ˏká kai˃ ˢmó.

Mother-foster.—(Different surname).

1. 義母 i^2 ˢmó.
2. 育母 yukₒ ˢmó. 養母 ˢyeung ˋmó.
3. 令堂 ling^2 ˏt'ong.
4. 家母 ˏká ˢmó.
   家慈 ˏká ˏt'sz.

NOTE.—Adopted children frequently call their foster parents by the same terms that natural children do.

Nephew.—(Brother's son).

1. 姪 ˋchat (chatₒ).
2. 姪子 chatₒ ˋtsz.
3. 令姪 ling^2 ˋchat.
4. 舍姪 she˃ chatₒ.

For *Niece*, brother's daughter, add 女 ˋnü at the end, leaving out 子 ˋtsz in 2.

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Nephew.—(Sister's son).

1. 外甥 ngoi^{2} ˳shang (ˌshang).
2. 外甥 „ „ „
3. 令甥 ling^{2} ˳shang.
4. 舍甥 she' ˌshang.

For *Niece* (sister's daughter) add 女 ʻnü Sometimes the 外 ngoi^{2} is omitted.

Nephew-in-law.—(Wife's brother's son).

1. 外姪 ngoi^{2} ʻchat (chat$_{2}$).
2. 外姪 „ „
3. 令外姪 ling^{2} ngoi^{2} chat$_{2}$
4. 外姪 ngoi^{2} chat$_{2}$.

For Niece-in-law (wife's brother's daughter), add 女 ʻnü at the end, as above.

Nephew-in-law.—(Wife's sister's son).

1. 姨甥 ˌi ˳shang (ˌshang).
2. 姨甥子 ˌi ˌshang ʻtsz.
3. 令姨甥 ling^{2} ˌi ˳shang.
4. 姨甥 ˌi ˳shang.

For Niece-in-law (wife's sister's daughter) add 女 ʻnü as above, leaving out 子 ʻtsz in 2.

Nephew-in-law —(Brother's daughter's husband).

1. 姪壻 chat$_{2}$ ʻsai (sai').
2. 姪女壻 chat$_{2}$ ʻnü ʻsai.
3. 令姪壻 ling^{2} chat$_{2}$ ʻsai.
4. 舍姪壻 she' chat$_{2}$ ʻsai.

Nephew-in-law.—(Sister's daughter's husband).

1. 甥壻 ˌshang ʻsai (sai').
2. 外甥女壻 ngoi^{2} ˌshang ʻnü ʻsai.
3. 令甥壻 ling^{2} ˌshang ʻsai.
4. 舍甥壻 she' ˌshang ʻsai.

Niece.—See various notes under Nephew, &c.

Niece-in-law.—(Brother's son's wife).

1. 姪婦 chat$_{2}$ ˋfú.
2. 姪婦 „ „
3. 令姪婦 ling^{2} chat$_{2}$ ˋfú
4. 小姪婦 ʻsiú chat$_{2}$ ˋfú.

Niece-in-law.—(Sister's son's wife).

1. 甥媳 ˌshang sik$_{5}$.
   甥婦 ˌshang ˋfú.
2. 外甥新婦 ngoi^{2} ˌshang ˌsau ˋfú.
3. 令甥婦 ling^{2} ˌshang ˋfú.
4. 舍甥婦 she' ˌshang ˋfú.

Relatives.—

1. 親戚 ˌts'an ˌts ik.
2. 親屬 ˌts'an shuk$_{2}$.
3. 令親 ling^{2} ˌts'an.
   貴親 kwai' ˌts'an.
4. 舍親 she' ˌts'an. 舍戚 she' ts'ik$_{5}$.
   敝親 pai^{2} ˌts'an.

Sister.—(Elder).

1. 大姊 tái^{2} ʻtsz.
2. 大姊 tái^{2} ʻtsz. 大姐 tái^{2} ʻtse.
3. 令姊 ling^{2} ʻtsz.
4. 家姊 ˌká ʻtsz.

Sister.—(Younger).

1. 妹子 múi^{2} ʻtsz.
2. 亞妹 a' ʻmúi (ımúi^{2}).
3. 令妹 ling^{2} ʻmúi.
4. 舍妹 she' ʻmúi.

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Sister-in-law.—(Husband's elder sister).

1. 大姑 tai^{2} ˏkú.
2. 大姑奶 tái^{2} ₀kú ₀nái (ˎnái).
3. 令姑奶 ling^{2} ₀kú ₀nái.
4. 姑奶 ₀kú ₀nái.

} vide 'N.B.' after *aunt*.

Sister-in-law.—(Husband's younger sister).

1. 小姑 ʻsiú ˏkú.
2. 亞姑 a' ˏkú.
3. 令姑娘 ling^{2} ˏkú ˧neung.
4. 姑娘 ˏkú ˧neung.

} vide 'N.B.' after *aunt*.

Sister-in-law —(Wife's elder sister).

1. 大姨 tái^{2} ˧i.
2. 大姨 „ „
3. 令妻姨 ling^{2} ˏtsʻai ˧i.
4. 妻姨 ˏtsʻai ˧i.

For wife's *younger* sister, the word 小 ʻsiú or 細 sái' is used instead of 大 tái^{2} in 1 & 2.—3 & 4.—are the same.

Sister-in-law —(Husband's elder brother's wife—*called by the husband*).

1. 嫂氏 ʻsó shi^{2}.
2. 大嫂 tái^{2} ʻsó.
3. 令嫂 ling^{2} ʻsó.
4. 家嫂 ˏká ʻsó.

Sister-in-law —(Husband's elder brother's wife—*called by the wife*).

1. 伯娘 pák₀ ˧neung.
2. 大母 tái^{2} ʻmó (ˎmó).
3. 令伯娘 ling^{2} pák₀ ˧neung.
4. 伯娘 pák₀ ˧neung.

Sister in-law.—(Husband's younger brother's wife—*called by the husband*).

1. 弟婦 tai^{2} ˧fú.
2. 弟婦 „ „
3. 令弟婦 ling^{2} tai^{2} ʻfú.
4. 舍弟婦 she' tai^{2} ˧fú.

Sister-in-law.—(Husband's younger brother's wife—*called by the wife*).

1. 叔娘 shuk, ˧neung.
2. 亞嬸 a' ʻsham.
3. 令叔娘 ling^{2} shuk, ˧neung.
4. 叔娘 shuk, ˧neung.

Sister-in-law.—(Wife's elder brother's wife—as *called by the wife*).

1. 嫂氏 ʻsó shi^{2}
2. 大嫂 tái^{2} ʻsó.
3. 令嫂 ling^{2} ʻsó.
4. 家嫂 ˏká ʻsó.

NOTE —The *wife* calls her younger brother's wife, by the same terms the husband calls his younger brother's wife, vide above.

Sister-in-law.—(Wife's elder brother's wife—as *called by the husband*).

1. 內嫂氏 noi^{2} ʻsó shi^{2}.
2. 內嫂 noi^{2} ʻsó.
3. 令內嫂 ling^{2} noi^{2} ʻsó.
4. 內嫂氏 noi^{2} ʻsó shi^{2}.

Sister-in-law.—(Wife's younger brother's wife—*called by the husband*).

1. 內弟婦 noi^{2} tai^{2} ˧fú.
2. 內弟婦 „ „ „
3. 令內弟婦 ling^{2} noi^{2} tai^{2} ˧fú.
4. 內弟婦 noi^{2} tai^{2} ˧fú.

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Son.—

1. 男仔 ˏnám ˋtsai.
2. 仔 ˋtsai.
3. 令郎 ling² ˋlong (ˏlong); 令公郎 ling² ˏkung ˏlong.
   令少君 ling² shiú˃ ˏkwan.
   少爺 shiú˃ ˏye.
4. 小兒 ˋsiú ˏi.
   小頑 ˋsiú ˏwán.
   乞兒仔 hat˳ ˏi ˋtsai.

Son adopted.—(same surname).

1. 繼子 kai˃ ˋtsz.
2. 承繼仔 ˏsling kai˃ ˋtsai.
3. 令公郎 ling² ˏkung ˏlong.
4. 小兒 ˋsiú ˏi.
   小頑 ˋsiú ˏwán.

Son adopted.—(Different surname.)

1. 義子 i² ˋtsz.
2. 義仔 i² ˋtsai.
3. 令郎 ling² ˏlong.
4. 小兒 ˋsiú ˏi.
   小頑 ˋsiú ˏwán.

Foster parents also call the adopted children by the same terms as the natural children.

Son-in-law.—

1. 女壻 ˏnü sai˃.
2. 女壻 ˏnü ˋsai (sai˃).
3. 令壻 ling² ˋsai; 令坦 ling² ˋt'án.
   令嬌客 ling² ˏkiu hak₀.
4. 小壻 ˋsiú ˋsai.

Uncle.—(Father's elder brother).

1. 伯父 pák₀ fú².
2. 亞伯 a˃ pák₀
3. 令伯父 ling² pák₀ fú².
4. 家伯父 ˏká pak₀ fú².

Uncle.—(Father's younger brother).

1. 叔父 shuk˳ fú².
2. 亞叔 a˃ shuk˳.
3. 令叔父 ling² shuk˳ fú².
4. 家叔父 ˏká shuk˳ fú².

Uncle.—(Mother's brother).

1. 母舅 ˏmó ˏk'au.
2. 舅父 ˏk'au ˋfú (fú²).
3. 令母舅 ling² ˏmó ˏk'au.
4. 母舅 ˏmó ˏk'au.

Uncle-in-law.—(Father's sister's husband).

1. 姑丈 ˏkú cheung².
2. 姑丈 ˏkú ˋcheung (cheung²).
3. 令姑丈 ling² ˏkú cheung².
4. 姑丈 ˏkú cheung².

Uncle-in-law.—(Mother's sister's husband).

1. 姨丈 ˏi cheung².
2. 姨丈 ˏi ˋcheung (cheung²).
3. 令姨丈 ling² ˏi cheung².
4. 姨丈 ˏi cheung².

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Wife.—

1. 妻 ˌts'ai.
2. 老婆 ˋló ˏp'o. / 正室 ching² shat₀.
3. 尊夫人 ˌtsün ˌfú ˏyan. / 令夫人 ling² ˌfú ˏyan. / 令正 ling² ching².
4. 賤內 tsin² noi². 內子 noi² ˋtsz. / 內人 noi² ˏyan. 拙荊 chüt₀ ˌking.

NOTE.—The first or number one, wife is called kit₀ fát₀ ts'ai, 結髮妻. A written document is given by the husband to her parents to say that she is the lawful *number one* wife. A second wife (after demise of the number one) is called a kai' shat, ˌts'ai 繼室妻. In this case too a written document is given to the parents. The others are concubines 妾 ts'ip₀. If a man wants to take a girl into his family as a concubine and she does not care to be called a concubine, he will style her a ˏp'ing ˌts'ai 平妻 i.e. on the same footing as a wife.

a' ˌhing 婭兄 brother-in-law, (wife's elder sister's husband). As called by the husband.
a' ˏi 亞姨 aunt, (mother's younger sister).
a' ˋk'au 亞舅 brother-in-law, (wife's younger brother).
a' ₀ko 亞哥 brother, (elder).
a' ₀kú 亞姑 aunt, (father's younger sister). Sister-in-law, (husband's younger sister).
a' ˌkung 亞公 grandfather, (father's father).
a' ˏma 亞媽 grandmother, (father's mother).
a' ₀ma 亞媽 / a' ₀nái 亞奶 } mother.
a' ˋmúi 亞妹 sister, (younger).
a' ˋnái 亞奶 concubine.
a' ˏneung 亞娘 mother.
a' ˌpa 亞巴 father.
a' pák₀ 亞伯 uncle, (father's elder brother).
a' ˏp'o 亞婆 grandmother, (father's or mother's mother).
a' ˋsham 亞嬸 mother. Aunt-in-law, (father's younger brother's wife).
a' shuk, 亞叔 uncle, (father's younger brother). Brother-in-law, (husband's younger brother).
a' tai² 亞弟 brother, (younger).
a' tai² 婭弟 brother-in-law, (wife's younger sister's husband, as called by the husband).
a' ˌte 亞爹 father.
a' ˏye 亞爺 grandfather, (father's father).

chat₂ 姪 nephew, (brother's son).
chat₂ ˋfu 姪婦 niece-in-law, (brother's son's wife).
chat₂ ˋnü 姪女 niece, (brother's daughter).
chat₂ ˋnü ˋsai 姪女壻 / chat₂ ˋsai' 姪壻 } nephew-in-law, (brother's daughter's husband).

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chat$_2$ ʿsün	姪孫	grandnephew, (brother's son's son).
chat$_2$ ʿsün ʿnü	姪孫女	granduiece, (brother's son's daughter).
chat$_2$ ʿtsz	姪子	nephew, (brother's son).
cheung^2 ʿfú	丈夫	husband.
cheung^2 ʿyan	丈人	father-in-law, (wife's father).
ching^3 shat$_5$	正室	wife.
ʿchung ʿpiu	中表	cousin, (different surname).
chüt$_6$ ʿking	拙荊	wife.
fú^2 ʿts'an	父親	father.
hat$_5$ ʿi ʿtsai	乞兒仔	son.
ʿhing ʿcheung	兄長	brother (elder).
ʿi ʿcheung	姨丈	uncle-in-law, (mother's sister's husband).
i^2 fú^2	義父	foster-father, (different surname).
ʿi $_6$ma	姨媽	aunt, (mother's elder sister).
i^2 ʿmó	義母	foster-mother, (different surname).
ʿi ʿneung	姨娘	aunt, (mother's younger sister).
ʿi ʿpiu	姨表	cousin-in-law, (mother's sister's children of different surname).
ʿi $_6$shang	姨甥	nephew-in-law, (wife's sister's son).
ʿi ʿshang ʿnü	姨甥女	niece-in-law, (wife's sister's daughter).
ʿi ʿshang ʿtsz	姨甥子	nephew-in-law, (wife's sister's son).
i^2 ʿtsai / i^2 ʿtsz	義仔 / 義子	adopted son, (different surname).
ʿká fú^2	家父	father, or foster-father (different surname).
ʿká ʿhing	家兄	brother (elder) also *cousin*, same surname, boys, elder.
ʿká ʿim	家嚴	father, or foster-father, (same surname).
ʿká kai^3 fú^2	家繼父	foster-father, (same surname).
ʿká kai^3 ʿmó	家繼母	foster-mother (,, ,,)
ʿká ʿkú	家姑	mother-in-law, (husband's mother).
ʿká ʿkú $_6$má	家姑媽	aunt, (father's elder sister).
ʿká ʿkú ʿneung	家姑娘	aunt, (father's younger sister).
ʿká ʿkú ʿp'o	家姑婆	grandaunt, (father's father's sister).
ʿká ʿkú ʿye	家姑爺	brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband—as called by the wife).
ʿká ʿkung	家公	father-in-law, (husband's father).
ʿká ʿkwan	家君	father, or foster-father, (same surname).
ʿká ʿmó	家母	mother, or foster-mother, (different surname).
ʿká pák$_6$ / ʿká pák$_6$ fú^2	家伯 / 家伯父	uncle, (father's elder brother).

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ˌkà pàk꜀ ˋmó 家伯母 aunt-in-law, (father's elder brother's wife).
ˌkà pak꜀ ˋtsó 家伯祖 granduncle, (father's father's elder brother).
ˌka pák꜀ ˏye 家伯爺 brother-in law, (husband's elder brother).
ˌká ˋp'o 家婆 mother-in-law, (husband's mother).
ˌká ˋsham 家嬸 } aunt-in-law, (father's younger brother's wife).
ˌká shuk꜁ ˋmó 家叔母 }
ˌká shuk꜁ fù² 家叔父 uncle, (father's younger brother).
ˌká shuk꜁ ˋtsó 家叔祖 granduncle, (father's father's younger brother).
ˌká shü˃ ˋmó 家庶母 } mother, (a concubine).
ˌká shü˃ ˏt'sz 家庶慈 }
ˌká ˋsiu shuk꜁ 家小叔 brother-in-law, (husband's younger brother).
ˌká ˋsó 家嫂 sister-in-law, { husband's elder brother's wife, as called by the husband. / wife's elder brother's wife, as called by the wife.
ˌká t'ái˃ ˌkú 家太姑 grandmother-in-law, (husband's father's mother).
ˌká t'ái˃ ngok꜀ 家太岳 grandfather-in-law, (wife's father's father).
ˌká t'ái˃ ngok꜀ ˋmó 家太岳母 grandmother-in-law, (wife's father's mother).
ˌká t'ái˃ ꜀yung 家太翁 grandfather-in-law, (husband's father's father).
ˌká ˋtsó fù² 家祖父 grandfather, (father's father).
ˌká ˋtsó ˋmó 家祖母 grandmother, (father's mother).
ˌká ˋtsz 家姊 sister (elder) or cousin, girl, elder, same surname.
ˌká ˏts'z 家慈 mother, or foster-mother, (different surname).
ˌká ˌyung 家翁 father-in-law, (husband's father).
kai˃ fù² 繼父 foster-father, (same surname).
kai˃ ˋmó 繼母 foster-mother (,, ,,).
kai˃ shat꜁ ˌts'ai 繼室妻 wife, (second).
kai˃ ˋtsz 繼子 adopted son, (same surname).
ˌk'am ˌhing 衿兄 brother-in-law, (wife's elder sister's husband, as called by husband).
ˋk'am ˋmó 妗母 aunt-in-law, (mother's brother's wife).
ˌk'am ˋtai 衿弟 brother-in-law, (wife's younger sister's husband, as called by the husband).
ˋk'au fù² 舅父 uncle, (mother's brother).
ˋk'au ˌkung 舅公 granduncle, (father's mother's brother).
ˋk'au ˋmó 舅母 aunt-in-law, (mother's brother's wife).
ˋk'au ˋtsai 舅仔 brother-in-law, (wife's younger brother).
kit꜀ fát꜀ ˌts'ai 結髮妻 wife, (number one).
ˌkú ˋcheung 姑丈 uncle-in-law, (father's sister's husband).
꜀kú ꜀má 姑媽 aunt, (father's elder sister).
꜀kú ꜀nái 姑奶 sister-in-law, (husband's elder sister).
ˌkú ˏneung 姑娘 { sister-in-law, (husband's younger sister). / aunt, (father's younger sister).

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ˏkú ʻpiu	姑表	cousin, (different surname).
ˏkú ˎp'o	姑婆	grand-aunt, (father's father's sister).
ˏkú ˎye	姑爺	brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband, as called by the wife).
kwai˃ ˏts'an	貫親	relatives.
ˎleung ˎyan	良人	husband.
ling² a˃ ˏhing	令婭兄	brother-in-law, (wife's elder sister's husband, as called by the husband).
ling² a˃ tai²	令婭弟	brother-in-law, (wife's younger sister's husband, as called by the husband).
ling² chat₂	令姪	nephew, (brother's son).
ling² chat₂ ˎfú	令姪婦	niece-in-law, (brother's son's wife).
ling² chat₂ ˎnü	令姪女	niece, (brother's daughter).
ling² chat₂ ʻsai	令姪壻	nephew-in-law, (brother's daughter's husband).
ling² chat₂ ˏsün	令姪孫	grandnephew, (brother's son's son).
ling² chat₂ ˏsün ʻuü	令姪孫女	grandniece, (brother's son's daughter).
ling² cheung² ˎyan	令丈人	father-in-law, (wife's father).
ling² ching˃	令正	wife.
ling² ʻch'ung	令寵	concubine.
ling² ˏfu ˎyan	令夫人	wife.
ling² ˏhing	令兄	brother (elder) or cousin (same surname, boys—elder).
ling² ˎi cheung²	令姨丈	uncle-in-law, (mother's sister's husband).
ling² ˎi ₒmá	令姨媽	aunt, (mother's elder sister).
ling² ˎi ˎneung	令姨娘	aunt, (mother's younger sister).
ling² ˎi ʻpiu	令姨表	cousin-in-law, (different surname).
ling² ˎi ˏshang	令姨甥	nephew-in-law, (wife's sister's son).
ling² ˎi ˏshang ʻnü	令姨甥女	niece-in-law, (wife's sister's daughter).
ling² ˏka ˏkú ling² ˏka ˎp'o	令家姑 令家婆	mother-in-law, (husband's mother).
ling² ˏka ˏyung	令家翁	father-in-law, (husband's father).
ling² ˎk'au ˏkung	令舅公	granduncle, (father's mother's brother).
ling² ˎk'au ˎmó	令舅母	aunt-in-law, (mother's brother's wife).
ling² ˎk'au ˎye	令舅爺	brother-in-law, (wife's brother).
ling² ˏkiu hák₀	令嬌客	son-in-law.
ling² ˏkú cheung²	令姑丈	uncle-in-law, (father's sister's husband).
ling² ₒkú ₒmá	令姑媽	aunt, (father's elder sister).
ling² ˏkú ˎneung	令姑娘	aunt, (father's younger sister). sister-in-law, (husband's younger sister).
ling² ₒkú ₒnái	令姑奶	sister-in-law, (husband's elder sister).
ling² ˏkú ʻpiu	令姑表	cousin, (different surname—father's sister's child).
ling² ˏkú ˎp'o	令姑婆	grandaunt, (father's father's sister).

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ling² ˏkú ˎye 令姑爺 brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband, as called by the wife).
ling² ˏkung ˎlong 令公郎 } son.
ling² ˎlong 令郎 }
ling² ˏkwan kwai˃ 令昆季 cousin, (same surname, boys, elder).
ling² ˎmó ˎk'au 令母舅 uncle, (mother's brother).
ling² ˎmúi 令妹 sister, (younger) or cousin (same surname, girls, younger).
ling² mui² cheung² 令妹丈 brother-in-law, (husband's younger sister's husband, called by husband).
ling² ngoi² chat₂ 令外姪 nephew-in-law, (wife's brother's son).
ling² ngoi² chat₂ ˋnü 令外姪女 niece-in-law, (wife's brother's daughter).
ling² ngoi² ˎp'o 令外婆 grandmother, (mother's mother).
ling² ngoi² ˏshang ˋnü 令外甥女 niece, (sister's daughter).
ling² ngoi² ˏsün 令外孫 grandson, (daughter's son).
ling² ngoi² ˏsün ˋnü 令外孫女 grand daughter, (daughter's daughter).
ling² ngoi² ˋtsó 令外祖 grandfather, (mother's father).
ling² ngok₂ cheung² 令岳丈 father-in-law, (wife's father).
ling² ngok₂ ˎmó 令岳母 mother-in-law, (wife's mother).
ling² noi² ˋsó shi² 令內嫂氏 sister-in-law, (wife's elder brother's wife, as called by husband).
ling² noi² tai² ˎfú 令內弟婦 sister-in-law, (wife's younger brother's wife, as called by husband).
ling² oi˃ 令嬡 daughter.
ling² ˌpák₀ fú² 令伯父 uncle, (father's elder brother).
ling² ˌpák₀ ˎmó 令伯母 aunt-in-law, (father's elder brother's wife).
ling² pák₀ ˎneung 令伯娘 sister-in-law, (husband's elder brother's wife, as called by wife).
ling² pák₀ ˋtsó 令伯祖 granduncle, (father's father's elder brother).
ling² ˌpák₀ ˎye 令伯爺 brother-in-law, (husband's elder brother).
ling² ˋsai 令壻 son-in-law.
ling² ₀shang 令甥 nephew, (sister's son).
ling² ˏshang ˎfu 令甥婦 niece-in-law, (sister's son's wife).
ling² ˏshang ˋnü 令甥女 niece, (sister's daughter).
ling² ˏshang ˋsai 令甥壻 nephew-in-law, (sister's daughter's husband).
ling² ˏshang ˏsün 令甥孫 grandnephew, (sister's son's son).
ling² ˏshang ˏsün ˋnü 令甥孫女 grandniece, (sister's son's daughter).
ling² shau² ˎt'ong 令壽堂 mother, or foster-mother, (same surname).
ling² shiu˃ ˏkwan 令少君 son.
ling² shü² ˎt'ong 令庶堂 mother, (concubine).
ling² shuk₅ fu² 令叔父 uncle, (father's younger brother).
ling² shuk₅ ˎmó 令叔母 aunt-in-law, (father's younger brother's wife).
ling² shuk₅ ˎneung 令叔娘 sister-in-law, (husband's younger brother's wife,—as called by wife).
ling² shuk₅ ˋtsó 令叔祖 granduncle, (father's father's younger brother).
ling² shuk₅ ˎye 令叔爺 brother-in-law, (husband's younger brother).
ling² sik₅ ˎfu 令媳婦 daughter-in-law.

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ling² ʿsiu ˏkú 令小姑 sister-in-law, (husband's younger sister).
ling² ʿsó 令嫂 sister-in-law, (husband's or wife's elder brother's wife, as called by husband or wife respectively).
ling² ˍsün 令孫 grandson, (son's son).
ling² ˏsün ʿsai 令孫壻 grandson-in-law, (son's daughter's husband).
ling² ˏsüu sik, 令孫媳 granddaughter-in-law, (son's son's wife).
ling² ˏsün ʿnü 令孫女 granddaughter, (son's daughter).
ling² tai² 令弟 brother, (younger) or cousin, (same surname, boys, younger).
ling² tai² ˢfú 令弟婦 sister-in-law, (husband's younger brother's wife, as called by the husband).
ling² tʻái ˏkung 令太公 grandfather-in-law, (husband's father's father).
ling² tʻái ˢpʻo 令太婆 grandmother-in-law, (husband's father's mother).
ling² tái² ˢkʻau 令大舅 brother-in-law, (wife's elder brother).
ling² tʻái ngok, 令太岳 grandfather-in-law, (wife's father's father).
ling² tʻái ngok, ˢmó 令太岳母 grandmother-in-law, (wife's father's mother).
ling² tʻái ˏkú 令太姑 grandmother-in-law, (husband's father's mother).
ling² ʿtʻán 令坦 son-in-law.
ling² ˢtʻong 令堂 foster-mother, (different surname).
ling² ˏtʻsai ˢkʻau 令妻舅 brother-in-law, (wife's brother).
ling² ˏtʻsai ˢi 令妻姨 sister-in-law, (wife's elder sister).
ling² ˏtʻsan 令親 relatives.
ling² ʿtse cheung² 令姐丈 brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband).
ling² ʿtsó fú² 令祖父 grandfather (father's father).
ling² ʿtsó ˢmó 令祖母 grandmother, (father's mother).
ling² ˏtʻsin ˏkam 令千金 daughter.
ling² ˏtsün ˏkwan 令尊君 father, or foster father.
ling² ˏtsüu ˢtʻsz 令尊慈 mother.
ling² ˍtsün ˍyung 令尊翁 father, or foster father.
ling² ʿtsz 令姊 sister, (elder), or cousin, same surname girls, elder.
ling² ˢün 令媛 daughter.
ˢló ˍkʻam 老衿 brother-in-law, (wife's elder sister's husband,—as called by husband).
ˢló ˏkung 老公 husband.
ˢló ˏmá ʿtsz 老媽子 mother.
ˢló ˢmó 老母 mother.
ˢló ˢpʻo 老婆 wife.
ˢló ˢyan ˏka 老人家 father.
ˢló tau² 老豆 father.

ˢmó ˢkʻau 母舅 uncle, (mother's brother).
ˢmó ˏtsʻan 母親 mother.

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mui² cheung² 妹丈 / mui² ˏfú 妹夫 } brother-in-law, (husband's younger sister's husband, as called by the husband).

múi² ˋtsz 妹子 sister (younger).

ˏnái ˋnái 奶奶 Madam. Mrs.—太太 t'ái' ˋt'ái.

ˏnám ˋtsai 男仔 son. or boy.

ˏnám ˏyan 男人 husband, (or man).

ngoi² chat₂ 外姪 nephew-in-law, (wife's brother's son).

ngoi² chat₂ ˋnü 外姪女 niece-in-law, (wife's brother's daughter).

ngoi² fú² 外父 father-in-law, (wife's father).

ngoi² ˏhing 外兄 brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband, as called by the husband).

ngoi² ˏkung 外公 grandfather, (mother's father).

ngoi² ˋmó 外母 mother-in-law, (wife's mother).

ngoi² ˏp'o 外婆 grandmother, (mother's mother).

ngoi² ˏshang 外甥 nephew, (sister's son).

ngoi² ˏshang ˋnü 外甥女 niece, (sister's daughter).

ngoi² ˏshang ˋnü ˋsai 外甥女壻 nephew-in-law, (sister's daughter's husband).

ngoi² ˏshang ˏsan ˋfú 外甥新婦 niece-in-law, (sister's son's wife).

ngoi² ˏshang ˏsün 外甥孫 grandnephew, (sister's son's son).

ngoi² ˏshang ˏsün ˋnü 外甥孫女 grandniece, (sister's son's daughter).

ngoi² ˏsün 外孫 grandson, (daughter's son).

ngoi² ˏsün ˋnü 外孫女 granddaughter, (daughter's daughter).

ngoi² ˏsün ˋsai 外孫壻 / ngoi² ˏsün ˋnü ˋsai 外孫女壻 } grandson-in-law, (daughter's daughter's husband).

ngoi² ˏsün sik, 外孫媳 / ngoi² ˏsün ˏsan ˋfú 外孫新婦 } granddaughter-in-law, (daughter's son's wife).

ngoi² ˋtsó 外祖 / ngoi² ˋtsó fu² 外祖父 } grandfather, (mother's father).

ngoi² ˋtsó ˋmó 外祖母 grandmother, (mother's mother).

ngoi² tai² 外弟 brother-in-law, (husband's younger sister's husband, as called by the husband).

ngoi² t'ái' ˏkú 外太姑 grandmother, (husband's mother's mother, called by the wife).

ngok₂ cheung² 岳丈 / ngok₂ fu² 岳父 } father-in-law, (wife's father).

ngok₂ ˋmó 岳母 mother-in-law, (wife's mother).

noi² ˏhing 內兄 brother-in-law, (wife's elder brother).

noi² ˋsó 內嫂 / noi² ˋsó shi² 內嫂氏 } sister-in-law, (wife's elder brother's wife,—as called by the husband).

noi² tai² 內弟 brother-in-law, (wife's younger brother).

noi² tai² ˋfú 內弟婦 sister-in-law, (wife's younger brother's wife,—as called by the husband).

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noi^{2} ʿtsz 內子 } wife.
noi^{2} ˌyau 內人 }
ˢnü 女 } daughter.
ˢnü ʿtsai 女仔 }
ˢnü ˌi ˌshang 女姨甥 niece-in-law, (wife's sister's daughter).
ˢnü ʿsai 女壻 son-in-law.
ˢnü ₒshang ₒsün 女甥孫 grandniece, (sister's son's daughter).

ʿon ˌyan 安人 mother-in-law, (husband's mother).

pai^{2} ˌtʿsan 敝親 relatives.
pák₀ fú^{2} 伯父 uncle, (father's elder brother).
pák₀ ˌkung 伯公 granduncle, (father's father's elder brother).
pák₀ ˢmó 伯母 } aunt-in-law, (father's elder brother's wife).
pák₀ ˌneung 伯娘 }
pák₀ ˌneung 伯娘 sister-in-law, (husband's elder brother's wife,—as called by the wife).
pák₀ ʿtsó 伯祖 granduncle, (father's father's elder brother).
pák₀ ₒye 伯爺 father.
pák₀ ˌye 伯爺 brother-in-law, (husband's elder brother).
ˌpʻing ˌtʻsai 平妻 concubine, (put on an equal footing with a wife).

sai᾽ ˌi 細姨 sister-in-law, (wife's younger sister).
sai᾽ ˢkʻau 細舅 brother-in-law, (wife's younger brother).
sai᾽ ʿló 細佬 brother, (younger).
sai᾽ ˌman ʿtsai 細蚊仔 children.
ˌsan ˢfü 新婦 daughter-in-law.
ˌshang ˢfü 甥婦 } niece-in-law, (sister's son's wife).
ˌshang si᾽ˢ 甥媳 }
ʿshang ʿnü 甥女 niece, (sister's daughter).
ˌshang ʿsai 甥壻 nephew-in-law, (sister's daughter's husband).
ₒshang ₒsün 甥孫 grandnephew, (sister's son's son).
she᾽ chat₂ 舍姪 nephew, (brother's son).
she᾽ chat₂ ˢfú 舍姪婦 niece-in-law, (brother's son's wife).
she᾽ chat₂ ʿnü 舍姪女 niece, (brother's daughter).
she᾽ chat₂ sai᾽ 舍姪壻 nephew-in-law, (brother's daughter's husband).
she᾽ múi^{2} 舍妹 sister, (younger) or cousin, same surname, girls—younger.
she᾽ ˌshang 舍甥 nephew, (sister's son).
she᾽ ˌshang ˢfú 舍甥婦 niece-in-law, (sister's son's wife).
she᾽ ˌshang ʿnü 舍甥女 niece, (sister's daughter).
she᾽ ˌsheng ʿsai 舍甥壻 nephew-in-law, (sister's daughter's husband).

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she˃ tai² 舍弟 brother, (younger) or cousin, same surname, boys—younger.
she˃ tai² ˢfú 舍弟婦 sister-in-law, (husband's younger brother's wife, as called by husband).
she˃ ˌts'an 舍親 / she˃ ts'ik, 舍戚 relations.
shi² 氏 Madam. Mrs. 太太 t'ái˃ ˋt'ái.
ˢshing kai˃ ˢló ˢmó 承繼老母 foster-mother (same surname).
ˢshing kai˃ ˢló tau² 承繼老豆 foster-father, (same surname).
ˢshing kai˃ ˋtsai 承繼仔 adopted son, (same surname).
shiu˃ ˌkwan 少君 / shia˃ ˢye 少爺 son.
ˌsho ˢt'ong ˌhing tai² 疏堂兄弟 cousin, (same surname).
ˌsho ˢt'ong ˋmúi 疏堂妹 cousin, (same surname, girls—younger).
ˌsho ˢt'ong sai˃ ˢló 疏堂細佬 cousin, (same surname, boys—younger).
ˌsho ˢt'ong tái² ˢló 疏堂大佬 cousin, (same surname, boys—elder).
ˌsho ˢt'ong tái² ˋtsz 疏堂大姊 / ˌsho ˢt'ong tái² ˋtse 疏堂大姐 cousin, (same surname, girls—elder).
shü˃ ˢmó 庶母 mother.
shü˃ shat, 庶室 concubine.
shuk, fu² 叔父 uncle, (father's younger brother).
shuk, ˌkung 叔公 / shuk, ˋtsó 叔祖 granduncle, (father's father's younger brother).
shuk, ˢmó 叔母 aunt-in-law, (father's younger brother's wife).
shuk, ˢneung 叔娘 sister-in-law, (husband's younger brother's wife, as called by the wife).
shuk, ˢye 叔爺 brother-in-law, (husband's younger brother).
sik, ˢfú 媳婦 daughter-in-law.
ˋsiú chat, ˢfú 小姪婦 niece-in-law, (brother's son's wife).
ˋsiú chat, ˋnü 小姪女 niece, (brother's daughter).
ˋsiú chat, ˌsün 小姪孫 grandnephew, (brother's son's son).
ˋsiú ˢi 小兒 son.
ˋsiú ˢk'au 小舅 brother-in-law, (wife's younger brother).
ˋsiú ˌkú 小姑 sister-in-law, (husband's younger sister).
ˋsiú ˋnü 小女 daughter.
ˋsiú ngoi² ˌsün 小外孫 grandson, (daughter's son).
ˋsiú ˋsai 小壻 son-in-law.
ˋsiú ˌshang ˌsün 小甥孫 grandnephew, (sister's son's son).
ˋsiú shuk, 小叔 brother-in-law, (husband's younger brother).
ˋsiú sik, 小媳 daughter-in-law.
ˋsiú sik, ˢfú 小媳婦 daughter-in-law.
ˋsiú ˌsün 小孫 grandson, (son's son).
ˋsiú ˌsün ˋsai 小孫壻 grandson-in-law, (son's daughter's husband).

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ʻsiu ˏsün sik, 小孫媳 grand-daughter-in-law, (son's son's wife).
ʻsiu ts'ip, 小妾 concubine.
ʻsiu ˏwán 小頑 son.
ʻsó shi² 嫂氏 sister-in-law, (husband's or wife's elder brother's wife, as called by husband or wife respectively).

ˏsün 孫 grandson, (son's son).
ˏsün ˇnü 孫女 granddaughter, (son's daughter).
ˏsün ʻnü ʻsai 孫女壻 } grandson-in-law, (son's daughter's husband).
ˏsün ʻsai 孫壻
ˏsün ˏsan ˇfú 孫新婦 } granddaughter-in-law, (son's son's wife).
ˏsün sik, 孫媳

tái² ˇi 大姨 sister-in-law, (wife's elder sister).
tái² ˇi ˏmá 大姨媽 aunt, (mother's elder sister).
tái² ˇi cheung² 大姨丈 uncle-in-law, (mother's sister's husband).
tái² ˇk'au 大舅 } brother-in-law, (wife's elder brother).
tái² ˇk'au ˇye 大舅爺
tái² ˏkú 大姑 } sister-in-law, (husband's elder sister).
tái² ˏkú ˏnái 大姑奶
tái² ˏkú ˇye 大姑爺 brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband, as called by the wife).
tái² ʻló 大佬 brother, (elder).
tái² ˇmó 大母 sister-in-law, (husband's elder brother's wife, as called by the wife).
tái² pák, 大伯 brother-in-law, (husband's elder brother).
tái² ʻsó 大嫂 sister-in-law, (husband's or wife's elder brother's wife, as called by the husband or wife, respectively).
tái² ʻtsz 大姊 } sister, (elder).
tái² ʻtse 大姐
t'ái² ˏkung 太公 } grandfather-in-law, (husband's father's father).
t'ái² ˏyung 太翁
t'ái² ngok, 太岳 } grandfather-in-law, (wife's father's father).
t'ái² ngok, fú² 太岳父
t'ái² ngok, ˇmó 太岳母 grandmother-in-law, (wife's father's mother).
t'ái² ˇp'o 太婆 grandmother, (husband's father's mother).
t'ái² ʻt'ái 太太 Mrs. Madam. Her ladyship.
tai² ˇfú 弟婦 sister-in-law, (husband's or wife's younger brother's wife, as called by the husband or wife, respectively).

tai² 弟 brother, (younger).
ˇt'ong ˏhing 堂兄 } cousin, (same surname, boys—elder).
ˇt'ong ˏka ˏhing 堂家兄
ˇt'ong ˏká ʻtsz 堂家姊 cousin, (same surname, girls—elder).

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ˏt'ong ˈmúi	堂妹	cousin, (same surname, girls—younger).
ˏt'ong she˒ ˈmúi	堂舍妹	
ˏt'ong tai²	堂弟	cousin, (same surname, boys—younger).
ˏt'ong she˒ tai²	堂舍弟	
ˏt'ong ˈtsz	堂姊	cousin, (same surname, girls—elder).
ˏt'ong ˈtse	堂姐	
ˏts'ai 妻		wife.
ˏts'ai ˏi	妻姨	sister-in-law, (wife's elder sister).
ˏts'ai ˏk'au	妻舅	brother-in-law, (wife's brother).
ˏts'ai fu²	妻父	father-in-law, (wife's father).
ˈtsai 仔		son.
ˈtsai ˏnü	仔女	children, (boys and girls).
ˏts'an shuk₂	親屬	relatives.
ˏts'an t'sik₂	親戚	
ˈtse cheung˒	姐丈	brother-in-law, (husband's elder sister's husband).
ˈtse ˏfú	姐夫	
ˈtsz ˏfú	姊夫	
tsin² noi²	賤內	wife.
tsin² ts'ip₀	賤妾	concubine.
t'sip₀ shi²	妾侍	
ˈtsó fú²	祖父	grandfather, (father's father).
ˈtsó ˏmó	祖母	grandmother, (father's mother).
ˏtsün ˏfú ˏyan	尊夫人	wife.
ˏtsün tái² ˏyan	尊大人	father.
tsung² ˏhing	從兄	cousin, (same surname—boys—elder).
tsung² ˏmúi	從妹	cousin, („ „ —girls—younger).
tsung² tai²	從弟	cousin, („ „ —boys—younger).
tsung² ˈtsz	從姊	cousin, („ „ —girls—elder).
tsung² ˈtse	從姐	
ˏü ˏfú ˏyan	如夫人	concubine.
ˏyeung fú²	養父	foster-father, (different surname).
ˏyeung ˏmó	養母	foster-mother, („ „).
ˏyeung ˈtsai	養仔	adopted son, („ „).
yuk₂ ˏmó	育母	foster-mother, („ „).

A. J. MAY.

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A SKETCH OF BURMESE HISTORY.

Although the little book I recently published at Rangoon, entitled *Burma, with special reference to her relations with China*, professes to be a classified digest of the available but confused information upon the subject, as found in the Burmese and Chinese histories and annals, and professes also to avoid as much as possible puzzling the reader with uncouth native names, yet it is perhaps rather a condensed historical study, available for purposes of ready reference by specialists, than a readable sketch calculated to attract the roving eye of the general public. I propose now, therefore, to draw up here another outline of Burmese history, dispensing almost entirely with references, citations, and justifications, for which the reader who desires them is referred to the first-cited work: the object of the present sketch is simply to provide a popular account which can be read at one sitting and easily assimilated by any one and which will leave a definite and consecutive series of impressions on the mind.

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Setting aside purely artificial creations, of which the modern United States of America is an example, if we examine the origin of kingdoms and empires, no matter in what quarter of the world, we find that, anterior to the time when writing and annals were introduced into any given State, the condition of affairs has always been the same. Various families, clans, tribes, or hordes of the same kindred or stock have always been found struggling for mastery over something, whether that something be women, cattle, pasture, hunting or fishing rights, or the power to command base services from weaker members. In their wanderings and fightings, these clans and hordes have invariably been brought into contact with similar bodies of men belonging to a stock sometimes slightly removed, sometimes much modified, and sometimes totally different. When, through the ability of one or more energetic leaders, a given clan once gets the ascendancy, there is almost no limit to its powers of assimilation. Kindred tribes and remote tribes are forced to learn its language, and a 'nation' is formed. In the absence of records and effective means of communication, this nation soon falls to pieces, and the process of disintegration or reconstruction is repeated until some other hero comes to the fore. The story is always the same, from the remote times of the Semitic empires, through the Parthian, Graeco-Roman, Gothic, New Persian, Saracen, Frankish, Turkish, and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or empires down to the most modern of all the Russias. Modern science has checked this tendency in Europe, which is in many senses practically a confederation of powers. But, when our historians talk of the 'world,' which until a thousand years ago meant 'the Mediterranean,' they forget that all these things have repeated themselves in the Far East, and that the history of China and the nations round it is just as momentous and interesting as our own. Substitute China for Rome, and it may be said that the histories of the two rival worlds are the same in every

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essential point, each being almost totally ignorant of the existence of the other.

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Burma is one of the countries belonging to the system of the Chinese world. In many respects the account of her early origin is in the same predicament as that of another member of the same world,—Japan. The Japanese 2,000 years ago were simply a congeries of petty kindred tribes, totally destitute of history, until they were introduced to the world by Chinese records at the commencement of our era. As in nearly all collections of kindred tribes, there was one chief whose supremacy was more or less recognized by the other chiefs. Chinese ideas filtering through Corea into Japan resulted in the development of this supreme chief's dominion, and in about four centuries Japan could pretend to be a nation: in two centuries more she became competent to keep records for herself. Previous to this, say previous to A.D. 600, nothing whatever can be predicated of Japan with certainty which is not supported by testimony of Chinese annals. Men were born and died as they had been born and had died for thousands of years, and that is all any one can say. But Burma is distinctly a stage behind Japan. Like many other States on the Chinese frontiers, such as Nepaul, Siam, Cambodia, and to a certain extent Tibet, she had two rival civilisations to contend with, those of India and China, the one contemplative and religious, the other commercial and practical. One of the well-established facts in connection with Indian civilisation is its total neglect of prosaic records in favour of imaginative hymns and epics. On the other hand, one of the most unmistakable qualities of China is her remarkable taste and faculty for minutely recording every event which comes under her own ken, no matter in what quarter of the world. Chinese history is perhaps deficient in philosophy, and in the power of explaining the causes and results of events; but none the less we must be grateful to her for what she has given us, for by its means we are enabled to reconstruct intelligibly a considerable part of the past and dead world's history.

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From Chinese accounts we know to be true what is given to us by Hindoo, Burmese, and other traditions, namely, that Brahman and Buddhist missionaries, traders, and military adventurers from Ceylon and the continent of India came over by sea to Sumatra, Java, Pegu, Borneo, Funam (the region now occupied by Siam and Cambodia) and Annam; established, by moral or physical power, administrative authority over the unlettered natives; and founded kingdoms there. We know that under the Ptolemies of Egypt there was a vigorous Alexandrian trade with the Mediterranean and the Indian oceans, and the foundation of trading colonies eastwards from the Indian side was simply a counterpart of what had been done by the Phoenicians and the Greeks in a westerly direction. At this time there were the makings of a very considerable power of the Shan or Thai race in the south-west of China, and kings whom the Chinese seem to identify in a hazy way both with the future Burmese and with the traders from Syria would appear to have sent missions to China on several occasions between A.D. 97 and 120.

It is quite clear from the Chinese statements that in A.D. 166 an envoy or mercantile adventurer purporting to have been sent by one of the Antonine Emperors of Rome made his way through the Indo-Chinese peninsula to the Chinese court. Thus, we can say this much, if no more:—In the earliest centuries of our era the Indo-Chinese peninsula was organized into various trading States under Hindoo administration, having commercial intercourse both with the eastern and western centres of civilization: it was a link between the two worlds.

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But we are still very far from distinguishing Burma. The Peguan race long afterwards assimilated by the Burmese, though almost certainly of Mongoloid stock

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like the Burmese, spoke a totally different language, and in point of date of immigration and remoteness of racial connection probably bore much the same relation to the Burmese of the eighth century that the Celts of Europe did to the Teutonic tribes. China meanwhile splits up into three rival empires, all purely Chinese. The northern empire has nothing whatever to do with southern affairs; the coast empire conducts all Chinese intercourse with the eastern archipelago and India; whilst the obscure and little known empire of the west sends a very distinguished general to reduce the rising Thai tribes on the modern Yünnan-Burma frontier. From the third century to the seventh, China had nothing to do except in an occasional and fitful way, with the Yünnan region, being amply occupied with her own wars and dynastic changes: during the greater part of this time there was a northern empire, ruled by Tungusic Tartars, and an ever-changing southern empire ruled by Chinese; just as in Europe there was an eastern empire far away from the original Roman seat, and a Gothic empire in the west.

This state of affairs was favourable to the development of the Thais, who in the seventh century had become a formidable rival power in the extreme south-west as had the Coreans in the extreme north-east. Their empire was highly Buddhistic, and it was known to China, and to themselves from the Chinese standpoint, as the State of Nanchao, or [confederated] 'southern principalities,' the first syllable being a Chinese and the second a Shan word. Their western limit was the Hindoo Kingdom of Magadha, with which they had very close connections. Indeed, some members of their ruling families were supposed to be the descendants of Hindoo kings. Their southern limit was the kingdom of the Pyu or Burmese, who had now become rivals if not conquerors of the Peguans. The Chinese histories speak of the Pyu, whom the Burmese describe as being one of three kindred tribes emanating together from the Tibetan region, as the P'iao, and give such an exact account of them that we are left no excuse for doubting their statement that the Pyu were the progenitors of the modern Burmese. The appearance and language of the Burmese justifies us in believing that they are a kindred race with the Kachins and Tibetans. Their own traditions and history assert very persistently that their dynastic ancestors came from India. It is not only probable, but it is in the nature of things almost certain that their first organizer and rulers were Kshatriya princes. As we know from Chinese history that Hindoo adventurers coming over the seas founded States everywhere south of Burma, and as we know from the same sources that they brought considerable influence to bear by the land route in the Thai empire north of Burma, there is no ground whatever for refusing to accept the Burmese traditions. The French and Franks were originally a German race as the Prussians were Slavonians; Rurik of the Russ tribe was a Norman. Yet the Franks welded into one the Celtic, Greek, and Saracen elements of Gaul, whilst the German knights teutonised the Prussians, and the Russian Normans were absorbed by the Slaves of Moscovy; so that there is nothing unprecedented or extraordinary in the Burmese confusing their own origin with that of their first civilizers.

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Up to the establishment of the Burmese 'common era' in A.D. 639, we know absolutely nothing of what went on in those parts, except that the ruling castes were continually engaged in religious strife, Brahmanism and Buddhism contending for mastery with 'the false Arts' of indigenous growth. Towards the end of the eighth century the king of the Thais, whose capital was the modern Ta-li Fu in Yünnan, annexed a number of contiguous States, including that of the Pyu. In those times conquest affected but little the daily life of the people: even if the Shan king did assert his prëeminence over the kingdom of the Pyu,

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it was probably only over the northern part of it. There are still places on the Yünnan frontier which bear the tribal name of Pyu or P'iao, and we are positively told in the histories of Nanchao and of China that the Shan kings forced large bodies of Pyu to migrate into Yünnan, and populated several new cities with them. At this time the Tibetans had also become a really strong power, and for some time there was fought a sort of triangular duel between China, Tibet, and Nanchao, in many instances China coming off distinctly the worst. The Nanchao at last found it to their interest to recognize the sovereignty of China, and the king of the Pyu, hearing of this, also sent a mission. The envoys of Java then in China gave the Chinese an account of the Pyu, and indeed some passages in Chinese history distinctly say that 'Java is another name for Pyu.' Doubtless the mistake arose through the civilisations being largely identical, both being Hindoo.

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The state of the Pyu, as described to the Chinese by the Pyu themselves or by the Javanese, was at this time very extensive and highly civilised. There were eighteen States recognising the king's supremacy, nine walled cities, and 298 districts. The names given are so mangled in their Chinese dress that it is impossible to identify by modern comparisons any with certainty; but Aracan seems to be one. The Hindoo origin of the court is evident from the fact that the king was styled Marajah, and we are told that the coins used were called *denga*, which is still the Burmese for 'money.' Several other words given have a distinctly modern Burmese ring about them, even in their antique Chinese garb of a thousand years back. The following remarkable description—only a part of the whole—may be applied word for word to the Burmese of our days:—'When the king goes out for long distances, he rides an elephant. He has several hundred female attendants. The wall of his city has pagodas at the corners. The people dislike taking life, and are strict Buddhists. They know how to make astronomical calculations. They have a hundred monasteries, gaily painted and adorned, embellished with gold, &c. The males cut their hair at seven years of age, and enter a monastery; if at the age of twenty they have not seized the principles of Buddhism, they revert to a lay position. For clothes they use a sort of *sarang*. In the king's palace there is a huge image of a white elephant. The land is adapted to pulse, rice, and the various kinds of millet; but there is no hemp or wheat: sugar-cane grows as thick as a man's shin. They have no grease or oil, and use wax or various fragrant substances for lighting purposes. In trading with neighbouring States, they use cotton as a means of exchange. The women twist their hair high up on the crown of the head, and ornament it with strings of pearls; they wear a kind of petticoat, and throw delicate pieces of silk over their shoulders. Near the chief city is a barren waste which extends to the Brahman country: it is again twenty days thence to Central India. Nanchao used to exercise a suzerainty over the P'iao, on account of its contiguity and its superior military power. In the year A.D. 832 the Nanchao monarch carried off 3,000 P'iao, and colonised his newly acquired eastern dominions with them.'

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Up to this time there is no trace whatever of the modern word Burma. We are told by the Burmese in their own histories that one of the leading tribes was called Pyu, and the Chinese and Shans called them nothing but P'iao. To this day the Karenęs call the modern Burmese Pyaw. There is no ground therefore for supposing that the Pyu applied any other name to themselves. The modern Burmese call themselves Myamma, colloquially pronounced Bamma, and etymologically written Mramma. All sorts of explanations are given why this is so, but none of them are satisfactory. The Burmese affect to derive the word from Brahma,

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thus suggesting a reference to their alleged Hindoo origin: but their own origin was not Hindoo, and Buddhism, if defeated by Brahmanism in India, certainly drove it out of Burma. Moreover, the modern Burmese call a Brahman a *pounna*, and so if they had even wished to keep the idea of Brahman in their mind's eye, they would scarcely have gone out of their way to coin a new word and thus defeat their object. Lastly, the Aracanese, who are considered to be the elder branch—the Kanran tribe—of the original Burmese Kin, do not call themselves Mârama (their form of Myamma) at all. We are told by the Chinese that the Pyu were great musicians, and that all their musical plays were in the *vam* or *brahm* language, which in Chinese means Sanskrit or Pali. The Chinese have a great deal to say of the Brahmans and their country, but they never drop the slightest hint that Brahmans and Pyu were in any way mixed up, though the Pyu may have been confused with the Javanese. As modern Burmese writing may be described as Pali writing, there is nothing at all strange in the fact that their plays were in Pali a thousand years ago, for the only literature known in Burma up to a comparatively recent date was pure Pali: the modern Burmese alphabet is a modification of Pali, and books in Burmese vernacular do not date far back.

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The History of Nanchao, a very rare Chinese book, written 350 years ago, says that in the year A.D. 858 or thereabouts the king of the Pyu appealed to the Shan monarch of Nanchao for assistance in consequence of the king of Ceylon having sent armies against him. This event is, I believe, not mentioned in any available history of Burma; but it seems not at all an unlikely one, as Ceylon armies overran both Burma and Cambodia in A.D. 1153. The general (of Chinese descent) sent to assist the Burmese bore the family name of Twan, and indirectly this campaign seems to have brought about the breaking up of the Thai empire in China. The Thai king died in A.D. 859, and during the absence or perhaps the minority of his successor, who was only 16 years of age, a person was appointed as regent who had murdered a previous king in A.D. 816. The victorious general heard of these events for the first time at the frontier town now called Momein, whence he wrote to the regent to congratulate him, stating that he was bringing with him a golden image of Buddha which the Burmese had given him in acknowledgement of his services against the Cingalese, and that it would be for the further glory of the Nanchao state if the regent were to welcome this image upon his knees. Whilst the unsuspecting regent was doing this, the general cut off his head, and then proceeded to melt down the golden image. This impiety so shocked a Burmese who had accompanied the image that he was heard to breathe a prayer for the downfall of the Thai dynasty. As a matter of fact, fifty years later the whole of the royal family were massacred by a native official who, as was often the case in the Thai court, was apparently a Chinese. Thus came to an end the powerful empire of Nanchao which had existed under thirteen monarchs for two centuries and a half, the last three dubbing themselves 'emperor.' After an internecine war of forty years, the Chinese part of the old Thai empire was reorganized by the Twan family into the independent kingdom of Ta-li. The founder of the Chinese Sung dynasty declined to have anything to do with territory beyond the Ta-tu river in modern Sz-ch'wan, and thus the Twan family had it all their own way.

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It is necessary thus to touch upon the State of China and the kingdom of Ta-li in order to refute the accounts of certain alleged events recorded in native Burmese history. China having now become absolutely and utterly isolated from Burma through the interposition of the Ta-li kingdom, for a considerable time there is no mention of

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Burma in Chinese records. In fact we are told in the History of Nanchao—a purely local history not recognized as orthodox Chinese literature, and therefore all the more valuable—that it was only in the year A.D. 1063 that China heard of the existence of the Twan empire: this was owing to the rulers of that State having spontaneously performed a neighbourly service for China. This led to a complimentary tribute mission being sent to China in A.D. 1076. Meanwhile Burma had become a notable kingdom under Anawrat'â, who was consecrated king in A.D. 1010, and who seems to have definitely subdued the Peguans. There is no real history of Burma previous to this date, as Colonel Yule, whose judgment is always sound, remarks:—'One cannot but have some suspicion that the desire to carry back to a remoter epoch the existence of the empire as a great monarchy has led to the representation of what was really the history of various petty principalities, attaining probably an alternate preponderance of dominion, as the history of one dynasty of monarchs in various successive seats.' Anawrat'â is stated by the Burmese historians to have marched into Gandalarît in order to secure the holy tooth preserved in China. He is supposed to have had a friendly meeting with the Chinese emperor, and to have compromised by accepting a golden image sanctified by contact with the tooth instead of the tooth itself.

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Falsehood in history dies very hard, and this nonsensical statement will continue to crop up in every future history of Burma unless it is utterly demolished by irrefragable evidence. Gandalarît is the Pali name by which the Burmese meant Yünnan; but there is no mistaking their extended meaning here, for they distinctly say that their king had an interview with the Chinese emperor. Apart from the fact that the Sung dynasty, as above narrated, officially declined to have any concern with territory beyond the Ta-tu River, we are distinctly told that the very existence of the Ta-li kingdom of the Twans was only incidentally brought to the Chinese notice in A.D. 1063. Colonel Phayre suggests that the independent state of Nanchao must be meant by Gandalarît, and not China. But, as we have seen, the Nanchao empire had already ceased to exist for over a hundred years before Anawrat'â's time. There is not the faintest indication in either Chinese or Nanchao history of such an event having ever occurred, although the Ta-li kingdom is admitted to have been deeply Buddhist, and although many of its kings are stated to have abdicated and become bonzes. The whole story is probably a Burmese invention from beginning to end, and Burmese testimony alone cannot be trusted in any case.

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In A.D. 1103 the After Li State of the Twan family, which had taken this new name on account of a revolution and restoration, sent a mission to China to beg for books, and in 1107 the Burmese presented a white elephant to China. The Chinese say that the people who were once called P'iao began to be known as Mien about this time. The king reigning at Pagan in 1107 was Alaungsîthu, grandson of Anawrat'â, and it is as king of Pagan that the Chinese speak of him. The celebrated writer Ma Twan-lin, in alluding to this event, says that a discussion took place at the Chinese court as to what degree of honour should be extended to the king of Pagan in forwarding a reply. It had first been proposed to place him on a level with the Hindoo king of the Chulias on the Madras coast, but at last it was decided that, being the king of a powerful State, he should not be treated as a mere vassal, but should be honoured in the same degree as the Caliphs of Bagdad and the Kings of Annam. Thus we see that Chinese history, which is always fair and exact, here sufficiently coïncides with Burmese history. As to the name Mien, this is probably merely the tribal

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name of the clan then in the ascendant, for we find that the Kachins, who are of the same stock with the Burmese, and about this time began to work their way down from the sources of the Irrawaddy and to take possession of parts of the disintegrated Shan empire, to this day call the Burmese Mien and nothing else. The Burmese syllable Mram or Myam is therefore probably the simple native syllable Mien by which they were known to their neighbours and to themselves after the Pyu tribe had lost the upper hand. It is absurd to suppose that a race of errant savages like the Kachins would universally begin to call the Burmese by a new name simply because the Burmese, who are not known to have had any early relations with them, had taken a vain fancy to connect themselves with Hindoo Brahmans. In the year A.D. 1115 the Burmese sent to China presents of golden flowers, rhinoceros, and elephants. From various remarks scattered about Chinese works, it would seem that there were two rival Burmese States at this time, the northern-most of which still bore the name of P'iao. There are also indications that about now Pagan, Pegu, and Cambodia were all under one monarch, if indeed the supposed Burman monarch was not himself a Cambodian. Crawfurd informs us that the king of Cambodia and Arramana (i.e. Pegu) was vanquished in A.D. 1153 by the armies of Ceylon.

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The Burmese and Japanese are not the only people who have manufactured a fictitious history for themselves. We have seen that exactly when the Thais of Yünnan were just beginning to form an extensive empire, the king of the Pyu was intelligent enough to establish a new era. This was in A.D. 639. Now this is exactly the date when the mythical Siamese hero Phra Ruang is supposed to have thrown off the Cambodian yoke and also to have established a civil era. This of course is ridiculous, as the Thai empire did not break up for three hundred years more, and according to Pallegoix, that branch of them now known to the Burmese as the Sciam Yodaya, or Shans of Ayuthia, did not effectively found their kingdom until A.D. 1350. But the tradition is none the less significant, increasing as it does the probability that Burma and Cambodia were at one time under the same government, and that both countries, Siam and Burma, once regarded the most powerful Cambodian rulers, of Hindoo stock, as being their own ancestors. After the collapse of the Nanchao power, that part of the Thai nation which was outside of or did not remain in Yünnan and allow itself to become assimilated with the Chinese, migrated southwards, following the basins of the Irrawaddy, the Meinam, and the Mekong. The great Shan kingdom of Pong, afterwards split up into various principalities, which still remain more or less subject to China or Burma, represented the Irrawaddy branch which extended its influence as far west as Manipur. The Mekong Shans formed the Laos kingdoms of to-day, the political names of which have undergone periodical change: one branch of these latter founded the city of Ayuthia, and gradually established that Shan kingdom which we call Siam.

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China now fell once more a prey to the Tartars; first the Tungusic Tartars and then the Mongols. Nothing more is heard of Burma until Kublai appears upon the scene. In the autumn of the year 1251 Mangu Khan ordered his brother Kublai to undertake the conquest of Ta-li, which is probably the Yaci of Marco Polo as transmitted by careless copyists. Uriangkadai, as Colonel Thayre calls him, (described in the Nanchao Annals as Wuh-liang-hoh-t'ai), was appointed general-in-chief in the field, and the route taken was over the unpopulated mountains of Tibet, or rather that region now included in the western part of modern Sz-ch'wan. After a month's journey, the army divided into three columns,

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Kublai's column crossing the Ta-tu River. The three envoys sent on to demand the surrender of Ta-li were all murdered. The ruler of Ta-li endeavoured to defend the line of the Upper Yang-tsz River, but Kublai succeeded in passing his column over upon inflated bullock hides, and in the early part of 1252 appeared before Ta-li. Kublai returned north in 1253, leaving Uriangkadai in sole charge. Mangu Khan was very generous to the fallen ruler of Ta-li, upon whom he conferred the title of *Mo-ho-lo-ts'o*, in which it is not difficult to trace the word Maharaja, further proof of the continued prevalence of the old Indian ideas in those parts. The Maharaja was left in charge of his own country, and one of his ministers unconnected with the murders was appointed Comforter to assist him. This appears to be the origin of the terms Comforter, Pacificator, Conciliator, &c., which the Shan princes under Chinese influence carry to this day. Meanwhile Kublai had succeeded to the Mongol inheritance, and in 1261 he thought it better to discontinue the royal title granted to Ta-li and to make the Twan family imperial governors of the old Nanchao dominions. When Colonel Phayre says, therefore, in his History of Burma that 'Uriangkadai compelled the recognition by Burma of Mongol power in 1256' he is mistaken; the facts are strictly as stated above. Burma had not yet come into notice.

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However the Mongol thirst for dominion was insatiable, and Burma's turn was to come in due course. Kublai's fifth son Hugachi, who was now in charge as Prince of Yünnan (1267), was ordered off to assist the king of Annam against his enemies of Ciampa and Cambodia. In 1271 this Prince was murdered by some local personage, and apparently it was in connection with this that the Mongols proceeded to conquer the provinces of Golden Teeth and P'iao Tien. The province of Golden Teeth, the capital of which, shortly after the Mongols took it, was moved to Yung-ch'ang, is the Kardandan or Zardandan of Marco Polo. P'iao-tien means in Chinese the 'palatinate of the Pyu,' and then included the modern high road from Momein in China to Bhamo in Burma. Thus the Mongols were brought into immediate contact with the Burmese. The local Comforter after the above conquests sent a message on to Burma to demand tribute, but there is nothing whatever said in the Mongol, Chinese, or Nanchao annals about this demand having been based upon the alleged precedent of Anawrat'à who the Burmese say, once sent gold and silver vessels to China as tribute. But we have seen that the Burmese did send tribute in 1115. The Mongol messenger returned with a Burmese envoy in his charge, evidently intended as a spy. Nothing came of these negotiations, so in 1273 Kublai himself wrote to Burma, reminding the king that his return envoy had been up to Cambalu (Peking), and had been permitted to inspect the Buddhist relics, and also requesting that some persons of royal blood should go up and perform the usual tributary ceremonies. War was threatened in case of refusal. This allusion to relics suggests that the Burmese must have seriously believed all the foolish statements in their own records about Anawrat'à. In 1275 the Mongol governor reported that one of the Golden Teeth chiefs had been punished by the Burmese for shewing the Mongol envoy of 1271 the road to Burma. In 1276 the Burmese declared war, and in 1277 threatened Yung-ch'ang. The Turk or Tartar Nas'reddin, son of the Yünnan High Commissioner Saitenchi, was ordered to march upon the Burmese capital. Whilst Nas'reddin was getting ready, Khudu, the Mongol chiliarch of Tali, assisted by the hereditary representative of the old Twan dynasty, utterly defeated with a very small force an enormous Burmese army at a spot on the Taping River somewhere between the Manwairg and Momein of modern maps. Nas'reddin got as far as the Bur-

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mese town on the Irrawaddy now known as Htigyaing, but had to return *re infectâ* on account of the excessive heat. This account, which is purely Chinese, sufficiently agrees with that of Marco Polo. Marco says :—'In the year of our Lord 1272, the great Khan sent a mighty captain named Nescardin to defend the province of Caraian. The king of Mien assembled 60,000 horse and foot with 2,000 elephants, and came to the city of Vociam, and took post in a plain at the distance of three days journey.' Marco then describes the battle in detail, and adds :—Afterwards 'that monarch conquered the lands of Mien, and added them to his dominion.' The Chinese details of the fight agree so precisely with Marco's that we are enabled to say with certainty that he is confusing the battle fought in hasty emergency by the chiliarch Khudu on the Taping River with the unsuccessful movements later on in the same year, of the chiliarch's emperor Nas'reddin ; but in those days, as now, the doughty deeds of military subordinates no doubt often went to the credit of the chief.

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It will be noticed that Nas'reddin was, according to Marco Polo, defending the province of Caraian. This can easily be proved to mean Yünnan, for Marco devotes a special chapter to Caraian, and tells us that 'the king is a son of the Khan's, named Essetemur.' In 1280, according to the Nanchao Annals, Ye-sien T'ie-mu-rh, son of Hugachi, (and therefore grandson of Kublai) was appointed Prince of Yünnan ; so that Marco Polo is sufficiently near the mark. Marco Polo mentions the 'very good horses' of Caraian, and if reference be made to my paper on Early Laos published in the *China Review*, it will be seen that the Yüeh-shen (i.e. Momein) colts were very celebrated a thousand years ago, and that there was a special Shan minister in charge of the horses of the Nanchao State. Marco mentions Saracens in Caraian, and it will be also seen in my paper above referred to that the soldiers of the Abbassides and also of the Nigurs found their way into Yünnan. The 'money formed of porcelain such as is found in the sea' described by Marco Polo, was, according to the Annals of Yung-ch'ang, in use until quite recently. Cowries are meant, and both cowries and real porcelain or mug coins are still used by the Laos. The 'pits whence they draw vast quantities of salt, from which the king derives a great revenue' are described in my same paper on the Early Laos as the 'Lan-kien wells.' The 'lake extending a hundred miles' is the K'un-ming Lake of Yünnan Fu. The evidence, in short, is overwhelming, and the suggestion of those who would identify Caraian with Tibet may be confidently dismissed. The Chinese have always described the Burmese, Shans, and kindred tribes as Hêh-man or 'Black barbarians :' what *djang* or *jang* means in Turkish I cannot say, but *kara-jang* is evidently a translation of the Chinese term, as *kara* notoriously means 'black.' Marco Polo sometimes calls it *karazan*.

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In 1283 another expedition was sent against Burma. One column marched overland by way of the semi-independent Shan State now known as Lung-ch'wan, and the other took the Manwang-Bhamo route above mentioned, descending the Irrawaddy in boats. The two cities of Htigyaing and Tagaung were taken. When I visited Htigyaing in 1888, I found the traditions of a Chinese camp on the heights there were quite fresh. In fact same parts of the camp still remain. Tagaung is practically the same place as Old Pagan, a little further down than Htigyaing. There are statements in several Chinese works which would lead us to believe that the Mongol hosts found their way as far south as New Pagan, the then capital of Burma, which lies as much to the southward of Ava, Amarapura, and Mandalay as Old Pagan does to the northward : there are even traditions of the Mongols having advanced as far as or fur-

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ther than Prome. But this is out of the question: the Mongols had only 200 boats, and were not a boating people; the climate for them was deadly; and in no other case is there a single authenticated instance of any Chinese or Tartar force having ever passed or even taken Ava. It is not very clear what went on between 1277 and 1283, but we are distinctly told in the Nanchao Annals that in 1280 the Burmese inflicted a defeat upon Khudu Timur, and that consequently another expedition was placed under the supreme control of Yesien Timur. The result of it all was that in 1285 Mongol Comforters of Panya and other Burmese provinces were created at the city of Pagan, which probably means that Mongol commissioners, accompanied by a limited suite, found their prestige great enough to venture that far. But we must reject the allegation that the Mongol-Chinese army ever appeared there in force.

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The dynasty founded by Anawrat'â had been undermined by Shan adventures some time before the Mongols appeared upon the scene. At or about the same date a Shan soldier of fortune named Mâgada founded a new Pegnan kingdom with capital at Martaban. The last of the Anawrat'â dynasty was still reigning at Pagan as a puppet in the hands of the Shan administrators, and this king, Kyoaswâ, having been deposed and murdered, in A.D. 1300, a Mongol army once more entered Burma to demand explanations. The Shan or Thai race was now supreme everywhere in Burma except in Taungu. Meanwhile the Mongols were driven from China and replaced by the native dynasty of Ming. The Ming dynasty was in a chronic state of war with the semi-independent Shan States, such as Pong, which separated China from Burma: sometimes these States sided with China, sometimes with Burma, and the result was that China herself was often brought into collision with Burma.

The capital of Burma was transferred to Ava in 1367, the founder, Thadomengbya, being a grandson by marriage of one of the Shan usurpers in Mongol times. Nearly all the States in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, including Mien-chung (as Burma was then called) and Korat (apparently the northern part of Siam) acknowledged Chinese supremacy, and accepted the vassal title of (Chinese) Comforter. In 1403 we are distinctly informed that there were two separate Burmese Comforters, each sending tribute. It was in 1427 that for the first time the modern Chinese name of Mientien began to be used in the sense of Burma. We have seen how frankly the Chinese recognized the greatness of Burma in the 12th century: we may equally accept the Chinese conclusion that Burma was a mere petty principality in the 15th century. Such as she was, she had to fight for existence with Aracan, Pegu, Manipur, Siam, and Zimmé, as well as with the frontier Shan States in the extreme north, and with China. As Colonel Phayre says:—'During this period the kingdom of Burma was involved in constant struggles with the Shan States in the north, and dwindled in territory and power until it equalled only one of the inferior of those States.' The original Shan usurpers no doubt became gradually Burmanised, but in 1526 another northern Shan obtained possession of the Burmese throne, and most of the Burmese nobility fled to Prome and Taungu rather than submit to Shan domination and tyranny.

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The result of the Burmese flight to Taungu, a city and State founded by one of the Anawrat'â family in A.D. 1190, was the foundation of the new empire of Pegu. The Burmese call the founder of this dynasty Tabeng Shwe-t'i, whilst the Chinese call him Mang Shwei-t'i. He began by assimilating the State of Korat, and in 1548 led an army up to the walls of Ayuthia. The Siamese, Chinese, and Burmese Annals all agree about this. Naturally Chinese

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history makes no detailed mention of his conquests in Pegu, Martaban, Prome, Aracan, and Siam; but the general statement that 'all the barbarians round about were in awe of him' shews that the Chinese had their eye upon him: he received considerable assistance in his conquests from adventurous Portuguese gunners. He reconquered in 1562 the present Chinese Shan States, which had been lost to Burma during the Mongol war of 1300; but the Chinese soon recovered the majority of them: four, however, usually known as Mohryin, Bhamo, Momeit, and Theinni, are distinctly admitted by the Chinese to have remained in Burmese hands ever since 1562. In the year 1573 either Tabeng Shwe-t'i or more probably his successor Bureng Naung sent a letter to China styling himself 'Lord of the Golden Throne and White Elephant,' and couched generally in terms of equality. European travellers who visited the Pegu court during the 16th century style the Emperors the 'Bramas of Taungu,' so that this probably is the true origin both of the European word Burma and of the tradition that the quite separate native Burmese word Mramma or Bamma is derived from the idea of Brahman.

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In consequence of the threatening attitude of the Peguan conquerors, the Chinese in A.D. 1594 pushed forward their frontier, and established a line of fortified gates, which still, with the exception of two which fell into the Burmese hands in 1769, form, with insignificant modifications and reservations, the true frontier between British and Chinese possessions. The Taungu line of Peguan Emperors was replaced about the year A.D. 1600 by the Taungu line of Burmese kings, reigning once more at Ava. Burma was now constantly at war with Siam and the Talaings or Peguans, and found it convenient to send tribute to China. After the year 1628, however, no tribute was sent until A.D. 1790. The Manchu Tartars were now engaged in the conquest of China, and Prince Kwei, (usually known by his reign-style of Yung-lih), the last scion of the Chinese Ming dynasty, took refuge in Burma. As soon as the Manchus were firmly established, the celebrated general Wu Sankwei, who had been rewarded with the satrapy of Yünnan for his military services to the Tartars, obtained the permission of the Peking government to march upon Ava, under the walls of which city he dictated his terms. The Ming prince was surrendered and carried off to Yünnan, where he shortly afterwards perished.

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From this time to A.D. 1750 the very name of Burma seems to have been almost forgotten in China. The energy of the Burmese monarchs gradually declined, and the Burmans were driven out of Zimmé. Under the last king of the Taungu dynasty an insurrection broke out in Pegu; a Shan monk was elected king, and the usual wearisome wars with Siam and the other Shan States went on intermittently. Several competing kings of Burma seem to have sent tribute to China at this time, the idea of each one evidently being to enlist her sympathy in his favour. The Peguans once more became the dominant power in Burma, but this only lasted for a short time; for in 1752 the celebrated conqueror Alompra of Mozzobò completely overturned the Peguan power. In a letter which he wrote to China in 1754, announcing his accession to power, he is said by the Chinese to have connected himself by descent with the king who sent musicians to the Chinese court in A.D. 120, and it is certainly remarkable that in the first century, the ninth century, and the eighteenth century the Chinese records should have consistently given the clan name of Yung or Aung to the Burmese kings with whom they were brought into contact. A tribe of Shans called the Guè Shans refused to recognise Alompra's supremacy, the result being that the Chinese frontier was disturbed by faction fights. The Chinese viceroys hesitated and blundered, and a serious war with China soon broke

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out. The Chinese took Bhamo as a first step, but were only able to hold it for a few days. The Manchu general Ming-jwei marched *viâ* Lashio, Theinni, Thibaw, and Thongé to within two day's journey of Ava, but, finding himself unsupported and short of supplies, he retreated by way of Taung-baing to Wan-ting, and perished almost within sight of the Chinese frontier.

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This was a lamentable defeat for the Chinese, and the Emperor felt that he could not honourably let things stand thus; so, in 1769, the Manchu duke Fuhêng, who, like Mingjwei, had greatly distinguished himself in the Turkestan campaigns, was clothed with dictatorial powers over all viceroys, governors, and generals concerned, and ordered to Yünnan. Starting from Momein, he marched north-west, and crossed the Irrawaddy at Waing-maw: his original idea was to march upon Mozzobò and Ava by the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and gain over the warlike Shans of Mogaung and Mohnyin, upon whom the Burmese had previously always depended to protect their northern frontier. In a way, his march was a success, but it was from a strategical point of view none the less a useless promenade, and he found it would be impossible to cross the numerous rivers and creeks which run into the Irrawaddy, and thus to reach Mozzobò. He therefore fetched a curve eastwards, and brought up at Bhamo, joining his forces to those of his lieutenant Akwei, who had marched thither comfortably by way of Manwaing, and then Bhamo was second time taken by storm. The united armies at once pushed on to Kaungtôn, against which stronghold the Manchu-Chinese naval and land forces dashed themselves repeatedly in vain. Meanwhile the hot season was setting in apace; officers and soldiers were dropping off like flies from sickness, and the Emperor began to fear that he was going to lose another army. He therefore put the best face on it he could, ordered the dictator to concoct a letter to the king announcing that he was satisfied with the victories already gained, and had decided to spare the Burmese the utter annihilation they deserved, but at the same time confidentially instructed Fuhêng to withdraw the armies at once.

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But the king of Burma was also beginning to shew the white feather. Just as the Chinese were about to withdraw, he sent proposals for peace. The Manchu dictator was suffering from dysentery at the time, and his subordinate generals were so eager to get away that they omitted to take due advantage of the unexpected turn affairs had taken. Several informal parleys were held; the Burmese noticed the Chinese anxiety to be off; and the result was that both parties tried a game of alternate bluff and evasion. The Burmese verbally promised a decennial mission, provided the Chinese would withdraw at once and surrender the Shan chiefs who had gone over to them. The Emperor laid chief stress upon the release of all Manchu and Chinese prisoners of rank. As months went by, and no prisoners or mission came, the Emperor ordered a reminder to be sent, but this reminder crossed a second Burmese demand for the surrender of the traitors, a demand which apparently had never been reported to the Emperor: consequently the Emperor found himself in a false position, and it appeared as though he was only trying to evade his duty to Burma by inventing new demands. The result was renewed anger and suspicion on both sides. The only pressure that could be brought upon Burma was to stop the Bhamo trade, and especially the import into China of Burmese cotton. Thus things went on for twenty years, each party endeavouring to damage the other without incurring the risk and expense of a new campaign.

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Meanwhile there had been two successions to the Burmese throne, and king Bodoaprâ, an ex-monk, evidently weary of this spiteful and profitless contest, in 1788 spontaneous-

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ly sent back one or two of the Chinese prisoners: he also sent with them a tribute mission, which was very well received at Jêhol, on the Tartar steppes, where the Emperor was staying for the summer. The Emperor was now approaching his 80th year and was also growing more charitably disposed to mankind in general: in fact, he had already ten years ago on the occasion of his 70th birthday made the first conciliatory move by sending back a number of Burmese prisoners held in captivity at Peking. He therefore eagerly approved the Yünnan viceroy's proposal now made that, as Bodoaprâ had now released the last of the prisoners, rich rewards should be promised to the king if he would send a congratulatory mission on the occasion of the Emperor's 80th birthday in 1790. Meanwhile, as a reward for his submissiveness, the remainder of the Burmese prisoners were returned. Bodoaprâ took the hint, and duly sent his mission, receiving from China a seal of investiture as King of Burma. In 1791 the Emperor also sent him some presents in acknowledgment of his zeal in forwarding certain Chinese prisoners recaptured from the Siamese. The Shan chieftains of Bhamo and Theinni were also given Manchu seals, but at the same time it was distinctly conceded by the Emperor that those two principalities belonged to Burma. In the year 1795 the Burmese sent a mission to congratulate the Emperor on the 60th anniversary of his reign, and Lord Macartney's mission arrived at the same time. There were several other Burmese missions between this and the one of 1843. The Taiping rebellion prevented the despatch of a contemplated mission in 1856. The last was in 1874.

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We have seen that the Burma of the Pyu was at first under the tutelage of India, subject to the fitful suzerainty of the Shans of Nanchao. After a brief period of national glory under Anawrat'â and his grandson Alaungsithu, the Burma of the Mien fell under the tutelage of China, subject, again, to the occasional domination of the Shans. A second spurt of national energy took place under the 'Brama kings of Pegu,' though Tabeng Shwe-t'i was scarcely a strict Burman. Then followed a depopulating struggle for preëminence between the Peguan and Burmese nations, ending in the total absorption of the former by the latter, language included. This contest was diversified by desultory wars with Aracan, Manipur and nearly all the Shan kingdoms including Siam. A third national spurt was made by the Alompra family; Chinese influence was cast off, and British tutelage took its turn. Alompra ceded Negrais to us in 1757, and his eldest son and successor added some land at Bassein. The second son was the king who defeated China, but apparently he had no political relations with the British. Then followed a few years of anarchy and murder, until the accession of Alompra's fifth son Bodoaprâ: this monarch removed his capital a few miles from Ava to Amarapura. The Viceroy of India sent three missions to this king during whose reign the Burmese occupied Assam and Manipur, and got to quarrelling with the Indian government in various ways. His grandson invaded Cachar, and Burma was at the acme of her power when she had her first collision with us in 1824. Rangoon was taken, and Tenasserim, Manipur, Assam, and Cachar were all ceded to Great Britain. Bagyidaw's brother and successor Tharawaddy affected to ignore the treaty of Yandabu, and treated our successive envoys very unworthily. Under the reign of his son Pagan Min, Burmese insolences culminated in the second British war. Rangoon was again taken, this time for good, and Pegu was 'transferred' to the British crown by notification. The next king, Mendoon, was the best ruler the Burmese ever had: of course he was very sore about the loss of Pegu, and unremitting in his endeavours to get it back. The history of Colonel Phayre's mission to him is admirably related in Colonel (then Captain) Yule's

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magnificent work on Burma. Mendoon removed his capital to Mandalay, which is within sight of Amarapura. In 1862 and 1867 commercial treaties were negotiated with India, and in 1868 the king facilitated Colonel Sladen's expedition to Momein, a town then in the occupation of the Panthays or Mussulman rebels. Mendoon's last mission to China in 1874 is fully described in the *North China Herald* for May 1875. The unhappy Thibaw succeeded to the throne in 1878.

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It is a matter of notoriety that the British march upon Upper Burma was immediately caused by Thibaw's dangerous intrigues with the French. But other causes of disagreement had led to strained feelings for some time. The shoe question was firmly raised by our resident in 1876; neither Mendoon nor Thibaw ever explicitly recognised our right to Pegu; there were difficulties about the Karenni frontier; and the king's trading monopolies began to seriously threaten our commercial interests. In 1881 there arose further trouble about the frontier of Manipur, and the king was always endeavouring to get more arms and ammunition into his kingdom than we thought it prudent to allow; and, lastly, we unfortunately but quite accidentally allowed one of Thibaw's intriguing half brothers to escape from Calcutta, which looked like a menace. In the summer of 1885 Thibaw was ill-advised enough to try and crush the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, in the interests of French speculators, and an ultimatum was accordingly despatched to him in October. The reply was evasive, as had been fully expected; but everything was meanwhile ready, and on the 29th of November Thibaw left his ancestral palace in a bullock-cart, a state prisoner on his way to Madras.

E. H. Parker.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

Giles' Dictionary.—[See *China Review*, Vol. xx, p. 327.]

If I wanted to indulge in a little cheap sarcasm, I might rejoice that, as Mr. Parker rightly points out, '視同管草 or 管草人命 is among the glaring omissions from Mr. Giles' new dictionary.' But 管 is obviously a misprint for 菅; and Mr. Parker is so far right if he means that the proper phrases do not occur under the latter character, No. 1626. It would have been better had they done so,—

Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum!

Mr. Parker has however committed an injustice in not pointing out that his second phrase is actually given on p. 1148, column 3, 8th entry from foot; and that a variety of the same appears on p. 802, column 3, 13th entry from top. Perhaps he did not see these. At any rate, there is the following explicit statement in the *Preface* to my dictionary (p. viii):—'The place of insertion is usually determined by the most important character in a phrase, or by the first character; but reference should be made to one and all of the characters before search is abandoned.' Such additions as 'the use of 飭 in the sense of 飾' and '乘 in the sense of old records' (*ib.* p. 329) are of the utmost value; though the particular phrase 簠簋不飭, as given by Mr. Parker, is perhaps more usually written with 飾, as it stands in the dictionary under No. 3639.

Herbert A. Giles.

NOTES BY MR. E. H. PARKER.

Among the omissions from Mr. Giles Dictionary is 視同菅草 or 菅草人命. A recent note to this effect in the

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China Review misprinted the character 𢜔 as 管.

In Mr. Giles' Dictionary the aspirate has been omitted from the Ningpo form of 鉛, i.e. ʿ*K'aañ*.

In Mr. Giles' Dictionary 犵 is erroneously printed 犴. It will be noted that no Chinese dialect pronunciations are given: this is because I have never found a Chinese of any kind who knew the word to have a colloquial or general sound. There are many such rare character words in the Dictionary, and in my original manuscript each such word had a special mark to shew that the character was *practically* unknown to ordinary literates. By some neglect or accident these marks have not been printed, but students may assume when they see dialect forms that the character is not known. Of course such cases ought not be confused with those common characters where a reference is made to another character for dialect forms; owing to my marks having been omitted, however, the student is left uninformed as to whether the character is in common usage or not—which is regrettable.

The character 獷 is read K'wang^3 in Peking and Middle China. I have no record for any other Chinese dialect except Cantonese; 丨 悍 is the usual combination.

I observe that several dialect forms for 娩 are omitted. This character is quite regular (in the sense of 'bear children'). The mandarin forms are ʿ*mien*, and the Contonese ^{s}*myn*.

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It is easy, in surveying Giles' Dictionary, to indicate many of the books the authors have *not* read; and indeed it would not be difficult to indicate those (not very many beyond the classics) they have read. Amongst those they have not read are the whole gamut of History Books, from the *Han Shu* downwards. Accordingly, we find the commonest historical characters entirely missing,—as of course they are also in Williams. Thus, 噍, which often occurs in the standard sense of 無丨類, 'not a soul left,' in reference to massacres, or literally 'not a muncher left.' This character is not common enough to have decided readings in all dialects, for the histories are not often read by the ordinary student; but it may, according to K'ang-hi, be either in the lower or upper departing tone: that is, it may be equivalent in sound (apart from tone) to either 焦 or 譙; and in fact the Cantonese is *tsiu*^{2} whilst the Hakka is *tsiao*^{3}—I have not the Wênchow, Foochow, or Ningpo forms of my own, nor the Annamese form (for the Annamese Dictionary, like Mr. Giles', is based on Williams), and so I cannot give any other lower series forms. I notice that the Ningpo Dictionary has *tsioa*^{3}, which is very likely. Corean is of no use to indicate upper or lower series, and the Japanese, imitating K'anghi, have both *sho* and *djo*. For all practical purposes it may therefore be marked '譙', and students may consider it as being so pronounced.

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All the tribes on the Burma frontier are known as 黑僊 collectively. Probably Marco Polo's *Caraian* is intended for Karajang, and *kara* is very likely to be the 'Black' in question. But what does *jang* mean? The seat of Golden Teeth Province was originally 2,000 *li* from Yungch'ang, near Kiang-sen, *alias* '800 wife country.' Proving untenable, the Golden Teeth public offices were transferred to Yung-ch'ang, which has thus been falsely supposed to be the original seat of the Golden Teeth government.

The Foochow sound of 撽 has been omitted from Giles' Dictionary. It is *k'it*$_2$.

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The Sui astronomers argued 1,200 years ago:—'If the Heavens are really like a globe, then the going out and coming in of the Heavens must necessarily cause them to travel in the midst of the water.' It is evident they were dissatisfied with Ptolemaic theories.

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It is curious to see Mr. Giles once more quoting Williams on 白氎, which is 'cotton' pure and simple. It sometimes means the 'finer cotton cloths.' The word 吉貝 (often misprinted 古貝) also means 'cotton,' but sometimes 'tree-cotton' too. The 吉貝草 is the 'cotton-plant,' and 吉貝 often means the 'coarser cotton cloths.' All these words occur thousands of times in Chinese history.

The expression 樹素幡降, or 'plant the white flag as sign or surrender,' is as old as the conquest of North Corea by China in A.D. 668.

The common expression 以隣爲墊, 'shunt the difficulty on to your neighbour,' is a very serious omission from Giles' Dictionary, and, by the way, the Cantonese tone is the 中入, and should therefore be marked with a circle, thus $k{\cdot}ok_{\circ}$.

Israel Smith Clare's *Unrivaled History of the World* will never be cited with respect as a literary work, on account of the excruciating Yankeeisms with which it is pervaded, and on account of the general slipshodness of its style. The mere word *Unrivaled* with one *l* (apart from the bad taste of the title itself) is enough to condemn it so far as Englishmen are concerned. Yet no book, not even Gibbon, throws so clear and accurate a light upon the development of various civilizations, and no book is so useful as a connecting link between western and Chinese history. For instance, see the account of the Avars and Turks upon Page 68 of Volume 3. The Avars must have been the Jou-fei or Jwan-jwan of Chinese history, and the Turkish chief Thumen must have been the Chinese 吐門, who cast off the Avar yoke.

Amongst Mr. Clare's most rasping Americanisms are 'we can therefore add *considerable* in this connection,' on Page 447 of Vol. 1; 'Joshua *concluded* to suspend his conquests,' on Page 359, Vol. 1; 'He *concluded* to end the war,' Page 132, Vol. 3. 'Back of' for 'behind' occurs very frequently, and 'did not have' (an expression never used by English authors) on almost every page. The spelling throughout is American; thus, *skillful*, *offense*, *worshiping*, *center*, *traveled*, *favor*; that, however, is pardonable. The printing is perfect, the paper excellent, and the typographical errors, apart from vulgarities, very few. The 'personal defects' of the book do not prevent the undersigned from offering this tribute to Mr. Clare's sagacity and industry.

Mr. Clare's account of the Roman silk trade and Parthia is amply borne out by Chinese history, as also his statement about a fanatical rebel in China murdering all the foreign merchants (i.e. the Arabs). It is clear that Seistan and the Sacae are 沙居, and that the Indo-Scythian rulers of Cabul and the Punjab are the 月支.

Under the character 臧 *tsang* in Giles' Dictionary, the reader is referred to 藏, which is in the lower series, and of totally different initial 'quality.' The reference should be to 臧. It must be noticed carefully that these references are for *sound only*, and not necessarily for tone. This is explained in the Philological Essay. The theoretical tone is marked beneath the column of dialect sounds which are also collateral evidence of what the average practical tone is.

The Corean General Kao Sien-chï, who warred on China's behalf in Tibet &c. a thousand years ago, seems to have visited the Pamir region, for we are told he took 40 days to get across the Ts'ung-ling to the Po-mih valley 播蜜川.

The following extract seems to shew that the Manchu word *chanyin* 韋京 was in use by the Kitans (a kindred tribe) 800

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years ago. 'In the 4th year of T'ien-k'ing (1113), Akuta and his younger brother Chagan Hushe 粘罕胡含 conspired with a number of others as their generals to assemble all the Nüchên tribes, kidnap the *chanyin* 障鷹 officials of the Liao (i.e. Kitans), and attack Ning-kiang Chow,' (near Kirin).

A book called the *Fan-yih Ming-yih* says:—It is said that most men from the Western Regions who come by sea make skin bags with a spout, or carry enormous sheep bladders with them. If the ship is lost, they blow these full of air, and thus keep themselves afloat.

The Astronomical Chapter in the Sui dynasty's history says:—'The whole circuit of the heavens is 365¼ degrees. If divided in the centre, half hangs over the earth, and half encircles the earth below. Hence of the 28 groups of stars, half are visible and half concealed, the heavens revolving like a cart-wheel.' This shews the state of Chinese astronomy in the 6th century.

As we all know, Saghalien Ula stands for 黑龍江, and accordingly we find in the Kin history the statement that 撒合輦 means 'black,' or 'blackish.'

The 程史 says that at Canton [番禺] there were a good many Indo-Chinese [海獠]. The most influential were the 蒲 family, called the 'white barbarians' [白番人], originally nobles from Chan-ch'êng [占城, near modern Tourane]. Having had bad weather in coming to Canton, they were afraid of going back, and begged permission of their king to remain in China as a sort of commercial agency.

With reference to the above, it may be noted here that 蒲 seems to have been a common family name amongst the ruling castes of Hindoo origin settled in the South seas generally.

Mr. E. C. Bowra, on page 319 of Vol. 1 of the *China Review*, ascribes the discovery of printing to the reign of the After T'ang Emperor Ming Tsung (926-933). In a note (also published in the *China Review* in about 1887) I give the the exact words of the history book:—'The T'angs for the first time cut blocks for the Nine Classics, printed, and sold them.' I now find an extract from the 石林燕語 which says:—The tradition that 'the cutting of blocks and printing of books began with 馮道 (the minister of Ming Tsung) is erroneous. What he did was to prepare the 監本 edition of the five classics.'

See also *China Review*, Vol. 2, Page 180, where this man is erroneously called Tung Tao instead of Fung Tao. Dr. Williams, on page 22 of the 6th volume of the *Recorder*, takes a more correct view, and shews that engraving on wood was already practised in the 6th century. Mr. Satow also gives the correct account on page 48 of the Japan Asiatic Society's Journal.

The *Shih Lin Yen-yü* quoted above says the Hangchow books were (then) the best printed, the Sz-ch'wan next and the Fuhkien, both in commonest use and the worst of all.

It will probably be found that most Chinese characters in practical use are colloquial somewhere. For instance, 憶 *yü* is colloquial in Hainan in the sense of 'remember' or 'not remember (forget);' 伊 is in many dialects colloquial for 'he.'

Students will often be puzzled by the character 賧 (generally mis written 賬) in Chinese histories. It would be well for them to insert the true explanation in Giles' Dictionary. It stands for a Shan sound *shieng* or *xieng*, and practically means 'state,' 'town,' 'province,' &c. No Chinese is ever capable of explaining it, however, learned as he may be. A partial explanation may be gathered from M. Deveria's book on the Annam frontier, but the histories of the Laos States explain it quite clearly.

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The *Peh Shï* History says that in A.D. 605 seven million men and women were set to work to clear out a canal joining the Loh-yang River and the Yellow River, and enabling boats to take grain to the royal parks.

The term 朕, used for the imperial 'I' or 'we,' seems to have occurred as early as the Tsin dynasty, for we find one of the Tartar Mujung family of conquerors using it: his ambition was to 'water his horse in the Yangtsze, and flout his colours in Shen-si.'

The 同文館 at Peking, like most things Chinese, has a precedent. This was the complimentary name given to the Corean Envoy's hotel at Ningpo [明州] in the year 1132, the original name having been 寺法惠.

The Javanese word *Kati* or 'catty' appears as early as A.D. 977, when the king of Puh-ni, or Borneo, sent in all 50 家底 of various qualities of camphor to the Emperor, each *Kati* 20 ounces [凡一家底並二十兩].

I notice that, in Giles' Dictionary, *ʂhêng*, the alternative Cantonese form of the character 莖, has been erroneously printed *ʂhöng*. All purchasers of the Dictionary who value precision and accuracy should change this at once, as it is philologically mis-leading, and a monstrosity.

There is one lexicographer mentioned in the *Pêh-shï*, by name 江式, who does not appear to be mentioned in Mr. Watters' essays on the Chinese Language (*China Review*, Vol. IV). He made a dictionary the 古今文字, consisting of 40 卷, based as a rule upon the *Shwoh Wên* of 許愼, with the qualification 上篆下隸 (whatever that may mean).

In the year A.D. 175 the After Han Emperor Ling Ti called upon the learned to revise the Five Classics and have them cut upon stone in the 古文 and 篆隸 forms. The stones were erected at the gate of the College for the information of everybody.

The tail of the comet which is now exercising the minds of astronomers is said to always point away from the sun. The observers of the Sui dynasty, 1,200 years ago remarked:—'The body of a comet possesses no inherent brightness; it derives its brightness from the sun, hence when seen in the evening it points east, and when seen in the morning it points west.' The only question is what do the Chinese mean by 'pointing?' Possibly exactly the reverse of what we mean.

Students should correct the whole (Pekingese) series of *tieh* words in Giles' Dictionary which are there erroneously given in the fourth or sinking tone. It is almost certain that in the Pekingese colloquial there is no such a sound as *tieh*^{2} at all, and if it does ever exist, it is only for the forced purposes of pedantic poetry, just as 白 *pai*^{2} must be pronounced *pê*^{2} when a Pekingese bastard even tone would sound absurd in a strictly constructed poem. All the words in question are pronounced *tieh*^{2}, in the second Pekingese tone, unless they are otherwise specially marked by me. There is a misprint under the character 碟: *tieh*$_2$ is an impossibility in Pekingese: it should be *ʂtieh*. Students of dialects which preserve the ancient entering tone must not be misled by these remarks, which only concern the semi-barbarous and strictly local Peking dialect.

Students may rest satisfied that the mythical accounts of the supposed State of Fusang are all twaddle. All the Chinese learning on the subject is summed up on pp. 62-63 of Vol. x of the *China Review*. The fact that the highest rank of the fabulous nobles is called 對盧 (an old Corean title) makes it probable that the

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fiction-mongers never got further than the peninsula of Corea and the Japanese islands. The story in the *Tu-yang Tsah-pien* about Fusang being 30,000 *li* east of Japan, in a group of islands, where there were 'mysterious natural chess-boards growing in fairy ponds,' is traceable to a foolish bragging Japanese prince, who came to the Chinese court about A.D. 850 and fooled the Chinese Emperor with his conceited stories. A silly or fraudulent envoy certainly came to China from some place in the east who described his kingdom as being Fusang, but it must be remembered that this fictitious country had been described by Hwai-nan-tsz, 800 years earlier. Dr. Bretschneider's remarks in Vol. 3 and Dr. Edkins' in Vol. 15 of the *Recorder* will repay perusal.

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The following extract from the *Yüan Shu* seems to point to a European :—In the 20th year of Chï-yüan (1283), a bonze from the Western Regions said that he was able to interpret portents 能知天象. None of the interpreters were able to understand what he said. The Emperor asked the courtiers around who would be a good man to send, when one T'oh-lieh said :—Aluhunsali is the man. Aluhunsali was thereupon ordered to contest the priest's arguments, and the latter was quite beaten.

——

Perhaps the Szech'wan missionaries may find the following (200 year old) relic :—'An Indian bonze named Dhammachooha 曇摩拙义 was a very good artist. In the Sui Emperor Wên Ti's time he came from India to the 大石寺 monastery in Ch'êng-tu. He saw 12 angels in the air [? the 12 apostles], and painted them all to the life; then he carved the 12 angels' images out of wood below the stone pagoda in the monastery, where they still are.'

The following important extract from the After *Han Shu* seems to have been omitted by Dr. Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient* :—'India communicates with Ta Ts'in to the west, and possesses valuable things from Ta Ts'in, besides fine cloth and good rugs (*t'a-têng*).'

——

The celebrated Chinese Æsculapius Hwat'o seems to have understood surgery for the *Wei Chï* says :—"There was a man sick with a dreadful belly-ache. Hwat'o said :—'Half your stomach is rotten.' He then made him take a draught and lie down. He proceeded to cut open the belly, and expose the stomach, which, sure enough, was half rotten. He then scraped off the rotten flesh, and put a salve on the sore parts, giving him another draught. In 100 days he was cured."

——

The undersigned possesses copies of Sir Thomas Wade's Colloquial course done under his own superintendence by natives of each place into the dialects of Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, Wênchow, and Hakka. In the three first cases the copies are double, consisting of a first copy full of notes and memoranda, and a second or clean and improved version. In the case of the Ningpo copy, it is not complete. As he does not purpose to concern himself further with the study of Chinese dialects, he is willing to present the above severally to any student of each respective dialect who shall make application, and who shall satisfy him that good use will be made of the work. In the event of there being many applications, the undersigned reserves a choosing discretion to himself, and a decision will be given on the 1st of October, 1893.

[*P.S.*—The two Cantonese and the Hakka versions have already been applied for and given away].

E. H. P.

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NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Notes on Economic Botany of China. By Aug. Henry. Shanghai, 1893.

Mr. Aug. Henry is an indefatigable explorer in the vast field of Chinese botany. In the handy little volume, under review, the author brings together a mass of information concerning such drugs, plants, trees, and other articles derived from the vegetable kingdom, as are of commercial value but as yet imperfectly known or of doubtful derivation. Mr. Henry's aim appears to be chiefly to supply Missionaries residing in the interior of China with hints as to what points are principally requiring elucidation and to urge them to co-operate with the author in assisting the Director of Kew Gardens in the solution of botanical problems by furnishing him with specimens necessary for the purpose. There are in this little book numbers of interesting details conveniently grouped together for the guidance of those residing in different parts of China. Mr. Henry's disinterested labours are eminently useful in the interest of both science and commerce, and deserve every support on the part of residents in China.

E. J. E.

Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs a l'empire Chinois. Par Henri Cordier. Supplement, Fasc I. Paris, 1893.

The happy possessors of Cordier's magnificent compilation of bibliographic particulars concerning all known publications bearing on the empire of China, which gained the Stanislas Julien prize in 1880, will be interested in the issue of this series of supplements to the larger work. The first supplement now before us gives not only a complete list of all sinologic works, review articles, essays, notes, maps etc. published since 1880, but also a large number of ancient works on China which previously escaped record. The new matter thus brought together in this supplement is classified under the heads of general works, geography, climate and meteorology, natural history, jurisprudence, history and religion. Mr. H. Cordier stands unrivalled among bibliographers for the exactness, completeness and lucid classification of his work which is a monument of industry.

E. J. E.

Variétés Sinologiques. No. 1. *L' isle de Tsong-ming* à l'embouchure du Yang-tse Kiang. Par le Père Henri Havret, S. J. Chang-hai, 1892.

Variétés Sinologiques. No. 2. *La province du Ngan-hoei.* Avec 2 cartes hors texte. Par le Père Henri Havret, S. J. Chang.

The Jesuit Missionaries of the present day are coming to the front again in the field of sinology and working in the steps of their famous confrères of the palmy days of Kanghi. To the valuable brochures and maps of China lately published by members of the Society of Jesus, Father Havret here adds two important works. In his history of the island of Tsong-ming, one of the

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alluvial deposits of the Yang-tsze estuary, the author gives the most interesting details of the legendary and historical origin of the island, its colonisation, and the formation and development of its Catholic village-communities. These are traced back to the influence of the famous Sü Kwong-k'ai who as a Minister of State (baptized in 1603 A.D.) made the neighbourhood of Shanghai swarm with Christian converts. Many of them were drawn together by Father Brancati on this island of Tsong-ming, which counted 9 churches and over 3000 Christian inhabitants in A.D. 1696 and now, together with the adjoining island of Hai-mên, is peopled by 17,000 Christians. In his geography of the province of Ngan-hwuy, Father Havret has collected, from native works and personal observations, all the most interesting facts bearing on the position, area, population, resources, division, orography, civil and military administration, interior communications, imposts etc. Two excellent maps and numbers of statistical tables enhance the value of this painstaking contribution to the geography of China.

E. J. E.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

A NEW BOOK

BY

J. J. M. DE GROOT.

Professor De Groot has made himself already very well known amongst the sinologues both of China and Europe by his writings concerning Chinese religious life in general and Chinese Buddhism in particular; and after what he has shown of a sound and scientific investigation into the latter subject, it can only be with the highest expectations that we take up a new book from the pen of the learned professor, who is now working out at the University of Leyden all the rich materials, so indefatigably collected by him during his several years' residence in China. And indeed we are not deceived in these expectations in reading his latest production, with which he has interrupted the publishing of his voluminous work on 'the religious system of China,' and which he had already announced some time ago in an article in Vol. XXVI of the Journal of the China Branch R. A. S.

'Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque' (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1893) is the title of this extremely interesting book. By the code of the Mahâyâna-school in China the author understands the Fan wang ching (梵網經), 'the Sûtra of the net of Brahma,' or, as the title in Sanskrit is, the Brahmajâlasûtra. This work is, up to this very day, the principal code of the Buddhist Church in China, that is generally speaking of the Dhyâna-school of the Mahâyâna, which has entirely absorbed all the other branches of that great religious system of northern Buddhism, and which now, a compilation of many heterogeneous elements, deserves hardly the name of a school at all, were it not for its having its first origin in Bodhidharma's doctrine of the Dhyâna, which, in several ramifications, has gradually spread all over the empire. De Groot's book is an edition of this important sûtra and a detailed discussion of its nature and influence in the church. It opens with a preface and introduction, full of interesting remarks about the development of the Buddhist dogma in China, shortly reviewing the different schools, all of which finally grew together into the multiform Dhyâna-school of to-day, and dealing with the origin, history and text of the sûtra. The first part contains the text itself with a literal translation in French and a discussion of the spirit and effect of the different commandments. The second part consists of fourteen smaller essays on the influence of the Mahâyâna-code upon the

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life of the monks and the laic world, which perhaps are best characterised by their different headings: I. The monasteries. II. Prohibiting the doing evil to any living being whatever. III. Duty of saving living beings from death, and of leading them to happiness. IV. Duty of renouncing one's property and of giving it to others. Hospitality. V. Duty of nursing the sick. VI. Preaching of the law. Propaganda. (Printing and propagating the sacred books). VII. Reading the sacred books at deathbeds. VIII. Reading the sûtras during danger, and after any distress. (Prayers for rain, and for fine weather. Expulsion of locusts). IX. Vows for effecting the salvation of one's self and others. X. The oaths. XI. The two periods of the Dhyâna. XII. Practice of penances. (The Uposatha.(1) Means of purification from sins). XIII. Asceticism. (The period of repose). XIV. Receiving the commandments for the Bodhisatvas. An alphabetic index concludes the work, which is dedicated to Professor I. H. C. Kern in Leyden.

As to the history of the Fan wang ching, our author has shown us, that in fact we know less of its origin than we have hitherto imagined. Tradition says, that the sûtra was translated from the Sanskrit by Kumârajîva, the celebrated Indian sage, who came to China during the later Chin-dynasty; and this, it seems, is based upon a statement made in the preface to the Fan wang ching, which is attributed to a priest named Chao (僧肇), a disciple and assistant of the sage himself. According to him, the work, as it now exists, formed only the tenth chapter of a larger Fan wang ching, consisting of 120 parts (卷) and 61 chapters (品), and Kumârajîva selected and translated it *orally* to his audience in Ch'ang-ngan in the third year of Hung-shih i.e. A.D. 401.(2) But now the question arises, as to what has become of the original Sanskrit (or Pâli) text. There is one Brahmajâlasûtra in Pâli, which has been published by Grimblot in Paris and partly translated by Gogerly in Ceylon; and another in the north which, at the time when S. Beal wrote his 'Buddhism in China,' had not been found yet among the Nepalese books, but which, as De Groot mentions, is contained in the huge encyclopaedia of the Kandjur. The first one has been usually considered to be the original version of the Chinese work (e.g. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 287), but, as De Groot tells us, neither this nor the other, though they again are both different among themselves, can possibly be the same work as the Fan wang ching. Beal, it appears, contradicts himself when speaking of the sûtra. On p. 33, op. cit., he says: 'In the Chinese Tripitaka two works bearing the name Brahmajâla have been discovered. The first is a book of late date and purely fictitious: it relates to the conduct of the Bodhisattva, and has nothing in common (except the name) with the southern sûtra as translated by Gogerly. (This is the work we are speaking of). But there is another work in the Tripitaka in China, called "Fan-kong (sic) Luh-shih-'rh-kien," that is "The sixty-two heretical views contained in the Brahmajâla Sûtra," which on examination turns out to be a version of the same text as we have before us in M. Grimblot's book.' And on p. 175 we find the following: 'There is a work, called "Fang-wang-king" in the

(1) Dr. De Groot is mistaken in saying that this term (Chinese pu-sat 布薩) is in Prâkrit posadha and in Sanskrit uposatha. The Sanskrit form of the word is upavasatha, which means a fasting day; uposatha is Pâli, and for this, according to Kuhn, Beitraege zur Pali-Grammatik, p. 35, posatha also occurs (which would answer best to the Chinese form). In Mâhârâshtrî (the chief Prâkrit-dialect) the form is posaha; whether posadha occurs in another dialect, I cannot tell.

(2) This disagrees with a statement in the 'Annals of the sixteen States' (see below), according to which it was only in the 6th year of Hung shih (A.D. 404) that Kumârajîva came to Ch'ang-ngan, and in the following year he made his translations.

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Chinese collection of Buddhist books, which corresponds with a sûtra known in the south called "Brahmajâla."' The second work mentioned by Beal has the number 554 in Bunyiu Nanjio's catalogue, of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka and is there said to have been translated between A.D. 222 and 280, and to be an earlier translation of the 21st chapter of the 長阿含經 (Dîrghâgama sûtra). Now this latter collection we find described under No. 545, and there the subject of the 21st chapter is given by the author, as follows: 'On the Brahmajâla (lit. Brahma-moving).' This shows, how accurate De Groot is in saying: 'Relevons enfin que dans la collection chinoise, dite des "Sûtras des longs Agamas" 長阿含經, le quatorzième chapitre (this disagrees with B.N.'s counting) est formé par un sûtra intitulé "Sûtra des mouvements de Brahma" 梵動經, ce qui en sanscrit pourrait donner Brahmatjâla (câla) sûtra. Néanmoins, et quoique cet écrit mentionne en passant quelques unes des prescriptions principales qui se trouvent aussi dans notre Sûtra du filet de Brahma, *c'est un tout autre ouvrage que ce dernier.* Peut-être les deux écrits ont-ils porté originairement le même titre, et les traducteurs ont-ils confondu djâla (jâla) "filet," avec tjâla (câla) "mouvement."' Though, strictly, the word for 'movement' in Sanskrit is câlana, not câla, yet I think, Prof. De Groot's suggestion much more probable than the translation of Brahmajâla by 'Brahma-moving,' the word jâla never having the meaning of 'movement' in Sanskrit. Mr. Beal's suggestion as to the 梵網六十二見經 seems to be corroborated by De Groot himself, who says elsewhere,(3) 'We have found the Chinese version of Grimblot's Pâli text in the 14th chapter of the 佛說長阿含經 Dirghâgama sûtra, under the title 梵動經 Sûtra of Brahma's Movements, which would in Sanskrit be 'Brahma-jâla-sûtra.' It is curious to see, that, if there is no misprint, the author here makes the same confusion with câla and jâla, with which he afterwards charges the Chinese translators. When Beal declares the Fan wang ching to be 'a book of late date,' this can, of course, be only comparatively speaking, for we are all the less entitled to doubt the authority and bona fides of the preface to the sûtra, as we find the following in the annals of the Ch'in dynasty: 'Hsing (Yao hsing, a prince of the later Ch'in 秦, with the second nien-hao Hung shih, A.D. 399-415) took all the Cramanas to his pleasure-grove, and in the hall of Hsiao hsüan t'ang he listened to Kumârajîva explaining the sûtras of Buddha. The latter, who was well acquainted with the language of Hsia (Chinese), examined the old sûtras and found many errors and discrepancies when compared with the original foreign texts. Hsing and Kumârajîva, with the Cramanas and priests Lio, Chien tao shu, Jui tao t'an, *Chao yün shun* and others, together more than eight hundred people, therefore began to work upon the sacred books. Kumârajîva took the foreign original, while Hsing had the old sûtras in his hands; thus they examined and compared, and wherever the new text was different from the old one, they discussed and deliberated upon the reading. All the Sûtra (and Vinaya) and Abhidharma texts were prepared in this way, altogether more than three hundred volumes. All the new sûtras of to-day were thus translated by Kumârajîva.'(4) The fact, that the

(3) J. Ch. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, p. 114.

(4) Ch'in shu (晉書), chap. 117 fol. 10:

門演暮胡門坦更
沙什言與沙道人
諸羅夏不及叡餘
引摩辯謬什僧百
園鳩通乖羅樹八
遙聽什有與道等
逍堂羅多典遷順
如玄經經應僧曇
典澄佛舊相略擊
于說覽本僧僧僧

Vinaya texts, to which the Fan wang ching belongs, are not expressly mentioned, is easily explained by the other fact, that many, perhaps most of these texts, bear just as well as the Sûtra texts, the name ching in Chinese. We have therefore no reason whatever to disbelieve the statement, that the sûtra was amongst the works thus prepared by Kumârajîva, and that its translation was made in the early beginning of the fifth century. There is also no reason to doubt the fact, that the priest Chao, who is said to be the author of the preface to the sûtra, is the same Chao yün shun, whom the China annals mention as one of the assistants of the master, and whose statements, therefore, may well lay claim to an unqualified authenticity.

It is, however, still for another reason, that I have given the above passage in full; because it seems to me, that it gives us a very important hint as to the manner in which we must suppose that these translations of Indian books were generally prepared. The sage from the west took the original text and explained it, as well as he could in the foreign tongue, to his Chinese disciples, and these, as well as they understood it, wrote the meaning down and worked it out in a literary style, and it is doubtful, whether the foreign priest was always able even to control the accuracy of the Chinese version thus obtained. That in this way many and great discrepancies must have come in, is only too obvious, especially if we bear in mind that in many cases, perhaps, there was no written original text at all, the priest carrying the words with him only in his memory. This, at least, appears to be involved in the remark so frequently met with in Chinese books, that he (the priest) was able to recite daily so many 'words'(5) (this is said also of Kumârajîva in the Shih leo kuo ch'un ch'iu). In the course of time, then, those translations may, for some reason or other, have undergone further alterations, they may have been in one part abbreviated and in another extended, just as it seemed fit according to tendencies and usages of the time. The title and the author's name of course, would be left unchanged in all these cases, for otherwise the worth and sanctity of the book would have been greatly injured. I don't think it even impossible, that in this way entirely new works have been originated on Chinese soil; they were then provided with borrowed Sanskrit titles and with the names of well known and highly venerated priests as translators, and afterwards through a pious fraud inserted in the Chinese Tripitaka as genuine works.(6) Let us add to this the fact, that at the time, when most of the Chinese translations were prepared, more than 700 years had elapsed since the Council of Vesâlî took place; that the bulk of the sacred books already existed before that Council; and that in the meantime a huge mass of Buddhist literature grew up, which included an immense number of different 'redactions' of a few originals, having not very much more in common with each other than the name. And I think we can easily understand, how extremely difficult it must be to find an Indian original exactly corresponding with a Chinese 'translation,' and in not a few cases, I believe, we shall look in vain for an original at all, simply

執異諸今之譯. Nearly of the same tenor is the passage in the Shih leo kuo ch'un ch'iu (十六國春秋) chap. 57, fol. 4-5.

(5) To this fact attention has been drawn already by the Reverend S. Beal, l.c. p. 36 sq.

(6) I see that Beal (l.c. p. 39) makes a similar suggestion, though limited only to certain Abhidharma-texts; and De Groot (p. 12) thinks a later modification of the Fan wang ching also very possible.

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because there *is* none, and there never was one. This perhaps will also help us to explain the fact, that in all the large monasteries of China so far not one single Indian text has been discovered, except the only Sanskrit manuscript (?) which is kept on the T'ien t'ai shan (in the province of Chekiang). To the ravages of wars, rebellions and age alone, the apparently entire disappearance of the imported Indian literature (probably written on solid palm-leaves) could scarcely be attributed, if it was as extensive, as, from the number of the Chinese 'translations,' we should infer.

Before I now pass on to the text of the Fan wang ching, I must make mention of a passage in Dr. De Groot's translation of the preface, which I don't think to be correct, and which, though of little importance, should be set right. The words 弘始三年淳風東扇 he renders thus: 'dans la troisième année de la période Houng-chi, une brise pure soufflant de l'est etc.' This gives neither a proper meaning, nor is it in accordance with Chinese grammatical principles. Shun fêng tung shan can only mean 'a pure wind was blowing *to* the East' (from the West), whilst De Groot's translation would require the reading tung fêng in Chinese. That only the west (India) can be the region here, from which the pure wind is blowing, is obvious.

The sûtra leads us right into the boundless and eccentric mysteries of northern Buddhism. It opens with a conversation between Locana Buddha on 'the Lotus-terrace' and some of the numberless Buddhas assembled before his throne to listen to his preaching about the 'qualities and stages of perfection.' After having heard this sublime doctrine, the 'thousand and thousand times hundred millions' of Buddhas disperse and propagate it. Then we are told, that one of them, the Buddha Câkyamuni, after many other visits, comes to this our visible world, that he descends to Jambudvipa (a Buddhist name for India) and communicates there to an immense crowd first the ten Pratimokshas,(7) as they were taught before by Locana, and afterwards the forty-eight minor commandments. This sermon of the Buddha Câkyamuni forms the bulk of the sûtra, and the latter concludes with a short description of the manner in which this doctrine, regulating the conduct of the Bodhisatvas after it had been received from Câkyamuni, was then again spread through 'worlds as numerous as the grains of dust' by hosts of other Buddhas, just as it had been done after the preaching of Locana.

The ten Pratimokshas deal with the different heavy crimes, for which the punishment of becoming parâjika is inflicted on 'a child of Buddha.' This punishment originally means expulsion from the church, but that the term is not to be understood in this sense in the Fan wang ching, De Groot shows us on p. 33. The forty-eight minor commandments treat of the sins, which, though inferior in gravity to those of the Pratimokshas, still are serious offences and 'give a stain' to the offender. The regular Chinese expression for this, recurring at the end of each commandment, is 犯輕垢罪, which De Groot renders by 'coupable d'un pêché secondaire faisant souillure;' according to chap. XII (on exercises of penance), a certain punishment seems to be meant here by the offender simply becoming 'impure,' till he has performed the penance, which the abbot inflicts in each case.

In the dogmatical system of the Chinese Mahâyâna school the doctrines of the Fan wang ching, as De Groot tells us on p. 251 sqq., form the last and highest category of commandments. The first step towards the Buddhist sanctity is taken by observing the '*five commandments*' (pañca-vairamani), fundamental precepts, which do not even require the shaving of the head nor leaving the family etc. They lead to a higher stage of transmigration. The next category consists of the '*ten commandments*' (daçaçîla

(7) Prâtimoksha, as De Groot constantly writes, is not correct.

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or çikshâpada), which include the former, require the entrance into monastic life as çrâmanera (novice) and lead to the stage of a çrâvaka (hearer of Buddha). They form the Hînâyâna or 'small conveyance.' The third class are the '*two hundred and fifty commandments of the Prâtimokshâ*,' which are to be embraced before the admittance into the order of the çramanas (priests). They form the Madhyamâyâna or, 'Middle conveyance' and lead to the stage of Arhats (saints, who are exempt from transmigration). The fourth and last class is formed by the *fifty-eight commandments of the Sûtra of Brahma's net*;' they are the Mahâyâna or 'great conveyance' and lead to the highest stage of felicity. Whoever adheres to them, becomes Bodhisatva and afterwards Buddha. This shows us clearly, of what importance the Fan wang ching must be to the present Buddhist Church of China; and if we further take into consideration, that of the four categories the preceding one is always included in the next, and that consequently the fourth and last includes all the others, being thus an abstract of the whole ecclesiastical dogma: it becomes evident, how extremely well fitted our sûtra is for being the code of the Buddhist Church in China, which itself is nothing but an abstract of the schools and sects that have passed away into the all-absorbing Dhyâna. Dr. De Groot is well justified in his judgment of the book (p. 9): 'Le code du Mahâyâna se présente comme une image de l'Eglise Buddhiste en Chine dans les divers éléments qui la constituent, image assez fidèle pour que peut-être dans tout le Tripitaka il ne soit pas possible d'en trouver une plus exacte.' To the same effect is a comparison in the sûtra itself, which Câkyamuni makes when visiting the Devarâja Maheçvara, and from which De Groot derives the name of the sûtra (p. 26): 'Les mondes innombrables sont comme les mailles d'un filet; chaque monde est dissemblable des autres et les différences sont sans nombre: il en est de même de l'Eglise Buddhiste.'

De Groot's translation of the text is very painstaking and as literal as possible. It gives full and distinct paraphrases of the numerous dogmatic terms, while instructive foot-notes contain valuable hints, explanations, etc. In the 'Aperçu,' which follows the translation, the author points out the influence of different schools upon the Mahâyâna, as it is to be traced in the commandments of the sûtra. Considering the fact, that in the whole work no allusion is made to the Amitâbha-school, which already existed at the beginning of the fifth century, and whose means of salvation have always been very popular in China, he suggests (p. 98) that the Fan wang ching was already in existence before that time. This, I think, is not at all impossible or even unlikely, for according to what we have seen above, nothing forbids our assuming that there was already a Chinese version of the Brahmajâla sûtra, before Kumârajîva originated the present translation, which may be nothing but a new edition of an older text. When, however, De Groot draws a similar conclusion (p. 92) from the wording of the 44th commandment, which speaks of propagating the sacred books and does not mention hereby (as he thinks) the most natural means for doing so, viz. the printing and if he concludes from this, that this commandment must have been composed before printing was in use, I think, his critical sagacity leads him astray. Judging from the terms of the 44th commandment: 'he (the child of Buddha) should flay off his skin to use it as paper, let flow his blood to use it as ink, etc.' (for writing the Sûtras and Vinayas), I believe it is nothing more than one of the Buddhist eccentricities that we have before us, and that it can hardly be taken in earnest. Then the sûtra goes on to say: 'the commandments of Buddha should be written and kept on bark, on mulberry-paper, on white silk scrolls and on bamboo-parchment.' Our author's translation might be a little more accurate here; it runs as follows: 'on doit constamment les

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(the sûtras, etc.) écrire et les conserver sur l'écorce, le papier de blé, la soie, le bambou et la toile.' The Chinese text reads thus: 木皮穀紙絹素竹帛亦悉書持. There can be no doubt, that each two characters in this sentence form one term: 木皮 bark of the trees; 穀 De Groot has mistaken for 彀, both of which have the sound ku; the latter means 'grain,' but the former is the name of the Broussonetia papyrifera, Vent., the paper-mulberry, the bark of which is used in China for manufacturing paper (s. Bretschneider, Botanicon Sinicum, II, No. 503. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XXV).(8) 絹素 is a well known term for white silk, and 竹帛 seems to be an antiquated expression for a kind of paper or parchment, though the native dictionaries are apparently not able themselves to give a clear definition of its proper meaning. Both the Shuo wên (under the character 箸) and K'ang hsi's dictionary (under the character 竹) mention the combination chu po; the former says: 'to put (something) on chu po means to write (or a book);' and the latter work quotes a passage from the Han-Annals: 'his merits should be written on chu po,' the commentator observing, that 'po means white silk,' a remark, from which we learn nothing new. If we now regard the above commandment in this more accurate form, nothing, I think, can prevent us from inferring, that the admonition, to propagate the sacred books by any means, may include printing just as well as writing, painting, carving, etc. But besides all this, Dr. De Groot forgets, that the Fan wang ching claims to be the translation of an Indian original; and that this must have been written before printing was introduced into India, is—considering the time, when this happened—a matter of course, but proves nothing for the age of our book. Or does De Groot deny the Indian origin of the Fan wang ching altogether?!

(8) A native edition of the Fan wang ching, which I have before me, gives clearly the character 穀 with 木 as radical.

Despite the excellent guidance of our experienced author, it is, after all, a somewhat weary task, to work one's way through all the misty and monotonous eccentricities of the text, but the reader will find himself amply rewarded, when he gets to the second and main part of the book and plunges into the extremely instructive discussions of the influence of the Mahâyâna-code upon the life of the monks and the laity in China. Here the splendid gift of Dr. De Groot comes forth, which knows how to give to strictly scientific researches a generally interesting form, and which, in clear and lively diction, displays the results before the reader after he has witnessed himself the way in which they were arrived at. From entering into a detailed review of these fourteen essays mentioned above, I must refrain. I should be at a loss where to begin and where to end. I can only most warmly recommend their study to every one who takes a real and deep interest in the doctrines and rites of Chinese Buddhism. To the latter especially the author has given his attention, and Chapters III, VI, VIII, X, XII, and XIV furnish a great deal of valuable information regarding the ceremonies and sermons on different occasions, e.g. the ordination of novices and bhikshus, the burning of the skull, confession and penitence, praying for rain or fine weather, preaching the sacred doctrines etc. etc. De Groot has drawn his knowledge not only from several other Buddhist works mentioned by him, but also, as he tells us on p. 99, from personal observations during his periodical stays in the great monasteries of Fukien. He has consulted there the sûtras, vinayas and manuals, which were most in use among the priests, and has also availed himself of every opportunity to copy a great number of manuscripts in the possession of the abbots, which the latter are only too anxious to conceal from the profane eye of every outsider. We are all the more in-

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debted to the author for the zeal, with which he has undertaken his exploration, as our knowledge of the Buddhist ritual in China so far has been almost nil, and it is only in the way which De Groot leads us and—let us hope—will further lead us, that we may be enabled to decide definitely whether the rituals of the southern and northern Church are virtually the same, as it has been sometimes anticipated. What has induced the author to make the Fan wang ching the starting point for his explorations, we may see from the following lines of his article on the dominant spirit of the Buddhist clergy in China: 'If you visit a monastery in the empire, and ask the inmates, which are the precepts on which they frame their religious conduct, in order to insure advancement on the way to salvation and final deliverance, the first answer always is that they chiefly have regard to one book of commandments only, viz. the Fan-wang-king or Sûtra of Brahma's Net. Whoever, it is said in theory, conforms himself accurately to the ten principal and the forty-eight minor commandments laid down in this little book, shall naturally become a bodhisatva, etc.' (9)

The chief influence of the Mahâyâna-code upon the laity De Groot shows to have been brought about through the commandment, never to cause the death of a living being, but, on the contrary, to save from death whatever has been endowed with life. While there is no passage to be found in the Chinese literature, which admits of the conclusion that, 'before the fifth century, saving animal life had been mentioned as a meritorious deed' (p. 112), the custom prevails to the present day in China, of spending large sums in buying and setting free animals intended to be killed, or kept in captivity, and it is by no means a rare occurrence, that zealous worshippers, especially women, deliver the animals, accompanied by sufficient funds, to the monks to nourish them during the rest of their life—mostly of course in the hope, that their action will prove a good investment and bear large interest from heaven, payable in form of wealth, honours and posterity. Moreover, it is a well known fact, which every foreign resident in China has often the opportunity to observe, that in time of continued drought the local officials issue proclamations to the effect that killing animals to obtain pork, mutton, beef (the latter, as a rule, is even under ordinary circumstances, seldom eaten by the Chinese) is interdicted, till a sufficient quantity of rain has fallen. The numerous vegetarian sects, which have often been a stumbling block to Christian missionaries, have also more or less their origin in this fundamental principle of the Buddhist Church. It is but reasonable, I think, to suppose, as Professor De Groot does (p. 120), that 'the great principle of compassion towards men and animals, as it is preached by Buddhism, would have certainly much more softened the customs of China which is still the scene of so much merciless cruelty, if the Church had been enabled to develop itself more among the laymen, and to obtain a greater influence upon the government.' This circumstance ought not to be forgotten by those who charge Buddhism with doing little of a philanthropic nature and with producing little active benevolence. The ninth commandment of the Fan wang ching (comp. Chap. V of De Groot's book) bears witness to the philanthropic views of the Buddhist religion regarding the treatment of sick and helpless people.

Another circumstance, by which the influence of the Church has manifested itself, the author finds in the masses celebrated at the death-beds in nearly every family in China, if its members only can afford the payment of the priests (s. Chap. VII). As the basis of this custom he takes the 39th commandment, which treats of the duty to permanently exhort one's fellow-beings and to read, whenever an occasion arises, the sûtras and vinayas of the Mahâyâna.

(9) Journal of the China Branch, R. A. S. vol. XXVI, p. 113.

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As a whole, the influence of the commandments of the Fan wang ching upon the laity can, of course, in no way be traced so clearly as upon the clergy, whose whole nature and existence seems to be modelled after and controlled by the Mahâyâna-code. There is, however, still a wide field, where the influence of the Buddhist religion must have been very effective, viz. the numerous popular religious ideas of the Chinese, which are far older than Buddhism, and which have entered into so close a connection with the fantastic products of the latter, that it will sometimes be scarcely possible to point out which is the native and which the foreign element in the combination. Dr. De Groot, who is just the man from whom we may expect more light on this rather dark but most important part of the religious life of the Chinese, has, not unintentionally, I believe, abstained from even touching upon this question in his book, reserving it, I suppose, for the later comprehensive investigations in his 'Religious Systems of China.'(10)

One point in Prof. De Groot's book, and a most vital one indeed, has struck me with ever-increasing surprise in the course of reading, and that is the way in which he understands the inmost nature of the Buddhist doctrine. It seems to him, as he says on p. X of the preface, 'que son travail tera faire un pas à la fixation d'un point important, qui est de savoir, *si le buddhisme est dans son essence le culte de la lumière cosmique de l'univers et de ses éléments.*' Does Dr. De Groot mean hereby Buddhism, as it was from its first beginning, the religion which had its origin on Indian soil and spread thence to the south, north and east of that country? Or does he mean Buddhism in its later stage, in its 'great development' (in pejus), the religion which we are accustomed to call Northern Buddhism? I hoped the latter, but after having read the rest of the book, there remained but little doubt that the first is the case. I am unable to understand, how an authority like De Groot should fail to be aware, that the question as to the real nature of Buddhism has long been settled, in fact, that it never has been doubtful, except to Emile Senart,(11) who discovered in Buddhism the ubiquitous solar myth, from which nothing seems to be now safe in this world. But Prof. Oldenberg(12) has most eloquently shown, that the learned French scholar came to entirely wrong conclusions, because he started from entirely wrong premises. And the same error seems to be committed by Prof. De Groot. Senart took the Lalita Vistara, the Saddharmapundarîka Sûtra and other late books of the northern school as authorities for Buddha's solar hero worship. De Groot endeavours to show by means of the Fan wang ching and cognate works, that Câkyamuni was the cosmical light. Whoever wants to ascertain an historical fact (and this is, after all, the problem in question), has to go back to the *earliest* sources in existence; otherwise, if he relies solely upon the statements and theories of a period far distant from the time when this fact took its origin, he follows an uncritical method and may easily come to erroneous results. Dr. De Groot violates this maxim of sound research, in basing a theory regarding the spirit of the Buddhist doctrine upon late Chinese works which are valueless for that purpose, granted even that they are what they claim to be, translations of mediæval or post-mediæval Indian products. What should we say, if a man were to philosophize about the nature of the Christian dogma, and should lean exclusively upon

(10) A successful attempt in this direction, though only on a small scale, has recently been made in an article by Professor Grube (Die chinesische Volksreligion und ihre Beeinflussung durch den Buddhismus. 'Globus' Vol. 63, No. 19), which is written in his usually able way, to which we are accustomed.

(11) Essai sur la légende du Buddha; Paris 1875.

(12) Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde. Berlin, 1881.

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the scholastic abstrusities of the Mystics of the 14th century, without taking any notice of the doctrines of the New Testament? And yet, I think, the incongruity would be less in this case than it is between the phantasms of the Mahâyâna-school and the simple truths of primitive Buddhism, which we find in the oldest parts of the Pâli-Tripitaka in Ceylon. I most warmly recommend Dr. De Groot the reading of the first chapter of the first part in Oldenberg's book, who estimates the solar theory of Buddhism in a far more ingenious and persuasive way, than I am able to do. For judging of what Gautama Buddha, the mortal man and sage of India, and not the embodiment of the cosmical light, once taught his adherents and fellow-men, not only are the Saddharmapundarîka Sûtra, the 'Sûtra of the Golden light' (金光明經) and other works, from which De Groot derives his solar theory, but, I dare say, the whole bulk of the Mahâyâna-literature, entirely valueless. The first authorities, which we have to ask, are the Pâli-texts composed before the Council of Vesâli (about 380 B.C.), a collection, to which the Pâli Brahmajâla Sutta, though Beal calls it 'primitive,'(13) if I am not mistaken, does not belong. Let any one compare only the aphorisms of the Dhammapada in their eternal beauty with the fantastic inventions of the Saddharmapundarîka Sûtra, and he will become aware, how little has been kept by the northern Buddhists of that sublime doctrine, which inspired the genius of Arthur Schopenhauer! The importance of the northern literature is of quite a different nature: it shows us, what became in the course of time of Câkyamuni's dogma, partly through the influence of a debasing ignorance, and partly through the inoculation of foreign elements, and thus it represents a stage in the history of Buddhism, which is not only interesting, but even necessary to know, if we wish to understand the Buddhism of China. That in modifying the original Indian religion in the direction of its 'great development,' the worship of natural phenomena, especially of the solar light, may have had its share, I do not doubt for a moment, and here I give myself up entirely to the authority of Prof. De Groot and his penetrating researches, by which he points out, how the Buddhas and their different doings answer in detail to the different solar phenomena; so, for instance in his explanation of the ceremony of burning the skulls of the monks, etc.(14) Dr. Edkins as well as Dr. Eitel (15), decidedly two great authorities on Chinese Buddhism, see the influence of the Persian religion in this worship of the solar light, and the former declares Amitâbha to be the Persian Ormuzd, the god of light. Prof. De Groot, of course, needs no such assumption, so far as he really is of the opinion, that Buddhism never was anything but 'the worship of the universe and its elements,' with Câkyamuni as its radiant centre. I will, however, not yet give up all hope, that I have been mistaken in this my supposition, and that De Groot, writing on northern Buddhism, wanted his theory to be understood as referring to that later religion only; but in that case I cannot spare him the blame, that he has been far too ambiguous, and entirely disregarding the line, which cannot be drawn too clearly and sharply, between primitive and later Buddhism; expressions such as 'Buddha Câkyamuni, le dieu solaire,' 'le dieu de la lumière, le

(13) L.c. p. 33.

(14) This ceremony is based upon the 16th commandment, which recommends the 'burning of the body, the arm and the finger,' and De Groot observes here, (p. 227) that 'actuellement les religieux, à ce que nous sachions, ne se brûlent pas de doigts.' A few years ago I witnessed the service in the temple of Fa yü sï on the Island of Puto, and noticed there that several of the priests lacked the ring-fingers; whether they were cut off or burned, I have not ascertained.

(15) S. Three Lectures on Buddhism, p. 32.

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Buddha Câkyamuni,' etc. etc. should then also be avoided. It would be highly deplorable, if this misconception or at least misrepresentation of the Buddhist doctrine should find its way also into De Groot's 'Religious Systems of China,' for as this, in all probability, will become the standard-work on Chinese religion for a very long time to come, those views would be misleading for not a few of its readers.

Leaving out this one principal point, to which probably many objections will be raised, and upon which the author owes us some further explanation, I think De Groot's book is the best that has been written on Chinese Buddhism for a number of years, and for everybody who wants to extend his studies of that religion to the native sources, be it on account of a deeper interest only, or for making independent researches, it will be an invaluable assistant and an indispensable guide.

O. Franke.

PROVERBS

IN DAILY USE AMONG THE HAKKAS OF THE CANTON PROVINCE.

Collected by M. SCHAUB, LILONG.

(Continued from Vol. XX, p. 164.)

147. 唔學行先學走.

To run before one has learned to walk.

148. 工字不出頭.

The head of the character 工 (work) stoops (is humble).

149. 欠字兩頭低.

Both heads of the character 欠 (to have debts) are low.

[One who is in debt is low spirited].

150. 人傍神力, 草傍春生.

Men rely on the strength of the spirits.

Grass relies on the spring to grow.

151. 食水記着水源頭.

When drinking water one must remember its source.

152. 秤不離砣, 公不離婆.

The balance does not leave the stone of the balance.

A man does not leave his wife.

153. 狐狸愛去狗掷尾.

The fox wishes to go, but the dog takes hold of his tail.

[To be hindered from doing a thing].

154. 近官得貴, 近廚得食.

Near a mandarin one gets honour, near the kitchen one gets to eat.

155. 出頭角損頭角.

He who takes the leading part will wound his head.

156. 有其父必有其子.

Like father like son.

157. 泥菩薩過河, 自身難保.

A clay idol, crossing a river, cannot take care of its own body.

[Ridiculing the uselessness of idol worship].

158. 一堂佛子眼睛睛都是黃泥撟稈莖.

One hall full of idols with radiant eyes.

But they are only made of clay and straw.

[The same as No. 157].

159. 千拜萬拜一張紙, 千哭萬哭一爐香.

Though there be a thousand or ten thousand prayers, there is in reality only a piece of paper.

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Though there be a thousand or ten thousand kneelings, there is nothing real except the incense-urn.

[The same].

160. 生時買四両好過死開劏豬劏羊.

It is better to buy four oranges (meat) when the parents are still alive; than to sacrifice pigs and sheep, when they are dead.

161. 生時不孝敬, 死後祭靈前.

When the parents are yet alive, the son is not filial.

When they are dead, he offers sacrifices before the ancestral tablet.

162. 有箇模鑄箇鑊.

As the mould is, so the kettle will be.

[The son is like his father].

163. 繁華世界, 轉眼成空.

The world's splendour will vanish in the twinkling of an eye.

164. 糧田萬頃日食二升, 大廈千間夜眼八尺.

Though you have 10,000 acres, you can not eat more than two pints of rice a day.

Though you have 1,000 palaces, you can only cover eight feet at night.

165. 人間富貴花間露, 世上功名水上鷗.

Earthly riches are like dew on a flower.

Wordly honours are like the foam on the water.

166. 錦衣玉食風中燭, 駟馬高車水上波.

Splendid clothes and food are like a candle in the wind.

Splendid horses and chariots are like the waves of the water.

167. 有意栽花花不發, 無心插柳柳成陰.

One plants with purpose a flower, but it will not grow.

One puts purposeless a willow into the ground, and it becomes a shade-tree.

168. 山中有直樹, 世上無直人.

There are straight trees on the mountains, but no upright men in the world.

169. 一尺風三尺浪.

One foot wind raises three feet waves.

170 細細秤蛇壓千斤.

The small stone of the balance governs a thousand pounds.

171. 虎頭蛇尾.

Tiger's head, snake's tail.

[A good beginning, but a bad end].

172. 龍頭鳳尾.

Dragon's head and phœnix tail.

[A good beginning and a good end].

173. 上山尋虎易開口靠人難.

To climb a mountain and find a tiger is easy.

To inquire after a man and rely on him is difficult.

174. 人情似紙張張薄, 世事如棋局局新.

Man's attachment is like paper, every leaf becomes thinner.

Worldly affairs are like a game of chess; every move gives a new view.

175. 海上易尋無價寶, 世上難尋有情人.

It is easy to find a priceless treasure on the sea.

But it is difficult to find an affectionate man in the world.

176. 人心似鐵官法如爐.

Man's heart is like iron, the mandarin's law like the oven.

177. 冷鐵難打.

It is difficult to beat cold iron.

[One must not loose the right time to do a thing].

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178. 莫笑蛇無角,成龍也未知.

Don't laugh at the snake because it has no horn.

For all you know, it may yet become a dragon.

179. 光陰似箭,日月如梭.

Time flies away like an arrow.

Days and months pass by like a shuttle.

180. 一寸光陰一寸金,寸金難買寸光陰.

An inch of time is like an inch of gold.

But it is difficult to buy an inch of time with an inch of gold.

181. 有錢難買早知.

It is difficult to buy a 'know before' with money.

182. 整耳整滑鼻.

By mending the ear, one may have to mend a rent nose.

[To make a thing worse by mending it].

183. 獨子成龍,獨女成鳳.

A man has only one son, who can become a dragon.

A man has only one daughter, who can become a phœnix.

184. 冬日可愛,夏日可畏.

Winter's sun is lovely, summer's sun hateful.

185. 操手望船流.

Clasping one's arms while looking at the floating boat.

[To be lazy].

186. 近山唔好枉燒柴.

Although one lives near the mountains, one must not wastingly burn fuel.

187. 樹高萬丈葉落歸根.

Although a tree is 10,000 feet high, its falling leaves return to its root.

188. 處在茅寮下不得不低頭.

Living in a thatched hut ore must needs stoop low.

189. 子造事爺擔枷.

The son commits himself and his father has to wear the cangue.

190. 趕狗入窮巷,窮巷狗咬人.

Drive a dog into a corner and the dog in the corner will bite.

191. 易漲易退山溪水,易反易覆小人心.

A mountain brook's water easily changes and so does the heart of a mean man.

192. 一手唔拿得兩鉿.

One hand cannot take hold of two ladles.

193. 一脚踏兩片橋.

One foot cannot tread on two sides of a bridge.

194. 來唱明去唔清.

An unrighteous income will unrighteously go away.

[Lightly come, lightly gone].

195. 強中更有強中手.

The mighty one will get a still mightier one to keep him down.

196. 明知山有虎,莫向虎山行.

Knowing that there is a tiger on the hill,

One must not walk towards the tiger's hill.

197. 三日唔偷雞爲上人.

A man does not steal a hen for three days, and lo he becomes an esteemed man.

198. 畫虎畫皮難畫骨,知人知面不知心.

To draw a tiger, one can only draw its skin and not the bones.

To know a man, one knows only his face and not his heart.

199. 燒香有保佑,燒陶更大烟.

If one looks for protection by burning incense,

Set him to fire a brick-kiln: that will give a denser smoke.

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200. 講出嚇死人.做出笑死人.

When he talks, he frightens one to death.

When he comes to do it, he makes one die with laughter.

201. 人害人肭卒卒.天害人一把骨.

A man hurts a man, and he becomes only fatter.

When heaven hurts a man, he becomes a skeleton.

202. 狐狸莫話貓

A fox must not tell a cat.

[They are all alike].

203. 恃是草鞋刺倒脚.

Relying on one's slippers, one will get his feet pricked.

204. 日出東邊是我家,
因風吹送到中華.
雞鳴犬吠如相似.
到處楊梅一樣花.

In the east where the sun rises, there is my home.

Driven by a storm I came to China.

Cocks crow and dogs bark everywhere the same.

The hawthorn has everywhere the same flower.

[There is a saying that once a shipwrecked stranger came to the Polo Temple near Canton (see *Ch. R.* XII, p. 151). There he wrote the first two stanzas on a door and soon afterwards died from home sickness. A Chinese scholar came and finished the two last stanzas. The last clause is frequently used among the Hakkas in the sense that circumstances are everywhere the same].

205. 不分皁白.

There is no difference between grey and white.

206. 家有千金,外人有秤.

If a family have a thousand gold pieces, outside people will have a balance to weigh them.

207. 人老病出.

When man is old, his sicknesses will appear.

208. 習慣成自然.

Practice becomes one's second nature.

209. 著簑衣救火.

To wear a raincoat to quench a fire.

210. 匍部流水.

Creeping on the ground to cross the water.

[To be very careful].

211. 眼唔見爲伶俐.

All that the eye does not see is clean.

212. 眼唔見肚唔悶.

The belly does not worry about what the eye does not see.

213 禺燒香厓得道.

You burn the incense and I get the profit.

214. 惡人須要惡人磨

A wicked man must get a wicked one to grind him.

215. 衣食足禮義興.

Where there is plenty of food and raiment, there will be good customs.

216. 遠親不如近鄰.

A far away relative is not equal to a near neighbour.

217. 坐得高望得遠.

Sitting on a high place, one can look at a great distance.

218. 根深不怕風搖動.

When the roots are deep, the wind cannot move the tree.

219 富人莫脫書,窮人莫脫豬.

Rich people must always keep on studying.

Poor people must keep on rearing pigs.

220. 一條草有一點露.

Every blade of grass has its drops of dew.

[Heaven provides for every one].

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221. 書多人賢,酒多人顛

Much book-reading makes a man wise.
Much wine-drinking makes a man foolish.

222. 道旁作舍.

To build a house on the side of the road.
[There is much criticizing]

223. 善惡之報如影隨形.

The reward of good and evil follows a deed as the shadow follows the body.

224. 前車既覆後車當鑒.

The overthrow of a waggon in front gives a hint to that which follows.

225. 養兒待老,積穀防饑.

To bring up a child to provide for one's age is to store up rice to provide for a dearth.

226. 好天積蓄柴米,壯時撥便病糧.

During good weather store up fuel and rice.
While strong, prepare food for sick days.

227. 平地風波.

A level surface may be raised by wind or waves.

228. 三人證龜戊鼈.

Three men speak of a tortoise and lo it becomes a turtle.

229 牛事唔了馬事來.

The affair of the cow is not yet finished, yet there comes an affair of the horse.
[One trouble after another].

230. 冇牛着使馬.

When there is no cow to do field-work, one must use a horse.

231. 遠水難救近火.

It is difficult to quench a fire with water that is far away.

232. 吹毛求疵

He blows away the hair to look after a tiny scab.
[Minute criticizing]

233 貧窮自在,富貴多憂

Poor people are at ease, rich people have many sorrows.

234. 一山不能藏兩虎

There cannot be hidden two tigers in one mountain.

235. 食烟莫戒,留鬚莫剃

A smoker says 'don't give up smoking'; one who has a beard says 'don't get shaved.'

236 男人莫看三國女人莫看花箋.

A man must not read the history of the three kingdoms.
A woman must not read the romance 'Fa tsien.'
[The Chinese say by reading the history of the three kingdoms a man will become crafty; by reading Fa tsien a woman will become lustful].

237. 一正壓千邪.

One right can subdue a thousand wrongs.

238. 儉脚溼頭嗆.

By sparing one's feet, one gets a wet head.

239. 家中冇酒難留客,塘中冇水難養魚.

When there is no wine in the house, it is difficult to have guests.
When there is no water in the ditch, it is difficult to rear fish in it.

240. 爺養子唔得大,子養爺唔得死.

A father rearing a son, longs for his getting big.
A son tending his father longs for his death.

241. 寧可食無肉,不可居無竹.

Better to have no meat to eat than to live in a place without bamboos.

242. 唔貪便宜,唔得蝕虧.

Not coveting to get things cheap, one will have no loss.

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213. 錢正識貨.

Only money knows the value of the ware.

214. 因小失大.

Because of a small thing to loose a big thing.

[Penny wise pound foolish].

245. 歪嘴雞唅揀米.

A hen with a crooked beak may pick and choose its rice.

246. 半分壻郎半分子.

Half son-in-law, half son.

[A son in law is nearly like a son].

247. 打鼓買田偷葬地.

He beats the drum, when buying a field, But stealthily buries the dead.

248. 騎馬捕棍.

Using his walking-stick to ride a horse.

[Very careful].

249. 柴各燒米各煮.

One burns one's own fuel and cooks one's own rice.

[Everybody cares for himself].

250. 各人米落各人鑊

Every man's rice goes into his own kettle.

[The same as 249].

251. 一字入公門, 九牛拖不出.

If but one word enters the mandarin's hall, nine oxen will not drag it out again.

252. 貪多嚥唔爛

Coveting too much, one cannot chew it.

[Too much is a waste].

253. 花多眼亂.

Too many flowers bewilder the eye.

254. 木匠擔枷自造.

A carpenter wears the cangue he has made himself.

[To bring oneself into trouble].

255. 臭猪肉惹烏蠅.

Putrid pork attracts flies.

256. 物必腐而後蟲生.

Things must rot, before they will get worms.

257. 春耕失牛中年失妻.

In spring during sowing time to loose one's cow.

In the heyday of life to loose one's wife.

[The acme of misfortune].

258. 一條門路千人管.

A thousand people travel the same road.

[Competition is the soul of business].

259. 㗎隻貓仔唔食鮮魚.

What cat does not eat fresh fish?

[Every one makes his use of a good opportunity].

260. 惱嘅裙搭嘅條帶都惱開.

Hating her petticoat, she hates also its string.

261. 培水不出外溪.

One does not let manure flow into an outside brook.

[Profitable business is kept within the family]

262. 冇風就唔起得浪.

Without a wind, the waves will not rise.

263. 凡事必有因.

Every thing has its cause.

[The same 262].

264. 心唔橫狀唔行.

Without a crooked heart, no law-suit will prosper.

265. 目睡鳥有飛來蟲.

A sleeping bird gets an insect flying to it.

266. 烏鴉飛去鳳凰來.

When the crow flies away, the phœnix will come.

267. 戴笠廱走開擎遮又來.

After having worn the rain hat, one can carry his umbrella.

268. 耳聞不如目見.

To hear with the ear is not like seeing with the eye.

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269. 魚目混珠.
Fish eyes mixed with pearls.

270. 幾何遇倒太婆撈飯.
If there is a good opportunity, even the first wife will scoop the boiled rice.

271. 左手來右手去.
What comes in by the left hand, goes away by the right one.

272. 捉蝦蟆買烟食水里來火里去.
To catch frogs is like buying tobacco: the one comes in from the water and the other goes out by the fire.

273. 久病成醫師.
If his sickness lasts long enough, he will become a physician.

274. 惡妻難治, 惡馬難騎.
It is difficult to govern a bad wife.
It is difficult to ride a vicious horse.

275. 窮人講聲唔響.
Poor people's voices are not loud enough to be heard.

276. 運去金成鐵,時來鐵似金
Let the proper time pass and gold will turn into iron.
Let the proper time come and iron will become gold.

277. 進退兩難
To go forward or backward is difficult.

278. 十賒唔當九現
Nine in hand are better than ten borrowed.

279. 人無千日好,花無百日紅
Man has not a thousand good days.
Flowers are not red for a hundred days.

280. 人生不滿百,常懷千歲憂
Man does not live a hundred years; but is always troubling himself about a thousand years.

281. 大河過開何論小壢.
After having crossed the river, why do you worry about crossing a little brook.

282. 財在盥家魚在厠吓.
Riches are in the miser's house.
Fish are in the deep pools.

283. 人死留名虎死留皮.
A dead man leaves his name behind.
A tiger leaves his skin behind.

284. 一代薯菰承代滋.
One generation of taro will become fertile mould for another generation.
[One generation gets what a former generation left to it].

285. 三十六計走者爲上計.
Having thirty-six schemes to choose from, the best one is to run away.

286. 橫腸釣肚門前綯馬牯.
The most crooked-minded people have horses before their doors.
[Bad people often live in the wealthiest circumstances].

287. 插翼難飛.
With wings put on, it is still difficult to fly.

288. 兄弟分開成鄰舍,一飧冇米都愛借.
When brethren have divided their property, they are only neighbours.
If one has no rice for a meal, he has to borrow.

289. 一朝無糧不處兵.
If provisions fail only a single morning, the soldiers will not remain. [Everything must be sufficiently provided for].

290. 冇磚就縮揮.
If you have not bricks enough, you must lower the gable of your house.
[Cut your coat according to your cloth].

291. 冇草封陶.
If you have no grass, you must close your kiln.

292. 摩盲陶.
To enter an empty kiln [To be at a loss what to do].

293. 盡都係嘅陶貨.
All are wares from the same kiln.

(To be continued.)

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SOME EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF AMOY.

The following matter is a translation of the chapter headed 舊事 in the Hsia-mên chih (廈門志) or Topography of Amoy. The object of the chapter is to give, in concise and chronological form, a *resumé* of the many interesting military episodes of which the island has been the theatre. The authentic historical period of Amoy commences with the Sung Dynasty; and our chronicler opens his article with an account of a visit made to this part of Fuhkien by the fugitive Sung princes in 1276. The pathetic story of the flight of these young princes is well known; but it may bear repetition so far as it touches Amoy. Hangchow, known to Marco Polo and other mediaeval travellers as Kinsay (*i.e.* 京師 Ching-shih, the Capital), the then capital of the Sung, had fallen in April 1276 before Bayan (伯顏 as the name appears in the Chinese annals), the Mongol general deputed by Kublai Khan to wrest southern China from the Sung. Marco Polo's graphic account of this occurrence contains more errors than might be expected:—'And when the king beheld Bayan coming with all his host, he was in great dismay, as one unused to see such sights. So he and a great company of his people got on board a thousand ships, and fled to the islands of the ocean, whilst the Queen, who remained behind in the city, took all measures in her power for its defence, like a valiant lady.'(1)

There is a confusion here between the Emperor and his brothers, the facts being as follows:—On the approach of Bayan, the brothers of the Emperor were put on board the fleet and despatched to the southern provinces, the Empress-Regent remaining behind to defend the city. On its surrender, the Empress-Regent, the young Emperor, and the rest of the Sung princes and princesses were sent to the Mongol capital. The statesman upon whom the native historians visit the weight of the surrender of the capital is the one whose name occurs in our text, Ch'ên I-chung (陳宜中); a man whose reputation for infamy ranks nearly equal with that of the evil genius of the Sung, Chia Ssŭ tao (賈似道); and who finished a career of treachery and self-seeking by deserting his sovereign in his greatest need: he stole away to Tonkin on a pretended mission of there finding an asylum for the hunted family, and never returned. After the capture of the Emperor, the wandering of the young princes commenced among 'the islands of the ocean,' one of which, as we gather from the Chinchew story, was perforce Amoy. Chang Shih-chieh (張世傑), a general and statesman the very antipode in every respect of Ch'ên I-chung, inasmuch as he was loyal as the other was false, was now the last hope and stay of the Sung. A desperate effort made at Kua chow (瓜州) to recover the person of the young Emperor having failed, Chang Shih-chieh considered that the title devolved on his brother, the Prince of I; and the latter was proclaimed emperor at Foochow in the year

(1) Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 198.

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of our story under the title of Tuan Tsung (端宗). The visit to Chinchew must have been one of the many efforts made to rally supporters to their cause; and its failure is recorded elsewhere as having been owing to an ill-judged attempt on the part of the ministers to seize ships and cargeos for the Emperor's use. After this year Amoy loses sight of the lost cause of the Sung, and the history of failure, until the doomed house met its quietus in the decisive Mongol victory at Yaishan, belongs to the Kuangtung Annals.

From the Sung vicissitudes our annalist springs to tales of native piracy, which, although rife under the Sung, seems to have been at its worst during the Ming Period. The account of these atrocities is such a monotonous record of crime that it has been thought advisable to summarize the entries on this subject in one paragraph, and proceed at once to the first notice the chapter gives of the arrival of foreigners in Amoy. These appear under the usual term 'Franks' (佛郎機), the name by which the first Portuguese must have described themselves. By the time of the repulse we are told of, Portuguese ships must have been often seen in the vicinity of Amoy. The Portuguese had arrived in Canton in 1516; shortly afterwards they had succeeded in establishing a factory in Ningpo; trade was also conducted at Amoy; and in 1537 they had two well-established trade depôts in Kuangtung, as well as the nucleus of the present settlement of Macao.(2) The incident described was probably one of several efforts on the part of the local Government to beat off the foreign intruder; and doubtless had ample provocation in the lawless and buccaneering character of the adventurers.

The raids of Japanese pirates next occupy the chronicler. We are told that these extended over nearly two hundred years (1370-1564); but they form such an unimportant part of the Imperial history and their local ravages are so similar to those performed elsewhere on the China coast that those recorded here call for no particular comment. The name Wo (倭) may also include Loochooans, who made several raids on Chinchew about this time.

After the suppression of the Japanese, the local authorities were alarmed by the advent of the Dutch, who appeared in Amoy in 1622, apparently immediately after their unsuccessful attack on Macao. The story of their complete annihilation is no doubt only a concession to Chinese vanity; but from this and other records(3) the barbarous measures adopted seem to have been the regular ones for expelling the intruder. The Dutch were driven from the Pescadores in 1624 and retired to their Formosa strongholds. They made several incursions into Amoy during a period extending over some ten years; but they had soon to cope with a greater leader than any they had yet encountered. The Koxinga family appears on the scene in 1626 in the person of Chêng Chih-sung, and from henceforth the story of the Dutch becomes intermingled with his and that of his successors.

The chapter gives a sufficient account of the rise of that powerful combination which is known to foreigners as the Koxinga power, from the popular nickname of the second and greatest of the four members of the family, who successively held the supreme command over the fleet which for years had control over the China coast from Woosung to Canton, and which played such an important part in the wars accompanying the Manchu conquest. The story of the Chêngs is so familiar that it will only be necessary to relate here a few facts upon which it is hoped the local colouring will throw fresh light. Chêng Chih-lung, the founder of the greatness of the family, was a native of the

(2) Middle Kingdom, pp. 427-428.

(3) *Vide* an article in the *Asiatic Review* 1886 'Early English Enterprise in the East' for an account of the reception the Dutch met with at Chinchew.

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little sea-coast town of Shih-ching, situated on the Fuhkien coast at the entrance of the bay at the head of which lies the town of An-hai. The clan bearing the name is still located there, and is reported to have some 1200 members. There are two temples in the town belonging to the family; neither of them is in very good repair, and their somewhat neglected state denotes a decline in the family prosperity since the days when a judicious combination of buccaneering and patriotism brought such honours to its forerunners. The larger and more pretentious temple seems devoted to the branch of the clan to which Chêng Chih-lung belonged; it is kept locked, but a small fee to the custodian will open the doors. The courtyard inside is 'dim with weeds'; but lists of honours won by members of the family hang upon the walls, and show that even in recent times it is of some distinction. The poorer temple is apparently general to the clan, and is open to all comers; the family tablets are here deposited, and behind the altar on which they stand hangs a scroll on which is painted a likeness of Chêng Ch'êng-kung. The scroll is very faded; it represents a young-looking man in Ming Dynasty robes; the face is thin, narrow and sinister, but conveys a singular impression of power. On the entry of the present writer into this temple during a recent visit to Shih-ching, the village *gamins* who thronged round pointed at the scroll as the evident centre of interest, shouting out the name by which the great chieftain is still known in his native place and indeed generally in the neighbourhood of Amoy—Kok-seng-a! It may not be out of place here to clear the Portuguese of an imputation which has long rested upon them—it is to be found in Mayers' 'Chinese Readers' Manual' and other places—of having travestied by an incomprehensible orthography the name Chêng Ch'êng-kung into 'Koxinga.' The Portuguese—if Mr. Mayers was right in throwing the responsibility upon them—only rendered almost as exactly as is possible in a foreign orthography, the name by which Chêng Ch'êng-kung was popularly known. An Amoy man of to-day would speak either of Tin Kok-seng (Tin being the local pronunciation of Chêng) or Kok-seng-a. The origin of this name is given in the text. The Prince of T'ang took a fancy to the youth when he visited him at Foochow, and deploring that he had no daughter to marry him to, gave him among other dignities the rank of an Imperial Son-in-law, changed his name to Ch'êng-kung, and his surname to Chu (朱). This was the prince's own surname, the family name of the Ming sovereigns, derived from Chu Yüan-chang (朱元璋) the founder of the dynasty. Chêng Ch'êng-kung, although he never seems to have used the name Chu, had thus the same surname as his sovereign, whence the Chinese dubbed him, perhaps in semi-satire, *Kuo-hsing* (pronounced locally *Kok-seng*), i.e. he who bears the surname of the *Kuo*, dynasty or ruling house.

The narrative now proceeds into stories of the exploits of Chêng Chih-lung, until his pacification and employment by the Government, when he was made use of to resist the Dutch. The latter disappear from the record after 1633, and we are told of the successive occupations of Amoy by Chêng Chih-lung's son, and grandson. These occupations are connected with the great political events of the time and the struggles of the Ming princes in Kuangtung and Fuhkien to hold out against the encroaching Manchus. But so far as the island of Amoy is concerned, it was only the scene of various vain attempts by the local officials to bring it under the yoke of the conquerors. In 1661 Chêng Ch'êng-kung left Amoy to drive the Dutch out of Formosa, his headquarters, leaving his son Chêng Ching in charge of Amoy. A few months later he died, and Chêng Ching succeeded to his possessions. The latter held out until 1663, when the Government forces drove him out of Amoy with the aid of Dutch mercenaries; and he was forced to retire to Formosa. Amoy was then laid waste in

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common with the whole coast line of Fuhkien and Kuang-tung, in accordance with the extraordinary measure conceived by K'ang Hsi, who hoped by depopulating the coast for some miles inland to cut off the pirates' supplies and render their suppression easy. Eleven years later Chêng Ching returned, having been invited to join in the great rebellion of Wu San-kuei and Kêng Ching-chung. After the collapse of the rebellion he seems to have taken to piracy pure and simple; he abandoned the *rô'e* adopted by his father and grandfather of aiding in political movements, and we next hear of him as in conjunction with the 'White Turban' robber, Ts'ai yin. Finally in 1680 the efforts of the Government were successful; and Amoy fell permanently into its hands. Chêng Ching was again driven out, this time not to return; he fled to Formosa, and there died in 1681. His young son Chêng K'o-shuang was conciliated in 1683, and yielded Formosa in return for a pardon and a dukedom. From this time Amoy knew peace. In the remaining episodes the island only figures as the gathering point for expeditions against rebellious adventurers in Formosa, these being inserted to show the importance on which the Chinese annals insist strongly, of Amoy as the 'throat' or strategical key to that island. Beyond a false alarm about a visit from some Annamese pirates, thenceforward Amoy seems to have enjoyed a time of quiet; the Formosan pirates Ts'ai and Chu were subdued early in the present century and until the publication of the 'Topography' in 1839 we may conclude our chronicler had no startling military episodes to record.

AMOY VISITED BY FUGITIVE SUNG PRINCES.

In the winter of the first year of Ching Yen(4) *of the Sung Dynasty* (1276), *Chang Shih-chieh*(5) *stopped for a time with his forces at Amoy, then known as Chia-ho Hsü*(6) *or the Island of Goodly Crops.*

In the fifth month of this year the Prince of I(7) was proclaimed Emperor at Foochow, driven before the Mongol troops. Chang Shih-chieh and Chên I-chung(8) made ready the fleet for the reception of the Emperor and the Prince of Wei,(9) and sailed into Chinchew harbour.(10) But there the commandant P'u Shou-kêng(11) closed the citadel in rebellion, and announced his adherence to the Mongol monarch. The fleet then came on to Amoy; the royal party landed at Wu-t'ung,(12) and, leaving the harbour by way of Taitau,(13) sailed for Ch'ao-chow(14) in Kuangtung.

In the autumn of the following year, Chang Shih-chieh returned from seawards to reduce P'u Shou-kêng to subjection. But as the city did not yield after a nine days' siege, he led his forces away.

PIRATICAL ATROCITIES.

Piratical raids were made upon Amoy in 1345, 1354, *and* 1449, *and the island was again attacked by pirates in the spring of the* 24*th year of Chia-ching*(15) *of the Ming Dynasty* (1545).

This last occasion was during a time of famine. The pirates landed and killed the inhabitants, carried off and violated their wives and daughters, and extorted money as ransom for life. The poverty-stricken people threw in their lot with the pirates, and thus helped to increase their power.

(4) 景炎.
(5) 張世傑.
(6) 嘉禾嶼 (See Note (A), Names of Amoy).
(7) 益王.
(8) 陳宜中.
(9) 衛王.
(10) 泉州港.
(11) 蒲壽庚.
(12) 五通, locally called Go-thang, on the N.E. coast of Amoy; there is a ferry from here to Lak-go-tai (陸伍店), whence runs the main road to Foochow.
(13) 大擔, now a lighthouse station at the entrance to Amoy Harbour.
(14) 潮州.
(15) 嘉靖.

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ADVENT OF THE PORTUGUESE.

In 1547 a Portuguese ship anchored at Wu-hsü.(16) *K'o Ch'iao,*(17) *the official in charge of naval affairs, sent soldiers to make an attack on her, but the attempt failed*

The Changchow records have it that the Changchow(18) and Chinchew merchants lost no time in coming forward to trade with the foreigner, and as soon as the troops had returned from the attack, barter went on more briskly than ever. But Chu Huan,(19) President of the Censorate and Governor General of Min-Chê, issued stringent orders against these proceedings, and seizing some ninety of the traders, K'o Ch'iao and a *tu-ssŭ* named Lu T'ang(20) had them beheaded on the spot. The foreign vessel thereupon departed.

JAPANESE RAIDS.

(*The years 1557, 1558 and 1559 were disturbed by invasions of Japanese marauders, the particulars of which it is needless to detail.*) *In 1560 a fresh horde of Japanese formed an encampment on Wu-hsü.*

Moving southward from Chusan,(21) for the whole year the Japanese scoured the waters of Kuangtung and Fuhkien, spreading disaster as they went.

In the fourth month of this year, Hsieh Wan-kuan,(22) *a Changchow freebooter having command of twelve ships, guided them from Wu-hsü in a great raid on Wu-chow*(23). *A number of volunteers, led by the District Magistrate T'an Wei-ting* (24) *came to the rescue, anchoring at Ao-t'ou*(25).

In the fifth month two military officers, Wang Lin(26) *and Têng I-kuei* (27) *chasing the Japanese marauders to Ku'angsu*(28) *and Tz'ü hsü,*(29), *utterly routed them.*

Previously to this the Japanese encamped at Yüeh-chiang.(30) The official soldiery from Chinchew, Hai-ch'êng(31) and other places, attacked them, and the Japanese getting the worst of it retreated seawards. They were pursued and caught by Wang Lin at Cha-chên(32) and Hai-shan(33) on the east of Kulangsu, while Têng I-kuei caught them at Tz ü-hsü, and after five encounters they were entirely overcome.

Shang-chien,(34) grandson of the Prince of the Kingdom of Ya-li (35) was taken alive, and committed suicide by biting his tongue. Several score of their ships were sunk, and several hundred of the bandits either killed or taken prisoners. The robber-chiefs Hsü Lao, Hsü Hsi-ch'ih, Wang Lao,(36) and the Japanese leader Shang Ch'ien(37) were all taken. The rest of the band, amounting to more than three thousand, were drowned without exception.

The Ming Shan Tsang and Yih-pên Ch'uan(38) state that the Japanese harassed Chinchew with frequent attacks at intervals between 1370 and 1564; so much so that the sea-coast population could scarcely find the wherewithal to live. In the last year of Chia-ching the devastations were worse than ever. Finally Ch'i Chi-kuang,(39) Yü Ta-yu,(40) and Ch'i-fêng(41) succeeded in putting them down, and there are no traces of the Japanese later than 1569.

(16) 浯嶼 Go-su, outside Tsingsen at the entrance to Amoy Harbour.
(17) 柯喬. (18) 漳州.
(19) 總督閩浙都御史朱紈.
(20) 都司盧鏜. (21) 舟山.
(22) 謝萬貫. (23) 浯州.
(24) 譚維鼎. (25) 灣頭.
(26) 王麟. (27) 鄧一貫.
(28) 鼓浪嶼. (29) 刺嶼.
(30) 月港. (31) 海澄.
(32) 砟鎮. (33) 海山.
(34) 上建.
(35) 啞哩國 (See Note (B). Ya-li Kuo).
(36) 許老. 許西池 王老.
(37) 尚乾.
(38) 名山藏. 日本傳.
(39) 戚繼光. (40) 俞大猷.
(41) 張奇峯.

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ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH.

The red haired barbarians(42) *took possession of the Pescadores and invaded Amoy in the second year of T'ien-ch'i*(43) (1622). *They pressed on to Kuei hsü*(44) *and Hai-ch'êng; but in view of the great preparations for defence made by the Magistrate Liu Hsü lai*(45) *they turned round and made off.*

The Red hairs are the Dutch. At the end of the reign of Shên Tsung(46) (*circa* 1620) they took Formosa, and in the year now spoken of built a fort on the Pescadores. They sought permission to trade, and the officials in charge of the place, fearful lest trouble might arise, told them that, if they would pull down their fort and move it off to a distance (*i.e.* Formosa), they would be allowed to trade. They complied, and the governor Shang Chou-tso(47) represented to the Throne that they had moved off in obedience to orders. But permission to trade was refused; the foreigners resented it and built up their fort again, seizing moreover some six hundred fishing-boats and compelling the crews to assist in the work by carrying earth and stones. They then made an incursion into Amoy, killed and took prisoner a few people, and with lying representations sought to come to terms. They again promised to pull down their fort and move off to a distance; but instead of doing so, restored it and built it up as it was before, anchored their ships at Fêng-kuei and Tzü wei,(48) and cruised in and out of Wu-hsü, Pai-hang,(49) Tung-Ting,(50) and other places. A pirate called Li Tam(51) gave them assistance, and the maritime districts took stringent precautions for defence.

In the tenth month, Hsü I-ming,(52) *the Fuhkien Brigadier-General, led a force to Amoy to exterminate the Red Barbarians.* (Vide the inscription on a stone at the Hung Shan Temple) (53)

The genealogical registers of the Ch'ên(54) family contain an entry that among those who followed Hsü I-ming into camp at Amoy were Chao P'o,(55) a Major, Ch'ên T'ien-tso(56) and others; and that there a native of the Island, Ch'ên Tsê-kêng,(57) assisted in devising the following scheme:—the general made a pretence of considering the trade question by way of keeping the enemy quiet; but he secretly hired, out of his private resources, men who had no fear of death, to take beef and poisoned wine on board the foreign ships. After the wine-cup had circulated, a thing in which the foreigners found great pleasure, Ch'ên Tsê kêng got into a small boat and made all speed to the ships, carrying rain clothes(58) steeped in oil. These were lit and thrown on board. The wind fanned the flame into a blaze, and the foreigners were destroyed to a man.

DUTCH ATTACK ON KULANGSU.

The Dutch entered Amoy again the following year and were repulsed by the Government troops at Tsê ng chia-ao(59).

(42) 紅毛夷. (43) 天啟.

(44) 圭嶼. Pagoda Island, in the estuary of the Hung Kiang, or Changchow River

(45) 劉斯垓

(46) 神宗, the dynastic title of the Emperor who is better known by the name given to the years of his reign, Wan Li (萬歷).

(47) 巡撫商周祚

(48) 風櫃仔尾 in the Pescadores?

(49) 白坑.

(50) 東碇, Chapel Island.

(51) 李旦.

(52) 福建總兵官徐一鳴.

(53) 鴻山寺. This inscription may still be seen on a rock somewhat inaccessibly situated in a courtyard of the temple. It gives a concise commemoration of the events described here.

(54) 陳氏家譜. (55) 趙頊.

(56) 陳天策 (57) 陳則賡.

(58) 簑, coir or straw rain-cloaks.

(59) 曾家澳.

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In the autumn they invaded Kulangsu, where Wang Mêng-hsiung.(60) *a military officer of Wu-t'ung,*(61) *attacked and routed them.*

The records of the Wang family have an entry that Kulangsu, which is only separated from Amoy by a narrow strip of water, was burnt out by the Dutch; that they again arrived that autumn and Wang Mêng-hsiung at the head of his clansmen gave them battle, with the result that the enemy lost three ships and retired defeated. They came on again with larger vessels and forced their way inland. Wang Mêng-hsiung then disguised a number of small craft as fishing-boats, loaded them with inflammable materials, and quietly ran them alongside the Dutch ships. Taking advantage of the wind he set them alight, abandoned them, and swam back by the aid of life-belts. With the aid of the large war-junks, some ten of the foreign ships were burnt. The leaders Niu Wên-lai(62) and Lü Ch'in(63) were taken alive, and those of the foreigners that escaped death by fire were drowned.

END OF THE DUTCH TROUBLE.

On the 24th of the tenth month of the same year (*3rd year of T'ien Ch'i*), *Hsieh Lung-i,*(64) *Brigadier-General of Fuhkien, inflicted a great defeat on the Dutch at Wu-hsü.*

Hsieh Lung-i and Nan Chü-i,(65) the Governor, had arranged to be stationed at Amoy, when the Dutch ships anchored at Wu-hsü, becoming suddenly alarmed, made off. On their return the following month, Hsieh Lung-i, adopting the ruse of falling upon them unexpectedly at night, took their commander and more than sixty men prisoners, and burnt their ships, while those burnt to death or drowned were beyond count. On the strength of this success the Chinese then achieved a victory over them at the Pescadores.

In the autumn of the 4th year (1624), *Governor Nan Chü-i despatched a large and successful expedition from Amoy to suppress the Dutch at the Pescadores.*

He represented to the Throne the power of the foreigners, pointed out that nothing could be done without troops, enumerated the force needed, what funds would be sufficient, and the tactics to be used. His demands were conceded by the Board concerned and early in the year he sent forward his generals, who fortified Chên-hai(66) and were occupied both in fighting and in erecting works. The enemy retired to their fort at Fêng-kuei, and though Nan Chü-i besieged them there for several months, they held their position. Finally a large force was sent out and Hsieh Lung-i, Yü Tzü-kao,(67) and Wang Mêng-hsiung were ordered to advance simultaneously from three sides. The foreigners, hard pressed, twice sent envoys begging that the soldiers might be stayed while they put grain on board their ships, promising that they would then retire. Because of the straits the marauders were in, the Chinese leaders did not push on and allowed this proceeding. The Dutch then set sail and went off, except their chief leader Kao Wên-lü(68) and eleven others who still held out in an upper storey. They were overcome, and sent up captive to the Court. The remainder of the freebooters withdrew, and this was the end of the Formosa-Pescadore scare.

RISE OF THE KOXINGA POWER.

In the spring of 1626 *the pirate Chêng Chih-lung*(69) *invaded Amoy.*

(60) 王夢熊.
(61) 浯銅遊把總.
(62) 牛文來 Huig Van Lee?
(63) 揮欽, Luiken?
(64) 福建總兵官鄧隆儀.
(65) 巡撫南居益.
(66) 鎮海. (67) 俞咨皐.
(68) 高文律, Mr. Parker surmises 'Karl van-Leeuw' (China's Intercourse with Europe, p. 6.)
(69) 鄭芝龍.

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Chêng Chih-lung's name as a child was I-kuan, his style Fei-huang.(70) He was a native of Shih-ching(71) in Nan-an,(72) and ran away to Japan as a lawless adventurer. There he married a Japanese wife by whom he had a son Chêng Ch'êng-kung.(73) He returned and became a robber. With Yen Ssŭ-ch'i(74) and others he opened up Formosa; he was raised by his comrades to the chief leadership on the death of the former, and harried the maritime districts of Fuhkien and Kuangtung. Having taken Chang-p'u and Chiu-chên(75) by surprise, he anchored his fleet at Quemoy(76) and Amoy, hoisted his flag and called for recruits. Within ten days several thousand had joined him. He forced the rich folk to subscribe funds, which he called 'compensation money.'(77)

In the fifth month the Yu-chi Lu Yü-ying(78) *made an unsuccessful assault upon Chêng Chih-lung, who got the better of him and entered Amoy.*

In the second month Hung Hsien-ch'un,(79) a *tu-ssŭ*, having tried conclusions with the pirate and met with discomfiture, the Governor Chu I-fêng(80) directed Lu Yü-ying to amalgamate forces with him for the extermination of the enemy. Chêng Chih-lung despatched his brothers Chêng Chih-hu(81) and Chêng Chih-pao(82) in separate directions, dispersing his ships—disguised as peaceful traders—to Tao-mei,(83) Wu-hsü and Tung-ting. When the fight came on, Lu Yü-ying, underestimating his foe, was taken prisoner. Chêng Chih-lung did not kill him, but gave tokens that he would not be unwilling to submit to the Government, and allowed him to return. Lu Yü-ying explained the pirate's sentiments to his chief; but Yü Tzŭ-kao, paying no heed, impeached him and cast him into prison.

(70) 小名一官字飛黃.
(71) 石井. (72) 南安.
(73) 鄭成功. (74) 顏思齊.
(75) 漳浦, 舊鎮.
(76) 金門. (77) 報水.
(78) 遊擊盧毓英.
(79) 都司洪先春.
(80) 巡撫朱一馮.
(81) 鄭芝虎. (82) 鄭芝豹.
(83) 島美.

SUCCESSES OF CHENG CHIH-LUNG.

In the summer of 1627, *Chêng Chih-lung came in from Chiu-chên and invaded Amoy; and having fought and defeated General Yü Tzŭ-kao, entered and took possession of the island.*

After Yü Tzŭ-kao had impeached Lu Yü-ying, Governor Chu I-fêng censured him for his inaction: he accordingly ordered out Fêng Shêng,(84) a *chien-hu*, and Yang Shih-chü (85), *pai-hu*, to give fight to Chang Chih-lung. These two officers were utterly defeated, and drowned themselves. In the ninth month he again sent out a force under Lieutenant-General Ch'ên Hsi-fan.(86) In the encounter that ensued, Ch'ên Hsi-fan was forced to retreat leaving two of his officers dead upon the field. In the tenth month Yü Tzŭ-kao mobilized the whole of the forces at his command to make a concentrated attack on Amoy. The fight took place at Chiang Chün-ao.(87) While they were in the thick of the struggle, Chêng Chih-pao suddenly came in from Tung-ting. Yü Tzŭ-kao told off the *Yu-chi* Shang Shih-lu(88) to repel him. But as the latter brought his ship about to execute the order, the other leaders erroneously supposed the force was about to be withdrawn; the whole fleet got confused and out of control, was defeated and forced to retreat. Chêng Chih-lung pursued as far as Wu-hsü, where he anchored at nightfall. With the morning tide he came into Amoy. The *Chih-hui* Fu

(84) 千戶馮勝.
(85) 百戶楊世爵.
(86) 副總兵陳希範.
(87) 將軍澳.
(88) 遊擊商世祿.

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Kuei(89) opposed him at Nan-shan,(90) but to no effect. Yü Tzŭ-kao fled to Hai-mên,(91) while the Amoy people opened the city-gates to Chêng Chih-lung and besought him to spare their lives. He then entered and took possession, and while the place was under his directorate there was no disturbance nor trouble.

PACIFICATION OF CHENG CHIH LUNG.

In the spring of the first year of Chung Chêng(92) (1628), *Chêng Chih-lung attacked T'ung-shan*(93) *from Amoy: in the autumn he surrendered to the Governor Hsiung Wên-ts'an.*(94)

Some time before this he had given in to Ts'ai Shan-chi,(95) Prefect of Chinchew, but as this official would not accede to his demands, he turned rebel again. In the present year, however, the Board (of Civil Office) called upon him to submit. Wang Yu (96) prefect of Chinchew, requested that Lu Yü-ying might be released from prison and sent to convey the orders to Chêng Chih-lung. The latter then gave in his allegiance. The rank of *Yu-chi*(97) was conferred upon him, and this was afterwards raised to *tu-tu*.(98)

At this time both the sea and harbours swarmed with pirates, who did nothing without the orders of the Chêng family. From Woosung(99) down to Fuhkien and Kuangtung the rich people paid 'compensation money' as before, and every year the receipts amounted to enormous sums. Chêng Chih-lung built himself a fort, called An-p'ing chai,(100) and filling it with reserve troops kept the sea-board under absolute control.

A DUTCH SHIP SET ON FIRE.

In 1630 *the Dutch made an incursion into Amoy. Yu-chi, Chêng Chih-lung burnt one of their ships and put them to flight.*

Chêng Chih-lung hired a Lung-ch'i(101) man named Kuo Jên-kung(102) to swim off at night with ten men to the stern of one of the Dutch ships and set her on fire. The rest made off, and for some years did not dare to come prying about the country.

THE DUTCH DRIVEN OFF.

In 1633 *the Dutch suddenly invaded Amoy. Governor Tsou Wei-lien*(103) *attacked them and drove them away.*

The Dutch having invaded Shuang-shan(104) in Fuhkien, Tsou Wei-lien, Governor and President of the Censorate, ordered Chêng Chih-lung to forthwith attack them. But the latter was engaged in dealing with pirates in Kuangtung and could not arrive in time. Tsou Wei-lien had therefore to conduct the expedition himself, and he fought the foreigners at Fu-ning (105) The Dutch then darted into Amoy, burnt the war-junks there, and inflicted some injury upon the Government troops. Tsou Wei-lien returned to Foochow, and gave directions that levies should be at once raised in the Chang-chow and Chin-chew districts, promising rewards for meritorious service. The tactics communicated to his generals were that they were to advance by water, and make the assault on the freebooters in boats. His leaders all displayed the greatest gallantry; Chêng Chih-lung came up from Fu-ning and swore that he too would fight to the death. A great number of the enemy were killed and taken prisoner, and the remainder fled to the high seas.

Tsou Wei-lien now memorialized the Throne that in the Shuang-shan expedition Chêng Chih-lung had connived at the evil doings of the Dutch. But the latter hav-

(89) 指揮傅珪.
(90) 南山. (91) 海門.
(92) 崇禎. (93) 銅山.
(94) 巡撫熊文燦
(95) 蔡善繼. (96) 王猷.
(97) 遊擊. (98) 都督.
(99) 吳淞. (100) 安平寨.
(101) 龍溪. (102) 郭任功
(103) 巡撫鄒維璉.
(104) 霜山. (105) 福寧.

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ing friends at court, while Tsou Wei-lien had incurred the odium of the Government on account of his partisanship with the Tung Lin,(106) the Board decided in his favour, and sentenced Tsou Wei-lien to punishment.

A little later the Dutch made another raid on Shih-wan,(107) Hai-ch'êng, and T'ung-an.(108) Tsou Wei-lien attacked them and drove them back, being victorious from first to last. But he afterwards denounced himself as being unable to subjugate the robbers, owing to the misdeeds of Chêng Chih-lung. The decision of the Board of Civil Office had however already come down that Tsou Wei-lien was to be dismissed from office. Just at this time the latter had gathered together a large fleet and had transferred all the troops from Changchow to meet the Dutch at T'ung-shan. A desperate conflict lasting eight days and nights took place; the enemy were badly beaten, several of their leaders were taken alive, and their ships and arms were burnt. On the victory being reported, the Imperial decree only recognized the services of the officers and men. Tsou Wei-lien had defeated the marauders and led back his forces to Foochow before he learnt of his dismissal. He wrote a memorial explaining, but it received no recognition and he returned to his home.

THE DUTCH AGAIN DEFEATED.

In the seventh month of this year (633), *Liang Chao-yang,*(109) *Magistrate of Hai-Ch êng, defeated the Dutch by surprising them by night at Wu-hsü.*

The Dutch entered Liao-lo,(110) and came prying about Hai-ch'êng. Liang Chao-yang took his soldiers over to Wu-hsü in the night, surprised and routed them. Three of their ships were burnt, and nine taken.

AMOY OCCUPIED BY CHENG TS'AI AND CHENG LIEN.

In the autumn of the third year of Shun Chih(111) *of the present dynasty* (1646), *Chêng Ts'ai*(112) *and Chêng Lien*(113) *held Amoy.*

(The Prefectural and District Annals make it the first year of Shun Chih, but this is an error).

Chêng Ts'ai was a Nan-an man. In the time of the Prince of Fu(114) he held the rank of a naval *fu-chiang*(115); in the time of the Prince of T'ang(116) he was stationed at Foochow, and various high titles were conferred upon him. His troops having met with disaster in Kiangsi, whither he had gone to give aid at the siege of Fu-chow,(117) he was dismissed from his office. At this time Chêng Chih-lung having withdrawn his guard of soldiers from Amoy, Chêng Ts'ai went there and occupied the island. In the north he had met the claimant to the princedom of Lu(118) at Chusan, who had conferred the second grade of nobility upon him, and the third upon his brother Chêng Lien. In the eleventh month the Prince called in at Amoy. Chêng Chih-lung, who had then submitted to the Government, gave Chêng Ts'ai secret orders to seize the Prince, and tender his submission. But Chêng Ts'ai would not do this, and on another occasion—at Ch'ang-yüan(119) in the following year—the Prince created him a Duke. Every one disliked the man for his perversity and arrogance; and after all he deserted

(106) 東林, a College or Literary Association, apparently formed of disaffected officials, which had got into bad odour from the criticisms its members passed on the Government. I have not been able to ascertain the locality of this College, nor the particulars of Tsou Wei-lien's connection with it.

(107) 石灣. (108) 同安.
(109) 梁兆陽.
(110) 料羅, in the I. of Quemoy.

(111) 順治. (112) 鄭彩.
(113) 鄭聯. (114) 福王.
(115) 水師副將.
(116) 唐王. (117) 撫州.
(118) 魯監國. (119) 長垣.

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the Prince when the latter was at Chien T'iao.(120) He finally died at Amoy.

KOXINGA ENCAMPS UPON KULANGSU.

In the fourth year of Shun Chih (1647) *Chêng Ch'êng-kung encamped upon Kulangsu.*

Chêng Chêng-kung was the son of Chêng Chih-lung by his Japanese wife, and was of remarkable and striking appearance. His original name was Sên, style Ta-mu.(121) At seven years of age he returned from Japan, and when fifteen took a literary degree. When the Prince of T'ang came to Fuhkien, Chêng Chêng-kung went to see him. The Prince was surprised at his cleverness, put his hand on his shoulder and said to him, 'What a pity it is I have not a daughter that I could mate with you;' gave him the surname of Chu,(122) and changed his name to Ch'êng-kung, wherefore he was called Kuo-hsing(123) i.e. Kok-seng. The Prince ordered him to take special charge of his body-guard, and to be in constant attendance upon his person. He further graciously honoured him with the rank of *fu-ma-tu-yü*,(124) and made him a noble of the third grade with the seal of a *p'ei-chao-t'ao ta-chiang chün*.(125)

When Foochow was conquered, and Chêng Ch'êng-kung's mother killed in the fight, Chêng Chih-lung wished to submit to the conquerors. Clinging to the hem of his son's garment he besought him with tears to follow his example. But the latter paid no heed. Taking his scholar's cap, he went to the Confucian temple and there burnt it: then with a friend named Ch'ên Hui,(126) and others, some ninety in all, he formed a band and fled to Quemoy. Afterwards he went to Namoa,(127) and having collected together the remnant of the survivors (of the Foochow troops) amounting to several thousand, he transferred his camp to Kulangsu.

Just as he was sorely pressed for want of money, a Japanese ship arrived, which on enquiry proved to be commanded by an adherent of the Chêngs. On this man's being ordered to give money to aid the troops, and making excuse that he had not received orders from his mistress,(128) Chêng Ch'êng-kung forthwith beheaded him. Chêng Ch'êng-kung now recruited troops, procured weapons, and repeatedly invaded the districts dependent on Changchow and Chin-chew. He followed the style of reign adopted by Chu Yu-lang(129) away in Kuang-tung. In the autumn of his sixth year Chu Yu-lang sent an envoy to the island, creating him Duke of Chang,(130) and afterwards raised him to the rank of Prince of Yen-p'ing.(131)

OCCUPATION OF AMOY BY KOXINGA.

In the autumn of 1657 *Chêng Ch'êng-kung, in consort with Chêng Ts'ai and Chêng Lien, made a military occupation of Quemoy and Amoy.*

Chêng Lien was at Amoy, and occupied himself with gadding about and feasting, while his followers perpetrated all sorts of enormities. Chêng Ch'êng-kung was away, having been invited to plunder Ch'ao-chow by Huang Hai-ju,(132) a native of the place. His soldiers were beaten there, and on the night of the Mid-Autumn Festival(133) he availed himself of the tide and

(120) 健跳.
(121) 本名森宇大木.
(122) 朱.
(123) 國姓.
(124) 駙馬都尉.
(125) 佩招討大將軍印.
(126) 陳輝.
(127) 南澳.
(128) 未得主母命. Koxinga's Japanese mother?
(129) 朱由榔, the Prince of Kuli.
(130) 漳國公.
(131) 延平郡王.
(132) 黃海如.
(133) 中秋夜.

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suddenly returned. Chêng Lien was then drunk at the temple of the Ten Thousand Rocks,(134) and no communication could be held with him. On the following morning the two met, and Chêng Ch'êng-kung asked Chêng Lien with a smile if he could lend him a body of men. Chêng Lien made no reply; but the whole of his braves at once came forward, hauled up Chêng Ch'êng-kung's ships, and submitted to him in a body. Chêng Lien forthwith sneaked off to Quemoy, and told Chêng Ts'ai of what had happened. The latter was for taking his force and getting out of the way, but Chêng Lien stopped him. No preparations were made; Chêng Ch'êng-kung pounced on them at night, and occupied the two islands. Thus all the pirates in the South-east of the empire came under his control.

AMOY RECOVERED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT LOST AGAIN.

In the Spring of 1651 *General Ma Tê-kung*(135) *conquered Amoy; but Chêng Ch'êng-kung returned and retook it.*

After the conquest of Canton, Tu Yung-ho,(136) the defending general, fled to Kiungchow(137) and Chêng Ch'êng-kung went to the rescue, leaving Chêng Chih-wan(138) to take care of Amoy. He took his whole force with him southwards, but on arriving at P'ing Hai(139) he ordered Chêng Hung-lu(140) to return to Amoy to help to strengthen Chêng Chih-wan's defence. Before Chêng Hung-lu could arrive, however, Governor Chang Hsüeh-shêng,(141) who was then holding Chiuchow, learning the state of things from his spies, ordered out Ma Tê-kung to take advantage of the unprotected state of the island and effect a surprise.

Ma Tê-kung led forward his horse and foot, and stole across the ferry at Wu-T'ung. Chêng Chih-wan abandoned the citadel and fled, and Tsêng Ying,(142) a former Grand Secretary (who was with him), strangled himself. On the first of the third month, Chang Hsüeh-shêng, together with Huang shu,(143) the Taotai of Hsinghua and Chinchew, arrived at the head of a large body of troops. Coming up on the flood tide, they landed at Wu-t'ung and gazing round them from the hill exclaimed in alarm, 'This place has no connection with anywhere; if we meet with disaster, how can we get across the water?'(144)—and returned the same day. A few days later, Chêng Hung-lu arrived; he blockaded the harbour and laid siege to the place. Ma Tê-kung could not get through the lines, but managed by false representations to Chêng Hung-lu to borrow a fishing-boat and steal away. When Chêng Ch'êng-kung returned, Ma Tê-kung had been gone two days.

Chêng Ch'êng kung executed Chêng Chih-wan for his behaviour in this affair.

ATTEMPTS TO RETAKE THE ISLAND.

In 1651 *Governor General Ch'ên Chin*(145) *stationed himself at T'ung-an, and made an attack upon Amoy; he was unsuccessful, and returned.*

In 1653 *the Bannerman Chin Li*(146) *had a great fight with Chêng Ch'êng-kung at the T'ien Fei temple*(147) *on Amoy Island.*

Previously to this, Chêng Ch'êng-kung had besieged Changchow; and the Manchu General Chin Li going to relieve the city with 10,000 horse had inflicted a severe

(134) 萬石巖, a favourite spot nowadays for foreigners' picnics.
(135) 提督馬得功.
(136) 杜永和. (137) 瓊州.
(138) 鄭芝莞. (139) 平海.
(140) 鄭鴻逵.
(141) 巡撫張學聖.
(142) 前大學士曾櫻.
(143) 興泉道黃澍.
(144) 登五通山四望愕然曰此絕地也設有緩急豈能飛渡.
(145) 陳錦.
(146) 圖山命鶚.
(147) 天妃宮.

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defeat upon him at Ku-hsien.(148) The general retired to defend Hai-Ch'êng, and it was at this time he came in for the battle at Amoy. On the strength of his success Chêng Ch'êng-kung stormed Hai-ch'êng, but was unsuccessful and returned. (The Hsien Annals have it that the fight took place at T'ien Fei temple at Amoy, but according to an inscription on a stone at Ch'ung-ch'êng(149) the encounter was at Hai-ch'êng.)

CHENG CHIH-LUNG ATTEMPTS TO CONCILIATE HIS SON.

In 1654 *Chêng Chih-lung was sent to invite Chêng Ch'êng-kung to surrender, but he would not.*

Chêng Ch'êng-kung took no notice of these commands, and continued his nefarious calling. The Changchow *Ch'ien-tsung* Liu Kuo-hsüan(150) admitted him into the city, and ten Districts fell before him. On the strength of these successes he made an assault upon Chinchew, but was unable to reduce the city. At this time his inland soldiers spread over the country like wild-fire; the coast and inland districts were divided into seventy-two military divisions; the name of Amoy was changed from Chung-tso-so(151) to Ssŭ-ming-chou;(152) and public offices and an Imperial officialdom were established.

KOXINGA'S EXPEDITION TO KIANGNAN.

In the autumn of 1658 *Chêng Ch'êng-kung gathered together a great host to make a raid on Kiangnan.*(153)

In the spring of this year Chêng Ch'êng-kung built the Yen-wu T'ing(154) or 'Pavilion for Martial Exercises' in front of Wu-Lao Peak.(155) In training his men he used a stone lion weighing five hundred catties; those who were strong enough to lift this and walk with it were picked out for enrolment in the right and left Tiger Guards,(156)—his own body-guard. These wore iron masks and iron aprons; the bows and arrows they carried were painted in red and green stripes, matching with a long-handled sword used for killing horses; and they were stationed in the van that they might maim the horses' legs. They were his most reliable troops, and were called *t'ieh-jên*(157) or 'Ironsides.'

Chêng Ch'êng-kung mustered 8000 war-junks, 240,000 fighting men, and 8000 'Ironsides' a force which he gave out as numbering 800,000. Working up the coast, he took Le-ch'ing(158) and other Districts; but while at Yang-shan(159) a fierce typhoon arose, destroying a hundred and more of his large war-junks and drowning some 8000 of his men. He then anchored his fleet at Wêng-chow.(160)

THE DEFEAT AT NANKING AND RETURN TO AMOY.

In the winter of 1659 *Chêng Ch'êng-kung returned from Nanking to Amoy, utterly defeated.*

In the seventh month he made a descent upon Kua-chow,(161) and despoiled the Districts dependent on Chinkiang(162) which entirely succumbed to him. Kan Hui(163) one of his leaders, expressed himself as follows: 'Cut off Kua-chow, and then the Shantung army can be held in check. Seize Pei-ku(164) and communication can be

(148) 古縣. (149) 銃城.
(150) 漳州千總劉國軒.
(151) 中左所, (See Note (A), Names of Amoy.)
(152) 思明州, (See Note (A), Names of Amoy.)
(153) 江南.
(154) 演武亭, Traces of this building still remain.
(155) 五老峰.
(156) 左右虎衛.
(157) 鐵人.
(158) 樂清. (159) 羊山.
(160) 溫州. (161) 瓜州.
(162) 鎮江. (163) 甘輝.
(164) 北固.

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closed on the high roads to Chehkiang. Establish your forces here, and the Southern Capital can be settled without trouble.' But this advice was not taken, and siege was laid to Nanking.

The victorious army returning from Kweichow(165) descended the Yangtze in boats and overcame Chêng Ch'êng-kung's vanguard. *Fu-chiang* Liang Hua-fêng(166) broke out of the city by night through a breach in the wall, and drove back the main body of his troops; then taking several thousand horse he made a *détour* round the hill and fell upon them with redoubled force. Chêng Ch'êng-kung was utterly defeated; Kan Hui and the brave leader Wan Li(167) were slain with many others; and of his skilled veterans not more than 20 or 30 per cent. survived. He fled back to Amoy, where before landing he performed mourning ceremonies for Kan Hui, to whose memory he ordered a temple to be built. This temple is now in the Chu-tzŭ(168) street, in the midst of the public bazaar.

ILL-SUCCESS AND SUICIDE OF A TARTAR-GENERAL.

In the summer of 1660 *the Tartar-General Ta-Su* (69) *and Governor-General Li Shuai-t'ai,*(170) *led down an army to subjugate Amoy. They were defeated at Kao-ch'i.*(171)

Kianguan having been settled, Ta-su and Li Shuai-t'ai united to bring Amoy and Quemoy to subjection. Their large vessels put out from Changchow, their small ones from T'ung-an. Hsü Lung(172) and Su Li,(173) two Cantonese Generals who had gone over to the Manchu side, were ordered to take part in the expedition. Chêng Ch'êng-kung himself held Hai-mên, facing Changchow harbour; Chêng T'ai(174) was ordered to Quemoy to check the Cantonese; and Ch'ên P'êng(175) guarded Kao-ch'i to keep back the T'ung-an Contingent. Ch'ên P'êng intended to submit to the Government troops, and with this view, when near the sea-shore, he struggled to get across the water first. Ch'ên Mang (176) a leader of his division, was not in the plot, and he as well as Ch'ên Chang,(177) commander of the rear-guard, cheered on their men and fought bravely. The Government soldiers were forced back, got into the mud, and were dispersed; so that their leader Ha-li-shih(178) had to stay proceedings.

Chêng Ch'êng-kung put Ch'ên P'êng to death, and appointed Ch'ên Mang to succeed him.

On the same day the Chang-chow party had a battle with the marauders at Hai-mên. It was also completely defeated; and when Hsü Lung, etc., on arriving two days later, learnt that the troops by both *routes* had been worsted, they led their forces away. Ta Su returned to Foochow, and committed suicide.

KOXINGA LEAVES AMOY FOR FORMOSA.

In the fourth month of 1661, *Chêng Ch'êng-kung captured Formosa, leaving his son Chêng Ching*(179) *to take charge of Amoy.*

Chêng Ch'êng-kung found it difficult to hold the two islands (Amoy and Quemoy) with any degree of ease. In any case he was in bad circumstances and destitute, when a linguist named Ho Pin(180) sailed

(165) 貴州.
(166) 副將梁化鳳.
(167) 萬禮.
(168) 竹仔街民廛中.
(169) 將軍達素.
(170) 總督李率泰.
(171) 高崎, Ko-kia, the most northerly point on Amoy Island.
(172) 許隆.
(173) 蘇利.
(174) 鄭泰.
(175) 陳鵬.
(176) 陳嶙.
(177) 陳璋.
(178) 哈喇士.
(179) 鄭經.
(180) 何斌.

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hastily to Amoy and presented him with a map (of Formosa). He then put out his whole force for his expedition eastwards. After the Dutch had gone he called the place (i.e. Taiwan) Tung-tu(181) or Eastern Capital, and took up his residence there.

DEATH OF KOXINGA.

In the fifth month of the first year of K'ang Hsi(182) (1662), *Chêng Ch'êng-kung died. His son Chêng Ching went from Amoy to Formosa to take up his illegal heritage.*

Kêng Chi-mou(183), Prince Pacificator of the South, and Governor-General Li Shuai-t'ai, hearing of the death of Chêng Ch'êng-kung, sent messengers with letters to Chêng Ching, summoning him (to the Provincial Capital). Chêng Ching replied with a request that he might hold the Island under the same conditions as Korea was held(184); but this was not acceded to.

AMOY CONQUERED WITH THE AID OF THE DUTCH.

In the spring of 1663 *Chêng Ching returned to Amoy; in the winter the Government forces made a great expedition into the two Islands of Amoy and Quemog, laid them waste and left.*

Of the forces collected to subjugate Amoy, those under Kêng Chi-mou, and Li Shuai-tái, together with the 'Red Barbarian' soldiers who had given in their allegiance, put out from Chin-chew; Ma Tê-kung put out from T'ung-an, Huang-wu(185) and Shih Lang(186) from Chang-chow. Chêng Ching ordered out Chou Ch'üan-pin(187) to the defence. Ma Tê-kung was the first to arrive: battle was given to him at Wu-sha-t'ou(188) and he was hemmed in and killed. But Chêng Ching was conquered and made his way to T'ung-shan, whence he fled back to Formosa. The Government troops entered the Island; before leaving it, the city was destroyed and the whole of the coast population left was driven within the prescribed limit.(189) The old prophecy that Chia-ho and the race of man should be severed from one another had indeed come to pass.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHENG CHING AND KENG CHING-CHUNG.

In the fifth month of 1674 *Chêng Ching re-occupied Amoy.*

Kêng Ching-chung,(190) before raising his rebellion in Fuhkien, had sent Huang Yung(191) to Formosa to enlist the aid of Chêng Ching. In the third month the latter despatched Liu Kuo-hsüan, Ho Yu,(192) and Fêng Hsi-fan(193) in advance to Amoy, arriving himself in the fifth month. He had barely a hundred ships and a thousand men. Kêng Ching-chung sneered at (this trifling armament), and on Chêng Ching's sending messengers to ask that the two prefectures of Chin-chew and Chang-chow might be lent him that he might get his soldiers into order, he would not consent and discussion arose between the two. At this time Wu San kuei(194) had also revolted in Yunnan; he reconciled the two rebels and subsequently, on a line of demarcation being drawn at Fêng T'ing,(195) they were on good terms.

Chêng Ching thereupon re-occupied Amoy; eight Prefectures, viz.: Ch'üan-chow (Chin-chew), Ch'ao-chow, Chang-chow, Shao-chou, Hui chou, Ting-chow, Hsing-'hua,

(181) 東都. (182) 康熙.
(183) 靖南王耿繼茂.
(184) 如朝鮮例. (185) 黃梧.
(186) 施琅. (187) 周全斌.
(188) 烏沙頭.

(189) 于界內 the extraordinary expedient of K'ang Hsi, by which the coast-line of Fuhkien and Kuangtung was laid waste for several miles inland.

(190) 耿精忠, son of Kêng Chi-mou and his successor in the title 'Prince Pacificator of the South.'

(191) 黃鏞. (192) 何佑.
(193) 馮錫範.
(194) 吳三桂.
(195) 楓亭.

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and Shao-wu(196) were at various periods under his control. When the great Army (the Manchus) entered Fuhkien, Kêng Ching-chung turned loyal again, and all the Prefectures submitted in due course.

THE 'WHITE TURBANS' UNITE WITH CHENG CHING.

In the sixth month of 1678, *the 'White-Turban' robber Ts'ai Yin*(197) *cast in his lot with Chêng Ching.*

Ts'ai Yin was a wizard of Chang P'u,(198) who befooled people by practising the black art.

In the year Chêng Ching was defeated, 1677,(199) he had gathered together a lot of the routed troops and made a night attack upon Chinchew. He slew the guards and got through without one of his followers being injured—a piece of good fortune that was deemed so supernatural that the number of his adherents increased daily. He had many fights, and being always victorious, his power spread rapidly over the districts of Chinchew and Changchow. He got together 10,000 men, who wore a white cloth upon the head, whence they were called the 'White-head' robbers.(200) Their leader hoped to strengthen his influence upon the sea, and led his forces into Amoy.

In the winter of this year Governor-General Yao Ch'i-shêng,(201) *sent down Chang Hsiung,*(202) *a Changchow man and metropolitan graduate, to Amoy to call upon the pirates to submit, but to no effect.*

AMOY FINALLY CONQUERED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

In the second month of 1680, *Governor-General Yao Ch'i-shêng, Governor Wu Hsing-tso,*(203) *Admiral Wan Chêng-sê*(204) *and General Yang Chieh*(205) *subdued the two Islands* (*Amoy and Quemoy*), *and Chêng Ching fled to Formosa.*

At this time Yao Ch'i-shêng built the *Hsiu-lai Kuan*(206) or 'Refuges' at Chang-chow. He did not spare rank or money, but those who submitted got whatever they wanted. Thereupon pushing and crafty people got wind of this, and struggled to give in their submission. In the first month of the year Wan Chêng-sê and generals Lin-hsien, Ch'ê-hsien, 'Huang-kao, and Yang Chia-jui(207) brought Chêng Ching to submission with a naval force. They took Haitan(208) and had several conflicts with the empirical *tso-wu-wei* Lin Shêng(209) and others, while Ch'ung Wu(210) and other harbours successively fell into their hands.

Wu Hsing-tso, also, at the head of the land force, kept up a fire along the coast, so that Lin Shêng's and the other's ships could not procure water, and had to retreat to Quemoy. Wan Chêng-sê entered and guarded Liao-lo, and Chêng Ching, hearing of Liu Shêng's retreat, hastily ordered Liu Kuo-hsüan to abandon Hai-chêng and return to Amoy. Yao Ch'i-shêng and Yang Khieh, taking advantage of the desertion, destroyed nineteen forts; Wu Hsing-tso came round by way of T'ung-an, carrying everything before him as far as Hsün-wei.(211) There was great consternation in Amoy. Liu Kuo-hsüan still wished to keep

(196) 泉潮漳韶惠汀與郤八府.
(197) 白巾賊蔡寅. (198) 漳浦.
(199) No account is given here of how or when this defeat occurred.
(200) 白頭賊.
(201) 總督姚啟聖.
(202) 漳州進士張雄.
(203) 巡撫吳興祚.
(204) 水師提督萬正色.
(205) 陸路提督楊捷.
(206) 修來館.
(207) 林賢, 陳賢, 黃鎬, 楊嘉瑞.
(208) 海壇.
(209) 偽左武衛林陞.
(210) 崇武.
(211) 潯尾.

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up the defence, but the hearts of his people failed; they fled and scattered beyond recovery. The pirate leader Ch'ên Ch'ang had secretly given in to Yao Ch'i-shêng, and his following seized the opportunity to loot, a proceeding Liu Kuo-hsüan could not put a stop to.

On the 26th day the pirates burnt the Yeu-wu T'ing, and hurriedly plundering the treasure and jewels it contained, fled back to Formosa. Sea-robbers sailed up to join in the plunder.

On the 28th, Yao Ch'i-shêng entered Amoy with his whole force, and reduced things to order. The troops of Wu Hsing-tso and Wan Chêng-sê finished the work, and the two islands were subjugated.

END OF THE KOXINGA POWER.

In 1683 *Governor-General Yao Ch'i-shêng stationed a garrison at Amoy. In the sixth month Admiral Shih Lang led an army eastwards to reduce Formosa to submission, and in this he was successful.*

In 1681 Chêng Ching had died in Formosa, and his second son Chêng K'o-shuang(212) succeeded him. In the present year Yao Ch'i-shêng was quartered at Amoy, directing the army. In the sixth month Shih Lang reduced the Pescadores; the rebel chieftain Liu Kuo-hsüan was defeated and fled to Formosa. Chêng K'o-shuan submitted and was sent to Peking. His life was spared, he was set free, and made Han-chün Kung,(213) or Duke of the Chinese Legion. Formosa was then included in the map of China.

REBELLION IN FORMOSA.

In the summer of 1721 *a bad character name Chu I-kuei*(214) *raised a rebellion in Formosa. The Gioro Man-Pao,*(215) *Governor-General of Min-Chê, made all haste to Amoy at the head of an army.*

Chu I-kuei was a native of Ch'ang T'ai;(216) he went over to Formosa, where he lived in the open air and tended ducks for a livelihood. The simple countryfolk were much mystified by his power of making the ducks form squads. He began his revolt on the 19th day of the fourth month, and in a few days the whole of Formosa had fallen into his hands.

Governor-General Man-Pao, hearing that Amoy was the strategical key to Formosa, (217) went himself to repress the disturbance, and transferred Lan T'ing-chên, Brigade-General at Namoa,(218) who was to at once to proceed to Amoy and there discuss in person the plan of campaign.

On the 25th day of the fifth month the latter arrived at Amoy. Admiral Shih Shih-piao(219) had gone out of the harbour two days before and called for recruits. He made use of the unemployed for his army. Many recruited soldiers from various directions came into Amoy in ships; and those who came in by land were also put on board ship. Each ship only allowed one man to go on shore to buy necessaries, which were all paid for at the seller's price. Shortly afterwards many thousand piculs of rice were brought in from every direction, and the price went down to the usual level. From loyal motives the owners of the merchants ships engaged would receive no remuneration, so it was proposed to give them petty military rank by way of encouraging them. The people were all well pleased, and forgot the trouble given them.

In the sixth month Lan T'ing-chên, Brigade-General at Namoa and General

(212) 鄭克塽.

(213) 漢軍公. (214) 朱一貴.

(215) 浙閩總督覺羅滿保 Man Pao was the Viceroy of Foochow on whose representation the Catholic missionaries in China were all sent to Canton in 1724.

(216) 長泰.

(217) 聞信以廈門爲臺灣咽喉.

(218) 南澳總兵官藍廷珍.

(219) 施世驃.

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Commandant, led a force to bring Formosa to subjection out of Amoy Harbour.

On hearing of the Formosa scare, Lan T'ing-chên drew up a plan of the military policy to be pursued, which agreed with the Governor-General's ideas. On the 27th day of the fifth month he arrived at Amoy, and after deliberation settled the tactics of the expedition. On the 1st of the sixth month the General Commandant with the land and sea forces left Amoy Harbour to join Shih shih-piao at the Pescadores, which they reached on the 10th. The whole force numbered 12,000 men, and 600 ships, large and small. The necessaries for the troops the Governor-General had arranged should be procured at Amoy, and there was nothing wanting.

On the 1st of the sixth intercalary month victory was reported, and on the 7th Chu I-kuei and others were brought to Amoy in cages. They were sent to Peking and there beheaded.

Before the army left Amoy, the leaders were directed to advance to the attack by separate routes, and they received sealed orders which they were to open on reaching the Pescadores. These were that they were to collectively attack Lu Erh mên(220).

On the 16th of the sixth month, they reached the mouth of the harbour of Taiwan, and there being a very high tide the whole host crossed over at once. In seven days' time Lan T'ing-chên fought several engagements and retook the prefectural city, in combination with the forces of Shih shih-piao. A sergeant named Ch'ên Chang(221) was sent to sail quickly over to Amoy and report the victory, and then, when Chu I-kuei and others arrived at Amoy as prisoners, the business was settled.

The above details are all derived from the P'ing T'ai Chi Lüeh(222) or Records of the subjugation of Formosa.

(220) 鹿耳門.
(221) 外委陳章.
(222) 平臺紀畧.

SCARE CAUSED BY AN ANNAMESE SHIP.

In the eighth month of the fourth year of Chia Ch'ing(223) (1799) *some Annamese pirates stole into Namoa, and Amoy took stringent measures for defence.*

The barbarians of the kingdom of Annam(224) followed the sea for purposes of robbery, and at that time were called *t'ing-fei*(225) or boat-pirates. In the fifth month having been attacked and worsted by the Cantonese soldiery, they had sneaked away to sea. Fearing that they would enter Fuhkien, the Governor General of the two Kuang sent an official notification of the matter, that all the ports along the coast might be ready to beat them off.

It was at this time that the *t'ing-fei* stole into Namoa, and stringent precautions for defence were taken at Taitan and Amoy.

MORE TROUBLE WITH PIRATES.

In the summer of 1802 *the pirate Ts'ai Chien*(226) *entered Taitan by night, carried off the cannon there, and sergeant Ch'ên Fêng-kao*(227) *was killed.*

Ts'ai Ch'ien was a native of T'ung-an, where his business was to bow cotton. He afterwards went to sea and became a robber, having at the beginning of the reign Chia Ch'ing over a hundred vessels. His wife was even more brave and full of wiles than he himself. At the same time the robber bands under Chu Pên, Chang Pao-tzü, Fêng wei-wo, Niu Hung-t'ou, Pai Ti,(228) and miscellaneous thieves of all sorts joined him. They put out to sea, and harassed the coasts of the three provinces of Fuhkien, Kuangtung and Cheh-kiang, sailing about from place to place. At the time now spoken of, they anchored at Hu-t'ou(229) to the south of Amoy and to the north of

(223) 嘉慶.
(224) 安南國夷.
(225) 艇匪.
(226) 蔡牽.
(227) 外委陳鳳高.
(228) 朱濆, 張保仔, 鳳尾蔑, 牛紅頭, 白底.
(229) 虎頭.

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T'ung-shan. In the night they sent several hundred pirates to enter Taitan on the tide and carry off six iron cannon of various sizes. Sergeant Chên Fêng-kao, who resisted them, was mortally wounded, and five of his soldiers were killed. On this being reported to the Throne, an edict severely censuring all the officials concerned was received: from the Admiral downwards they were to be either degraded or dismissed.

Ts'ai Ch'ien's mouth watered for Formosa. In the fourth month of the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing (1800) he entered and despoiled Lu-erh-mên. In the winter of 1804 he made a raid upon Fêng-shan.(230) The Prefect, Ch'ing Pao,(231) offered him resistance at T'ung Ch'ang,(232) and the marauder's wife was shot. In the fourth month of 1805 he again entered Lu-êrh-mên; and in the eleventh month entering Hu-wei(233) (Hobei) Harbour, Hsin-chuang(234) and Mêng-chia(235) (Bangka) fell into his hands. Dividing his fleet he took Tung-chiang, and Fêng-shan succumbed. Having killed the District Magistrate, he turned round and entered Lu-êrh-mên, and seizing Chou-tzŭ-wei(236) attacked the city of Taiwanfoo. He sank the ships holding Lu-êrh-mên, so as to cut off help from outside, and styled himself the Wei-wu Wang(237) or Prince Terrible in War. On the hill-robbers joining him, he conferred fictitious official rank, issued flags and seals, and posted up Imperial notices, the wording of which was wild and exaggerated. He still however continued to use the style of reign Chia Ch'ing.

In the first month Li Chang-kêng,(238) General Commandant and Admiral of Min-Chê, attacked and defeated him; pursued him to Pei-shan (239) and very nearly took him prisoner, but he escaped by going out on the tide.

Ts'ai Ch'ien now united with Chu P'ên, and in the fifth month again invaded Lu-êrh-mên. Tartar General Sai Chung-ngo(240) attacked him and drove him off. Li Ch'ang-kêng repeatedly harassed him until he had only three ships left; and in the winter of 1807 he pursued him as far as Ch'ing-shui Yang(241) in Kuangtung when he fell a victim to the pirates' fire.

In 1809 Generals Wang Tê-lu and Ch'iu Liang-kung(242) caught Ts'ai Ch'ien at Yü-shan(243) in Chehkiang, sunk his ships, and the pirate himself was drowned.

SUPPRESSION OF THE PIRATES.

In the spring of 1806 *Yü Tê, Governor-General of Min Chê,*(244) *took up his station in Amoy to superintend the suppression of the pirates Ts'ai Ch'ien and Chu P'ên.*

Chu P'ên came from Changchow, where his family was in good circumstances. He liked being friendly and having dealings with the pirates, and his fellow-villagers wishing to denounce him for this, he took wife and children and went off to sea. He became a pirate, had several ships, and styled himself the Hai Nan Wang.(245) He committed acts of piracy along the coast in conjunction with Ts'ai Ch'ien, but had his own band of followers. This year the Go-

(230) 鳳山.
(231) 慶保.
(232) 東港.
(233) 扈尾港.
(234) 新莊.
(235) 艋舺.
(236) 洲仔尾.
(237) 威武王.
(238) 總統閩浙水師提督李長庚.

(239) 北汕.
(240) 將軍賽冲阿.
(241) 青水洋.
(242) 提督王得祿邱良功
This meritorious deed of General Wang Tê-lu is commemorated in an inscription he caused to be cut on the rock on Kulangsu on which now stands the foreign residence known as 'Anathema Cottage.' Mr. Giles gives a translation of the inscription in his 'Short History of Kulangsu,' p. 24.
(243) 漁山.
(244) 浙閩總督玉德.
(245) 海南王.

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vernment troops united to put down Ts'ai Ch'ien in Formosa. Chu P'ên sailed from Kuangtung to Kan-t'ang(246) just as Ts'ai Ch'ien had escaped from Pei-shan having only three ships left, and the two entered into an alliance. The Tartar General Sai Chung-ngo was then quartered in Formosa; Governor-General Yü Tê was in Amoy; and Brigade-General Sun Ch'üan-mou(247) led his troops to Amoy to join in the work of stamping out the pirates.

In the ninth month, Li Ying-kuei, Brigade-General at Ting-chow,(248) *attacked Chu P'ên on the sea at Taitan, and was killed by a cannon-shot.*

In the first month of the year Li Ying-kuei had led a force to Formosa to suppress Ts'ai Ch'ien; in the eighth month he was transferred back to San-sha,(249) there to keep watch and ward. On the 17th of the ninth month he put out to sea from Lu Chiang;(150) but just about sunset a wind got up, his anchors would not hold, and he was carried on to Taitan. There he met Chu P'ên's band, and was surrounded by the pirate ships. Li Ying-kuei led on his officers and men, and using his cannon made the assault. Many of the pirates were killed, but Li Ying-kuei himself was shot. Chu P'ên then stole over to Formosa, and was fiercely attacked at sea off Chi-lung-shan (Kelung)(251) by the Namoa Brigade-General Wang Tê-lu, and the Formosa *fu-chiang* Ch'iu Liang-kung.(252) He was defeated and fled to Kuangtung; and in the winter of 1808 he was shot by Hsü Sung-nien,(253) Brigade General of Quemoy, on the sea at Ch'ang-shan-wei(254).

(246) 竿塘.
(247) 總兵孫全謀.
(248) 汀州鎮總兵官李應貴.
(249) 三沙. (250) 鹿港.
(251) 鷄龍山.
(252) 臺灣副將邱良功.
(253) 金門總兵許松年.
(254) 長汕尾洋.

Note (A).—Names of Amoy.—嘉和嶼 and 嘉禾里 were the names employed to designate Amoy during the Sung dynasty; and it is by these names that the island becomes first known in history. In the Ming dynasty 中左所 was the official name adopted, and this term appears in the records of the Koxinga occupation. The modern name 厦門 was given by 周德興, 江夏侯, who fortified the town of Amoy, also in the Ming period; but it seems to have only come regularly into use since the final subjugation of the island in the present dynasty. Amoy is also known as 鷺江, 鷺嶼, 鷺門, and 鷺島; these designations are more literary or poetical, and are evidently derived from the number of 鷺 egrets or paddy-birds, that haunt the island. Koxinga also gave Amoy a name of his own devising—思明洲, or the 'Island mindful of the Ming,' significant of his loyalty to the Ming cause. The name 嘉禾 still survives, and may often be seen in notifications and advertisements, as well as heard in the common colloquial. A variation often met with in petitions, etc., is 嘉禾山.

Note (B).—Yali Kuo.—The text of this curious passage is as follows. It may possibly bear two or three interpretations.

* * * 五戰皆勝生得啞里國國王孫上健健咬舌死 * * * * *

Where is this Kingdom of Yali? I am indebted to Mr. E. H. Parker for the suggestion that Yali may be Ari, which from the occurrence of the name 尙—the surname of the kings of the Loochoo Islands—may be some place in Loochoo; and that these 倭 were therefore Loochooans. I can find no evidence that any such place exists or existed in Loochoo; but the name of two of three divisions of the islands, according to the geographical work 瀛環志略, are 首里, and 久米. While it is hard to believe that Yali is a corruption of either of these, it may possibly be a corruption of

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some similar name of a then existing division. But this evidence is very slight, and Ari may just as well be some place in Japan; or even possiby in the Malay Peninsula, whence piratical parties are recorded to have invaded Kuangtung and Fuhkien within a few years of the date of our story, in conjunction with Japanese and Chinese marauders. The works referred to—the Ming Shan Tsang and Jih-pen-ch'uan—might throw some light on the subject; but I have been unable to procure them.

THE TURKO-SCYTHIAN TRIBES.

(Continued from page 125, Vol. XX.)

Hu-han-ya(1) Khan went back to the Hun seat of government(2) for several months, and stopped further warlike movements, sending his troops back each troop to their respective homes. Then he recovered his elder brother *Hu-t'u-wu-sz*,(3) who had been living as an ordinary person, and made him Left *Yüh-kien*(4) Prince. He also sent messengers to the nobles of the Right Virtuous Prince with a view to their killing their master.(5) That year *Tu-lung-k'i*(6) joined the Right Virtuous Prince in setting up the *Jih-chuh*(7) Prince *Poh-sü-t'ang* as *T'u-k'i*(8) Khan, and sent several myriad troops eastwards to attack *Hu-han-ya* Khan, whose army was defeated and took to flight. *T'u-k'i* Khan returned and made his eldest son *Tu t'u-wu-si*(9) Left *Yüh-kien* Prince, and his younger son *Ku-mou-lou-t'ou*(10) Right *Yüh-kien* [? *Luh-li*] Prince, keeping them both at the Khan's *ordo*.

In the autumn of the following year *T'u-k'i* Khan sent the *Jih-chuh* Prince *Si:n-hien-ch'en's*(11) and his elder brother the *Yü-kien* Prince as *U-tsih*(12) Protector, each with 20,000 horsemen to camp in an easterly direction ready for *Hu-han-ya* Khan. But just now the *Hu-kai*(13) Prince out west came and formed a plot with the *Wei-li tang-hu*(14) to join in accusing the Right Virtuous Prince and in charging him with a desire to set himself up as *U-tsih* Khan. Therefore the *T'u-k'i* Khan killed the Right Virtuous Prince and son, but afterwards, finding the charge had been false, he killed the *Wei-li tang-hu*. On this the *Hu-kai* Prince grew alarmed, went away, and set up as *Hu-kai* Khan. Hearing of this the Right *Yüh-kien* Prince set

(1) 呼韓邪. See Turko-Scythian tribes, Vol. XX, *China Review*, page 125.

(2) 庭; in future translated 'ordo.'

(3) 呼屠吾斯.

(4) *T. S. Tribes*, p. 123, note 154, perhaps Urgendj.

(5) It is not clear why, as he had surrendered to *Hu-han-ya* in B.C. 58. See *T. S. Tribes*, page 125.

(6) 都隆奇; the queen-dowager's brother; pp. 124, 125 (still alive).

(7) 日逐; *T. S. Tribes*, p. 115, note 73. 薄胥堂; cousin of *Hu-han-ya's* predecessor. P. 125, note 172.

(8) *T. S. Tribes*, p. 9, note 113: it means 'virtuous.'

(9) 都塗吾西.

(10) 姑瞀樓頭 compare note 19.

(11) 先賢撣; *T. S. Tribes*, p. 115, note 72.

(12) 烏藉.

(13) 呼揭 *T. S. Tribes*, page 14, note 165.

(14) 唯犁當戶 *T. S. Tribes*, p. 9, note 111. Perhaps this is the same place as 尉犁 of the later *Tsin Shu*. In fact the *Peh Shü* couples it with 烏羯 which is evidently our *Hu-kai*. Both are near Karashar.

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up as *Ch'ê-li*(15) Khan, and the *U-tsih* Protector set up as *U-tsih* Khan, making five Khans in all.

The *T'u-k'i* Khan himself led a force east to attack the *Ch'ê-li* Khan, and sent *Tu-lung-k'i* to engage *U-tsih*. *U-tsih* and *Ch'ê-li* were both defeated and fled north-west, joining *Hu-kai's* troops and forming together a total of 40,000 men. *U-tsih* and *Hu-kai* now both abandoned the Khanish title, and agreed to unite and support the dignity of *Ch'ê-li* Khan. *T'u-k'i* Khan hearing of this sent his Left Great General(16) and a Protector(17) at the head of 40,000 horsemen with instructions to encamp apart towards the east in readiness for action. *Hu-han-ya* Khan marched in person westwards at the head of 40,000 horsemen to attack *Ch'ê-li* Khan, who was defeated and fled north-west. *T'u-k'i* Khan then moved off south-west and remained in *T'ah-tun*(18) land.

The next year the *Hu-han-ya* Khan sent his younger brother the Left *Luh-li* Prince west to attack the *T'u-k'i* Khan. A camp was formed, and over 10,000 persons were either killed or taken.(19) Hearing this, the *T'u-k'i* Khan personally led 60,000 horsemen to attack the *Hu-han-ya* Khan. He had travelled a thousand *li* and not quite reached the *Nao-ku*(20) territory when he fell in with a body of about 40,000 of *Hu-han-ya* Khan's troops. They joined in battle, and the result was that *T'u-k'i's* men were defeated and fled: he himself committed suicide. On this *Tu-lung-k'i* and *T'u-k'i's* younger son the Right *Luh-li*(21) Prince *Ku-mou-lou-t'ou* went over to *Han*. The *Ch'ê-li* Khan went east and surrendered to *Hu-han-ya* Khan, whose Left Great General *Wu-li-k'üh*,(22) with his father *Wu-li-wên-tuu*(23) the *Hu-suh-lei*,(24) observing the anarchy that prevailed amongst the Huns, marched south with their horses, several myriad men apiece, and surrendered to *Han*. *Wu-li-k'üh* was made Marquess of *Sin-ch'êng*,(25) and *Wu-li-wên-tun* Marquess of *I-yang*(26). Simultaneously *Li Ling's*(27) son again set up the *U-tsih* protector as Khan. *Hu-han-ya* Khan captured and beheaded him, and then once more fixed the seat of his government at the [old] Khans' *ordo*; but the horde consisted of a few myriad men only. *T'u-k'i* Khan's younger cousin the *Hiu-sü*(28) Prince led the 500 or 600 cavaliers he commanded against the Left Great *Tsü-k'ü*,(29) annexed his men to the Right Land, and set himself up as *Jun-chén* Khan on the west frontier. After that *Hu-han-ya's* elder brother the

(15) 車犁; the *San-kwoh Chï-chu* speaks of a 車離 State where camels are used in battle.

(16) *T. S. Tribes*, page 9.

(17) 都尉; these translations of titles are only provisional.

(18) 闡敦: a note says 'also pronounced *t'ah-tui*.' See my paper on the *Wu-hwan*, *China Review*, Vol. XX, pages 77 and 78. The After *Han Shu* calls them 'middle *T'ah-tun*.' But the present *T'ah-tun* were thousands of miles further west. The founder of the *Ts'ao Ts'ao* dynasty of *Wei* is said to have defeated the *T'ah-tun* at 白狼 and pursued them to Willow City. Both these places are in the modern Korchin land north of *Chih Li*. On the other hand the After *Han Shu* and *Sui Shu* speak of a *P'êh-lang* State somewhere in the south-west, 12,200 *li* from *Ch'ang-an*, near 烏弋, which is near Bactria. At present we must give it up.

(19) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 9, note 110.

(20) 嗥姑; I can find no trace of this.

(21) Compare note 10.

(22) 烏厲屈.

(23) 烏厲温敦.

(24) 呼遨累; I suppose a title.

(25) 新城 in *Chih-hi*.

(26) 義陽; in *Ho Nan*.

(27) 李陵; a renegade, see *T. S. Tribes*, page 114, note 66.

(28) 休旬.

(29) T. S. Tribes, page 17, note 119.

(30) 閭振

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Left Virtuous Prince *Hu-t'u-wu-sz*(31) also set himself up as the *Chihchï-kuh-tu*-Marqess(32) Khan on the east frontier. Two years later the *Jun-chên* Khan led his horde east to attack the *Chihchï* Khan, who, however, killed him in battle, annexed his men, and advanced to attack *Hu-han-ya*. *Hu-han-ya's* army was defeated and fled, so *Chihchï* made the [ancient] *ordo* of the Khans the seat of his government. After *Hu-han-ya's* defeat, the Left *I-chih-tsz*(33) Prince advised him to declare himself an obedient vassal and apply to the Chinese court for assistance in order to secure a settled state of affairs for the Huns. *Hu-han-ya* consulted his ministers, all of whom disapproved saying:—'It is of the Hun manners to esteem force and action, and to despise quiescent servitude. Fighting on horseback(34) is their form of national power, and hence they have a prestige amongst all the barbarians(35). To die in battle is what the valiant soldier looks forward to. Even though brothers may strive for power, if the elder does not get it the younger does. Even though death overtake us, glory remains, and our sons and grandsons always dominate other States. *Han*, though strong, is still incapable of conquering and assimilating the Huns: why destroy our ancient time-honoured methods, serve *Han* as vassals, disgrace the memory of former Khans, and become the laughing-stock of other countries? Though we may secure tranquillity in this wise, how can we ever again dominate the different barbarians?'(36) The Left *I chih-tsz* said:—'Not so! strength and weakness have their turns. *Han* at the present moment is in her prime; the *Wu-sun*(37) have citadels in their midst, and all the other States are [Chinese] humble handmaids. From *Tsü-ti-hou* Khan's time(38) till now the Huns have gradually lost line after line of territory, and we cannot recover it. It is better even to bend a little than to go on like this never enjoying a day's peace. If we now serve *Han*, we preserve ourselves in peace. If we do not serve them, we perish in the midst of danger. What can we do better?' All the leading men continued to oppose the scheme, but at last *Hu-han-ya* accepted it, marched his men south to the Wall, and sent in his son the Right Virtuous Prince *Kin-chu-lü-k'ü-t'ang*(39) as a page. *Chih-chï* Khan also sent in his son the Right Great General *Kü-kan-li-shou*(40) as page. This was all in the 1st year of the reign period *Kan-lu*.(41) Next year *Hu-han-ya* came submissively to the outside of the Wall at *Wu-yüan*,(42) offering to come to court. In the 1st month of the 3rd year, *Han* sent the cavalry officer *Han Ch'ang*(43) to meet him, and 2,000 horsemen were gathered from each of the seven prefectures he passed in order to line the roads in his honour. During the 1st moon the Khan had audience of the Emperor in the *Kan Ts'üan*(44) Palace. *Han* did him special honour, and placed him above all the feudal and imperial princes; he was introduced in

(31) See note 9; evidently promoted.

(32) 郅支骨都侯.

(33) 伊秩訾 Cf. *T. S. Tribes*, page 21, note 239.

(34) 'They [Scythians] are all archers, shooting from horseback.' Swayne's Herodotus.

(35) *T. S. Tribes*, page note 159, 蠻.

(36) 百蠻.

(37) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 14, note 165; a nomad race about modern Cobdo.

(38) B.C. 101-06.

(39) 金朱婁渠堂.

(40) 駒干利受.

(41) B. C. 53. He had already sent his younger brother the *Luh-li* Prince as page in B. C. 54.

(42) 五原; the *Kang kien* has 五元 and says it was *Shên-muh* 神木 (extreme north tip of *Shan Si*).

(43) 韓昌.

(44) 甘泉; in *Yen-an Fu*, *Shen Si*.

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a dignified(45) way, and called himself 'your liege' without having to use his private name.(46) He was presented with a hat, girdle, suit of clothes, a gold seal and purple ribbon, a state sword with jewelled knob, a girdle knife, a bow, four sets of arrows, ten spears with streamers,(47) one easy chariot, a saddle and bridle, 15 horses, 20 lbs. gold, 200,000 [copper] cash, 77 sets of bedclothes,(48) 8,000 pieces of various fancy stuffs, and 6,000 lbs. of floss. When the formal ceremonies were over, an envoy was sent to conduct the Khan in the first instance to *Ch'ang-p'ing* (49) where he was to spend the night. His Majesty himself, leaving *Kan-ts'üan*, spent the night at the *Ch'i-yang*(50) Palace. His Majesty then went to *Ch'ang-p'ing*, and commanded the Khan to waive the performance of obeisance. The Khan's suite and group of *tang-hu*(51) were all enabled to witness the spectacle in a row, and the whole of the barbarian chiefs with the feudal and imperial princes, received [his Majesty] at the foot of the *Wei* bridge lining both sides of the road. As his Majesty mounted the *Wei* bridge, all hailed him with cries of 'Live for ever!'(52) The Khan went to his hotel and remained there over a month, after which he received his dismissal and went back to his own country. The Khan offered to remain outside the wall at *Kwang-luh*(53) in order to guarantee the surrender of cities in times of danger.(54) *Han* sent *Tung Chung*, Warden of *Ch'ang-loh* and Marquess of *Kao-ch'ang*,(55) with the cavalry officer *Han-Ch'ang* at the head of 16,000 horsemen, and also summoned the men and horses of the different prefectures by the thousand to escort the Khan out of the *Ki-luh*(56) Wall Gate in *Shoh-fang*, and a decree ordered *Chung* and the others to protect the Khan and assist him to visit punishment upon the rebellious. In addition to this supplies of grain, rice, and dried rations, from first to last 34,000 measures,(57) were carted to the frontier to serve as supplies.

This year *Chihchi* Khan also sent an envoy to offer his duty, and *Han* treated him with great liberality. The following year both Khans sent envoys to offer their duty at court, and *Han* treated *Hu-han-ya's* envoy with special distinction. The next year(58) *Hu-han-ya* Khan again came to court: forms and presents as on the previous occasion, with the addition(59) of 110 suits of clothes, 9,000 pieces of embroidered stuffs, and 8,000 lbs. of floss; but as he had an encampment of his own, no corps of cavalry was collected this time to escort him back. Now *Chihchi* Khan took it into his head that *Hu-han-ya's* military power must be very

(45) 贊謁; I cannot find any exact definition, but I think it means standing up with sword girt and not being 'shoved along' or 'bustling up' 不趨, as European envoys used to be at Constantinople.

(46) 稱臣不名; the Emperors of China always insist, when they can and dare, on other kings using their private names. Of course no European sovereign or president should ever consent to do this.

(47) 綦戟; Compare Note 243.

(48) 衣被; perhaps 'under-clothes.'

(49) 長平; A note says 'on the banks of the *king*,' 涇, near *Si-an Fu*.

(50) 池陽; the modern 涇陽 in *Si-an Fu*.

(51) See *T. S. Tribes*, p. 9, Note 111; page 17, Note 199.

(52) 萬歲.

(53) 光祿; A note says 'built by *Sü Tsz-wei*,' 徐有爲.

(54) See *Turko-Scythian Tribes*, Page 119, Note 116. The *T'ang* dynasty afterwards rebuilt these to guard against the Turks, just above the Loop.

(55) 長樂衞尉; 高昌; 董忠.

(56) See *T. S. Tribes* Note 132. This 雞鹿 gate was in *Yü-hun*.

(57) 斛; apparently about 80 pounds.

(58) B.C. 49.

(59) Probably this means 'with an additional amount totalling in all.'

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weak as he had thus submitted to China, and that he could never return: so he proceeded to lead his own horde west with a view to attacking and conquering the Right Land. Moreover *T'u-k'i* Khan's youngest brother, who had been a page to *Hu-han-ya*, was now also a fugitive in the Right Land, where, having gathered together the remains of his elder brother's forces to the number of several thousand men, he set himself up as the *I-li-muh*(60) khan. He met *Chihchï* as he came along, and gave him battle. *Chihchï* killed him and annexed his soldiers, over 50,000 men. Hearing that *Han* was sending out troops and grain in aid of *Hu-han-ya*, he decided to remain where he was in occupation of the Right Land, feeling that his strength was insufficient to quell and settle all of Hundom. He went further west near to the *Wusun*, in the hope of joining his strength to theirs. He sent an envoy to interview the Lesser *K'un-mi Wu-t'u-tsiu*,(61) who, seeing that *Hu-han-ya* had been recognized by *Han*, and that *Chih-chï* was a forlorn vagabond, thought he would best meet *Han's* views by attacking him, so he killed *Chih-chï's* envoy, cut off his head, and sent it to the proconsul's headquarters, at the same time sending 8,000 horse to encounter *Chih-chï*, who, observing that the *Wu-sun* troops were numerous, and that his envoy did not return, drew up his troops and gave battle, routing the *Wu-sun*. Then he attacked the *Hu-hai*(62) to the north, and they submitted: marching his troops west, he routed the *Kien-k'un*,(63); he then reduced the *Ting-ling*(64) to the north annexing these three States. He several times sent troops to attack the *Wu-sun*, and always came off victorious. The *Kien-k'un* were 7,000 *li* west of the Khan's *ordo* and 6,000 *li* north of the *Kü-shï*.(64A) when *Yüan-Ti* came to the throne(65), *Hu-han-ya* Khan again sent up a letter saying that his horde of people were hard put to it and exhausted. *Han* decreed that the prefectures of *Yün-chung*(66) and *Wu-yüan*(66) should cart to them 20,000 measures of grain as supplies. *Chih-chï* Khan, feeling himself left out in the cold, and jealous of the encouragement shewn by *Han* to *Hu-han-ya*, sent an envoy with a letter begging for the return of his son the page. *Han*

(60) 伊利目; this is probably connected with the modern *Ili*, for the Turkish Khans of the 7th century also used the two first syllables in various disguises.

(61) 小昆彌; 烏屠就. See *Turko-Scythian Tribes*, Page 120, Note 127. *K'un-moh* 昆莫 (like the Hun *Shen-yü*) was originally a king's name, and then *K'un-moh* or *K'un-mi* came to mean 'king.' The Greater was called *Yüan-kwei-mi* 元貴靡.

(62) *Turko Scythian Tribes*, Page 14, Note 165, see also Note 13 above.

(63) 堅昆 700 years later known as *Kieh-kwuh* 結骨, and then later again as the *Kieh-kah-sz* 黠戛斯 or Khirgiz. But the ancient name seems as usual to have been also preserved, for in A.D. 742 the Military Resident at modern Urumtsi 北庭 had this tribe and the *T'uh-k'i-shï* tribe of Turks 突騎施 under him. See *Turko-Scythians*, Page 11, Note 133.

(64) *Turko-Scythians*, Page 11. Note 133.

(64A) 車師; There were the Anterior and Ulterior of this ilk. Accounts are conflicting as to their exact whereabouts. In *Notes and Queries*, Vol 2, Pg. 1645, Mr. Mayers expresses an opinion that Urumtsi is meant, and that *Kao ch'ang* is the modern Turfan. All this would leave the ancient Khirgiz where they still are. Dr. Bretschneider points out, and he is supported by Chineze authority, that the *Kü-shï* or *Ku-shï* 姑 were the same as *Kao-ch'ang*. The *Han* had an outpost here, which one account says they called *Kao-ch'ang Kün* 郡; but another account says the *Ts'in* dynasty gave it this name later on. A better story is that the *Hans* called it *Kao-ch'ang Lei* 壘. One Chinese authority speaks of *Kao ch'ang Pêh-t'ing*. Anyhow the radius of variation is not very great.

(65) B.C 43.

(66) North *Shan Si*.

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sent one *Kuh*(67) *Kih* to escort him. *Chih-chï* murdered *Kih*. *Han* did not receive any news about *Kih*, and the Hun deserters who told it to *Ou-t'oh*(68) were all killed. *Hu-han-ya's* envoys coming to *Han* were at once officially called to book about it very seriously. Next year *Han* sent the cavalry officer *Han-ch'ang* and the banquetting officer *Chung Méng*(69) to take back *Hu-han-ya's* page son and to enquire after *Kih* and his suite: they pardoned the offence so as to allay suspicions(70). *Ch'ang* and *Mêng* noticed that the Khan's horde of people seemed unusually prosperous, and, as the game near the wall was all killed off, and the Khan was sufficiently able to protect himself not to fear *Chih-chï*, they feared he might take it into his head to migrate northwards, as in fact most of his ministers were now advising him to do, in which case it would be very hard to keep him under proper control; so they made the following treaty with him:—From now henceforward *Han* and the Huns shall be united as one family, generation after generation: they shall neither of them shew treachery to or attack the other, and if any thefts or robberies take place, the party complaining will notify the other, who will punish the offenders and cause compensation to be made: and, if any raiding takes place, each side will do its best to aid in putting it down. Whichever, be it *Han* or the Huns, ventures first to break this treaty, may Heaven's wrath visit him and do to his sons and grandsons, generation after generation, as he will have done to this treaty!' *Ch'ang* and *Mêng* with the Khan and his ministers then ascended the hill east of the Hun *Noh* River(71) and killed a white horse(72). The Khan took a *King-lu* knife(73), some gold, and(74) a *Liu-li*,(75) and mixing them in wine and blood, drank with the envoys a solemn treaty, using the skull of the *Yüeh-chï*(76) king defeated by the High Old Khan as a beaker(77). *Ch'ang* and *Méng* then returned to report what had been done. The dukes and minis

(67) 谷吉.

(68) 甌脫: See *Turko-Scythians*, page 8, note 97, probably here an official is meant.

(69) 張猛.

(70) Apparently this means that they thought *Hu-han-ya* had killed him on his way to *Chih-chï*.

(71) 諾; a note says 'the Turkish *Noh-Chên* 眞 river of our day.' I shall mention this in my paper on the Turks, now ready for publication part I, note 288. Genghiz Khan's original home is stated by the *Yih-t'ung-chï* to have been on the *Ono* 斡諾 or *Wonan* 斡難, so the ancient River Onon is probably meant in both instances.

(72) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 22, note 251 for a similar rite by Genghis Khan. There was also a city called White Horse City 白馬城, so called because an emperor of the Toba *Wei* dynasty sacrificed a white horse there. Herodotus also tells us of the Massagetal sacrificing a horse to the Sun.

(73) 徑路刀; a precious sword used by the Huns.

(74) The gold is defined to be 契金.

(75) 留犂; defined as a 飯匕 or 'rice spoon.'

(76) *T. S. Tribes*, notes 89, 177.

(77) Compare Swayne's Herodotus:—'The upper part [of the skull] having been cut off above the eyebrows, they cover it with a covering of leather, and use it for a drinking cup: if a man be rich, he addeth within a lining of gold.' Again:—'The Scythians make oath in this manner: they pour wine into a great bowl, mingle with the wine the blood of them that swear, dip into the bowl a scimitar . . . . and after this they that make the covenant drink of the bowls and their chief follows also.' Again Gibbon, Chap. 55:—'His [the emperor Nicephorus'] skull enchased with gold was often replenished in the feasts of victory' [by the Bulgarians who killed him, A.D. 811]. Again, Chap. 45:—'His [Cunimund's Chief of the Gepidæ] skull was fashioned into a cup.' A Note by Gibbon adds that, according to Strabo and Pliny, the same practice was common among the Scythian tribes. Again, Chap. 64:—'The boldest chieftains might tremble [at Genghis Khan] when they beheld enchased in silver the skull of the Khan of the Keraites.'

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ters who debated the question held that the Khan, in his capacity of a buffer power protecting our frontier for us, could not do us any great harm, even if he did move away farther north; and that *Ch'ang* and *Mêng*, in thus taking upon themselves to pledge generation after generation of the descendants of *Han* in a treaty with a barbarian nomad,(78) allowing the Khan to put offensive words into their mouths, and addressing these words to Heaven on high, had disgraced the government, and injured its prestige and self-respect. The treaty could not, they said, be carried out, and an envoy should be sent to notify this to Heaven, and, in company with the Khan, to dissolve the treaty. *Ch'ang* and *Mêng*, having carried out their mission without any presentable result, were chargeable with treason.(79) His Majesty, however, took a lighter view of their offence, and issued the following rescript:—'*Ch'ang* and *Mêng* may commute their offence by a ransom.(80) The treaty need not be dissolved.'

After that *Hu-han-ya* actually did go north, his *ordo* folk gradually joined him, and his State became organized.

Meanwhile *Chih-chï*, having murdered the envoy, felt that he had done a great wrong to *Han*, and, hearing how strong *Hu-han-ya* was becoming, he became anxious to migrate to a distance, lest he should be attacked. Just then the King of *K'ang-kü*(81) was undergoing frequent persecution at the hands of the *Wu-sun*, and so he and his Begs(82) laid their heads together and came to the conclusion that, as the Huns were a great power, and the *Wu-sun* used to be subject to them, it would be well, now that *Chih-chï Khakhan* was hard put to it by his enemies, to welcome him and have him on the east frontier, joining forces with him so as to annex *Wu-sun*, when a chief could be appointed, and there would be no trouble with the Huns.(83) They forthwith sent envoys to *Kien-k'un* to talk this over with *Chih-chï*, who was greatly pleased to hear of *K'ang-kü's* plan, as he had felt both afraid of and aggrieved at the *Wu-sun* for some time. He therefore accepted the proposal, and moved his troops westwards, whilst *K'ang kü* sent a number of nobles with several thousand camels, asses, and horses to meet *Chih-chï*. But *Chih-chï's* horde suffered very severely from cold; many died on the road, and a bare remnant of 3,000 men arrived in *K'ang-kü*. After that the proconsul-governor *Kan Yen-shou*, with his second in command *Ch'ên T'ang*,(84) set out with a body of troops for *K'ang-kü*, and *Chih-chï* was punished with decapitation, as is related in the biographical chapter(85) on those two individuals.

Hu-han-ya Khan was both overjoyed and terrified at this news, and sent up a letter saying that 'he had been unceasingly anxious to have audience of the Emperor, but that really, on account of *Chih-chï* being in the west, he feared that the latter might come along with the *Wu-sun* and attack memorialist, who had consequently been unable to come to Han. *Chih-chï* having now fallen under the executioner's knife, memorialist wished to come to court for an audience.'

(78) 夷狄.
(79) 不道.
(80) 以贖論.

(81) In one place Dr. Edkins thinks this is in Sogdiana (*N. C. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. 18, P. 7), and in another that it is not either Sogdiana or Samarcand (*China Review*, Vol. 8, P. 163). Dr. Bretschneider thinks it is Samarcand (*N. C. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. 8, P. 265); and he is right, for the *T'ang Shu* most distinctly tells us so. 康居, later simply 康.

(82) See *Turko-Scythian Tribes*, Page 121, Note 136.

(83) This last sentence is rather doubtful.

(84) 甘延壽; probably a relative of the *Kan-ying* 英 who discovered the Persian Gulf under *Kh'ên T'ang's* 陳湯 orders to penetrate west.

(85) In the *Han Shu*.

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In the 1st(86) year of *King-ning* the Khan again came to court: ceremonies and presents as before, with the addition of once again as much of clothes, embroidered stuffs and floss as was given on the *Hwang-lung* occasion.(87) The Khan said he wished to be a son-in-law of the *Han* house, and to marry into it. The Emperor took a free-born woman named *Wang Ts'iang*(88) from the after palace, where she was styled *Chao Kün*,(89) and presented her to the Khan, so much to the delight of the latter that he sent up a letter offering to guard the frontier from *Shang-kuh* westwards to *Tun-hwang* (90) and pass on the charge to his descendants for ever, adding a prayer that all precautionary measures might be abandoned and that the officers and men employed at the wall stations might be dispensed with in order to secure rest to the Emperor's people. The Emperor ordered the responsible officers to deliberate, and they unanimously held that it would be a desirable course. But the under-secretary *Hou Ying*,(91) who was an old hand in border affairs, held the view that this could not be allowed. His Majesty demanded why. *Ying* said:—'From the times of *Chou* and *Ts'in* up to now the Huns have been cruel and violent, and have raided and encroached upon our frontiers. During the early years of *Han* the trouble was particularly grave. I understand that the *Yin Shan*(92) extends along the northern frontier for over a thousand *li* to beyond *Liao Tung*.(93) Their vegetation is luxuriant and they have plenty of game. This was originally the stronghold of the Khan *Méh-t'êh*,(94) where they had the wherewithal to manufacture their bows and arrows, and whence they could sally, as from a lair, to make their raids: and thus things went on till the times of Pious *Wu*(95) when armies were sent out to attack them, and we took and annexed this land: we thrust them to the north of the desert and constructed a line of Wall. Building stations and underground passages,(96) we pushed out citadels, and established garrison posts to maintain our position, after which we succeeded in making the line of the frontier more or less quiet. The land north of the desert(97) is flat, and possesses but little vegetation, most of it being a waste expanse; and if Huns come and raid, there is little cover for them. From the Wall southwards the paths lie through deep mountain valleys,(98) and travelling to and fro is comparatively difficult. The old frontier folk say that, ever since the Huns lost the *Yin Shan*, they can never cross them without shedding tears. If you put an end to the line of garrisons guarding the Wall, you confer a great advantage upon the nomad barbarians. This is one reason against doing it. Again, the sacred policy of our Emperors spreads itself far and wide, and celestial protection covers the Huns, who enjoy the favour of being allowed to live, doing homage to us as vassals. Now the natural nomad disposition is as craven when hard put to it, as it is presuming and disobedient when strong: it is their nature to be so. Once, as a matter of fact, we did abandon the outlying strong-places, the stations, and the roads; now we barely manage to keep up the fire-signal stations and no more. We did, as a

(86) B.C. 33.
(87) B.C. 49.
(88) 王嬙.
(89) 昭君; a succession of Hun husbands, in accordance with the custom of the country, seems to have agreed well with the vigorous constitution of this amiable girl.
(90) The whole line of the Great Wall.
(91) 侯應.
(92) Range of hills.
(93) The *Yih-t'ung-chï* of the Manchu dynasty carries the range only from *Minni Ula* to *Kwei-hwa Ch'êng*.
(94) See *T. S. Tribes*, Part 1, note 70.
(95) B C 140-87.
(96) 隧; not covered.
(97) Urga.
(98) The well-known *Shah-hu K'ou*, *Nan-k'ou*, *Tu-shih K'ou*, passes, &c., &c.

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matter of fact, disregard our danger then, but we cannot do so again. This is another reason against the proposition. Once more, China has an organized system of civilization and laws, with punishments in the shape of mutilations and fines: yet the unsophisticated people still break the prohibitory laws. How much less is it possible for the Khan to guarantee that his hordes will not break the treaty! That is reason number three. Yet again; ever since China took pains to erect barriers and bridges in order to keep a hand over her vassals, her object has been to put a stop to the covetous greed of her own subjects. The establishment of a line of frontier garrisons is not only on account of the Huns; it is also on account of the vassal States, and of the surrendered people who are Huns by birth and origin; and, if we abolish them, it is to be feared their minds may turn to old times and they may abscond. That is reason No. 4. Lately the western Tibetans have occupied the frontier and entered into relations with the *Han* people. Officers and others, greedy of gain, have encroached upon them, robbing them of their flocks and herds, their wives and their children. From their doings hatreds have arisen, and the Tibetans have turned against us in unceasing rebellion from father to son. If you now give up garrisoning the Wall, you will set temptations and emulations on the move. This is reason No. 5. In times past many of those who went out with the armies disappeared and never returned; the result always is that their sons and grandsons, being pinched by poverty, some fine day take it into their heads to disappear too, and to go after their relatives. Reason No. 6. Besides, the border people are like slaves and in a sad plight; they mostly want to get away, saying:—"Life is reported to be rather jolly amongst the Huns; what a pity the look-outs are too sharp for us!" And, notwithstanding this watchfulness there are still a good many who do get away beyond the barrier. Reason No. 7, we have plenty of robbers, rogues, and breakers of the law. If they become very desperate, and take wing north, we have no hold on them at all. Reason No. 8. It is now over a century since the Great Wall was built.(99) It is not all of it a mere mud wall. Sometimes it follows the line of mountain crags with its stone or wood palisades, and its fallen trees dropped into gulleys and narrow watercourses. If it is gradually levelled to the ground, all the labour of building it will have been expended in vain,—an utter waste of toil for all time, quite incalculable! I fear the other counsellors do not proportion the end to the beginning. They wish to economise the compulsory-service garrisons at all costs, and somewhere between ten years and a century after this there is certain to be a change for the worse. If the Wall defences are once demolished and the passages destroyed, when we next have to establish camps and rebuild them, several generations of labour will be insufficient for the work. Reason No. 9, if we remove the garrisons and dispense with the watch-towers, the Khan will consider that he is performing all the greater service for us in guarding the line of the wall from intrusion, and his demands will be endless. If we disappoint his expectations ever so little, it is impossible to conjecture what he may do or may not do: in other words we let the thin end of the barbarian nomad wedge into the vital forces of China. Reason No. 10. Such a course is not the best way to maintain the essential hold and thus keep hand upon the barbarians by means of our prestige.' In answer to this written memorial the Emperor issued a

(99) I have not seen Mr. O. von Moellendorff's pamphlet on the various sections of the Wall, which was not by any means, all built by its reputed builder *Mêng T'ien* 蒙恬 This man is usually called the inventor of the hair writing-pencil, but it was known long before his time, and he only improved it. This was about B.C. 214.

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decree:—'Let the suggestion to dispense with the frontier services drop.' He then despatched the cavalry general Hü Kia(100) to make the following explanation verbally to the Khan:—'The Khan sent up a letter suggesting that the officers and men serving in the garrisons along the northern frontier might be dispensed with, undertaking on behalf of himself and his heirs to guard the line of the Wall. The Khan herein evinces sentiments of courtesy and right, and his design is very generous towards the people: his conception is a masterly one, and it has our profound commendation. China, however, has, not only on one but on all four sides of her, passes, bridges, and protective works, not merely as a security against those beyond the Walls, but also to prevent the crafty rogues of her own country from indulging in their raiding propensities beyond China's limits, and it is for this reason that we promulgate our laws and rules, that the minds of all may be exactly informed. We appreciate with all respect the Khan's sentiments, and entertain no suspicion whatever of his motives. Therefore in order that the Khan may not marvel why we do not disband the garrisons, we send our minister of war the general of cavalry to make things clear to the Khan.'

The Khan expressed his thanks, saying:—'A simpleton like I am does not know how to make profound calculations, but happily the Emperor has sent a minister of high rank whose declarations are very generous.'

Now, as we have seen, when the Left *I-chih-tsz* submitted to *Hu-han-ya* the proposal to submit to China, it resulted in a peaceful settlement. Afterwards some one accused the Left *I-chih-tsz* of perpetually bragging of his services, thus rousing *Hu-han-ya's* distrust. The Left *I-chih-tsz* being afraid for his life, went over to China with his horde of a thousand odd individuals. *Han* made him Marquess of [modern] *Shan-Si*,(101) with a population of 300 households to live on,(102) and gave him leave to wear his prince's seal and ribbon as a Hun too. And when during the period *Ki g-ning Hu-han-ya* came to court,(103) he had an interview with the Left *I chih-tsz*, and thanked him saying:—'Prince! You thought out a very generous plan for me, and, thanks to you, in consequence of it the Huns have lived peacefully up till now. How can I forget such policy? I have disappointed you and caused you to go, not caring to stay with us: it is all my fault. I now wish to explain to the Emperor, and to apply for your return to our *ordo*.' *I-chih-tsz* said:—'Khan! It was the will of heaven that guided you yourself to *Han*, and thus gave you peace. You were inspired to trust in the Emperor's divine protection. How could I achieve it? But, having now surrendered myself to *Han*. it would be defection on my part were I to return to the Huns. I am willing to be your envoy resident near the *Han*, but I cannot hearken to your commands [to go back].' The Khan pressed his request very hard, but returned home unsuccessful.

Wang Chao-kün was styled the *Hu-ning*(104) Queen, and gave birth to a son named *I-t'u-chï-ya-shï* (105) who became *Jih-chuh* Prince. *Hu-han-ya* reigned 28 years, and died in the 2nd year of *Kien-shï*.(106) Now *Hu-han-ya* had first fallen in love with the two daughters of Prince

(100) 許嘉.

(101) 關內侯.

102) Literally 'to eat 300 families.' *Cf.* the *sa*, or 'eaters,' of Burmese *myo*, or 'towns;' *e.g.* the *myoza* of Bhamo. The Russian nobles' estates, before the emancipation of Alexander II, used also to be valued by the number of serfs upon them.

(103) B.C. 33.

(104) 胡寧; a note says 'because she brought peace.' Mayers' Manual reverses it and calls it *Ning-hu*.

(105) 伊屠智牙師.

(106) B.C. 31.

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Hu-yen,(107) elder brother of the Left *I-chih-tsz*. The elder, Queen *Chwan-k'ü*(107) bore him two sons, the elder named *Tsü-moh-ch'ê*,(108) and the younger named *Nang-chï-ya-sz*.(109) The younger daughter was Chief Queen and bore four sons, the eldest named *Tiao-t'ao-moh-kao*,(110) and the second *Tsü-mi-sü*(111) both older than *Tsü moh-ch'ê*; and two younger ones *Hien*(112) and *Loh* (113) who were both younger than *Nang-chï-ya-sz*.(114) There were also about a dozen sons by other queens. Queen *Chwan-k'ü* was the noblest of the wives, and *Tsü-moh ch'ê* the most beloved of the sons. When *Hu-han-ya* was sick and about to die, he wished *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* to be his successor. His mother *Chwan-k'ü* said:—'The Huns were in a state of anarchy, like to a tangle of hair, for over ten years; but, thanks to the power of *Han*, they have recovered peace. Things have not been long in a settled state, and our people have scarcely yet ceased from bloodshed. *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* is still young, and the people are not yet attached to him, so that future danger to the state is to be feared. I and the Chief Queen are now in one and the same family, and have sons in common. It were better for *Tiao-t'ao-moh-kao* to succeed.' The Chief Queen said:—'Though *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* be young, the ministers can combine to keep the machine of state going. If now the nobler be set aside in favour of the more plebeian, there will be civil war at some future time.' The Khan decided for the course recommended by Queen *Chwan-k'ü*, and named *Tiao-t'ao moh-kao* as his successor, engaging him to transmit the throne to his younger brother.

When *Hu-han-ya* died, *Tiao-t'ao-moh-kao* succeeded as the *Fuh-chu-lei Joh-ti*(115) Khan, and, once on the throne, sent his son, the Right *Chï-lu-êrh*(116) Prince *Hi-hiai-t'u-nu-hou*(117) as page to Court, and made *Tsü-mi-sü* Left Virtuous Prince. *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* was Right *Luh-li* Prince, and *Nang chï-ya-sz* was Right Virtuous Prince. *Fuh chu-lei* Khan again married *Wang Chao-kün*, who bore him two daughters, the elder one *Sü-puh Kü-ts'z*,(117*a*) and the younger *Tung-yü Kü-ts'z* (117*a*) In the 1st year(118) of *Ho-p'ing* the Khan sent the Right *Kao-lin*(119) Prince *I-ya-moh-yen*(120) and suite to offer their devoirs at court in the first moon [new year]. When this was done, an envoy was sent to escort them as far as *P'u-fan*,(121) when *I-ya-moh-yen* said:—'I wish to surrender: if you do not receive me I will kill myself; I positively dare not ever go back.' The envoy reported the incident, which was referred to the dukes and lords. Some were

(107) 呼衍; See *T. S. Tribes*, page 115, note 78; 顓渠; page 118, notes 105 and 106.

(108) 且莫車.

(109) 囊知牙斯 *cf.* note 105 for the last three syllables.

(110) 雕陶莫皐.

(111) 且糜胥.

(112) 咸. (113) 樂.

(114) It is presumed that this Queen *Chwan-k'ü* is the same that ran through the last four Khans. It is also evident that the words 亡之 cannot mean 'perished,' but must mean 'went into exile,' so far as her brother *Tu-lung-k'i* is concerned. (*T. S. Tribes*, p. 125).

(115) 復株絫若鞮; see later on for explanation of this term *joh-ti*.

(116) 智盧兒.

(117) 醯諸屠奴侯. Perhaps 'Marquess' of *Hi-hiai t'u-nu*.

(117*a*) 當于; in each case 居次 means 'princess.' See Note 312. See also *T. S. Tribes*, Page 9, Note 116, and Page 122, Note 146.

(118) B.C. 28.

(119) 皐林.

(120) 伊邪莫演.

(121) 蒲反; the capital of the ancient Emperor *Shun* in *Shan Si*.

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of opinion that his surrender ought to be accepted, in accordance with the usual practice; but the minister *Kuh Yung*(122) and the adviser *Tu K'in*(122) were of the following opinion:—'At the beginning of the *Han* dynasty the Huns had already done frequent damage to the frontier, in consequence of which a system of rewards by money or by titles had been established in order to induce surrenderers to come in. But at present the *Khan* has humbly styled himself a vassal and included himself in the north amongst our buffer states, sending envoys to offer congratulations at court, without any divided loyalty: *Han*, therefore, ought to treat him in a different manner from bygone times. If we now on the one hand accept the Khan's tribute missions, and on the other admit his renegade subjects, this is like coveting the possession of one man at the expense of the heart of the state, hailing a criminal subject with welcome, and breaking with a prince who is yearning after right. It is just possible that the Khan, having only just come to the throne, wishes to throw himself into China's arms, but, not knowing how the land lies, secretly prompts *I-ya-moh-yen* to feign a surrender, in order to see what the luck will be. To admit this man would be a mistake in policy and an infraction of right, which would result in the Khan's keeping his distance and not being on friendly terms with our border officers. Possibly it is a regular plant to pick a quarrel with us, and he wishes to make out of this a *casus belli*, in which case to admit the man would be playing right into his hand, by giving him just ground for reproaching us and making war. This is indeed a possible source whence peace or war for the frontier may arise, the pivot on which the march or the repose of armies may turn. We must be careful. Better not admit him, in order to shew the eternal honesty of broad day and to defeat what may be a crafty scheme, which is the best way to secure confidence(123) in us.' The Emperor took the advice embodied in the above answer, and sent the adjutant general *Wang Shun*(124) to go and ask the meaning of this proposed surrender. *I-ya-moh-yen* said—'I was only talking a madman's nonsense.' He was then dismissed, and went back to his former official position where he would not let the *Han* envoy see him.

Next year the Khan sent up a letter offering to come to court, and in the 1st moon of the 4th year he came. He received 20,000 pieces of embroidered silks and other stuffs, 20,000 pounds of floss, and the rest as on the *King-ning*(125) occasion. *Fuh-chu-lei* Khan reigned ten years, and died in the 1st year(126) of *Hung-kia*. His younger brother *Tsü-mi-sü* succeeded as *Sou-hiai*(127) *Joh-ti* Khan.

As soon as *Sou-hiai* Khan was on the throne, he sent his son the *Chuh-tu-han* Prince *Hü-liu-sz-hou*(128) as page to court, and made *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* Left Virtuous Prince. *Sou-hiai* Khan reigned eight years, and in the first year(129) of *Yüan-yen* he was on his way to the 2nd year's court [at new year] when he died of sickness before he got to the Wall. His younger brother *Tsü-moh-ch'ê* succeeded as *Ch'ê-ya*(130) *Joh-ti* Khan. As soon as *Ch'ê-ya* Khan was on the throne he sent his son the Right *Yü-t'u Ch'ou-ch'an*(131) Prince *Wu-i-tang*(132) to court as page, and made *Nang-chï-ya-sz* Left Virtuous Prince. *Ch'ê-ya* Khan reigned four years, and died in the first year(133) of *Sui-ho*. His younger bro-

(122) 谷永; 杜欽.

(123) The last few words seem to embrace a misprint and doubtful.

(124) 王舜.

(125) B.C. 33. (126) B.C. 20.

(127) 搜諧.

(128) 祝都韓; 朐留斯侯.

(129) B.C. 12.

(130) 車牙.

(131) 於涂仇撣.

(132) 烏夷當.

(133) B.C. 8.

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ther *Nang-chï-ya-sz* succeeded as *U-chu-liu*(134) *Joh-ti* Khan. As soon as he was on the throne, he made *Loh*, son of his second queen,(135) Left Virtuous Prince, and another of his younger brothers, *Yüh*,(136) Right Virtuous Prince. He sent his son the Right *Ku-nu* Prince *U-ti-ya-sz*(137) as page to court. *Han* sent the adjutant-general *Hia-hou P'an*(138) and the assistant protector *Han Jung*(139) as envoys to the Huns. At this time the Emperor's maternal uncle the Minister of War and Dragon-general *Wang Kên*(140) was conducting the premier's business, and some one advised *Kên* saying:—'The Huns are like a wedge in Chinese territory in the west reaching as far as *Chang-yeh* prefecture, where there are produced excellent timber, arrows, poles, and eagles' feathers. If we could get this all within our territory, it would bring wealth in these things to us; the State would derive the solid advantage of extending its dominion, and you, general, would hand down an illustrious name for ever.' *Kên* represented to his Majesty the advantage of this. His Majesty was all for asking it from the Khan, the only thing being that if we failed to get it there would be a loss of prestige. *Kên* thereupon took what he supposed to be his Majesty's hint and explained it to *P'an*, telling him to do as advised and ask for it. *P'an* duly arrived amongst the Huns, and in the course of conversation said to the Khan:—'I would humbly observe that I have noticed that the Huns enter *Han* dominions like a wedge in the direction of *Chang yeh* prefecture. *Han's* three outposts on the Wall keep several hundred soldiers occupied, cold and miserable, doing long watch-tower duty. The Khan should send up a letter offering this land to the Emperor, cutting this piece off, and thus saving us the expense of two protectors and their men by way of return for the Emperor's generous favours. The reward you will receive will be very considerable.' The Khan said:—'Is this the language of the Emperor himself? I will do what the envoy asks.' *P'an* said:—'It is indicated by what His Majesty has said; but I am suggesting myself that the Khan would make a very good stroke of policy if he did it.' The Khan said:—'The late Emperors, Poius *Süan* and the Poius *Yüan* had compassion on my father the *Hu-han-ya* Khan, and the Huns were left with all from the Long Wall northwards. The land you now speak of is occupied by the *Wén-ou-t'u*(141) Prince. I do not know what sort of land it is, but, if you will allow me, I will send a messenger to make enquiry.' *P'an* and *Yang* then returned to *Han*, and later on again went as envoys to the Huns. On arrival there they asked for the land. The Khan said:—'The Khanate has been held for five generations by my father and elder brothers, and *Han* has never asked for this land until now, when it is specially singled out. Why is this? I have made enquiry of the *Wên-ou t'u* Prince. The vassal States on the Hun western frontiers all look to the mountains for timber to make their tents and carts withal. Moreover I dare not lose my late father's land.' When *P'an* returned he was transferred to the prefecture of *T'ai-yüan*,(142) and the Khan sent up a letter to the Emperor setting forth how *P'an* had asked for this land: the Emperor issued the following decree:—'*P'an* by strict law deserves death for presumptuously citing a decree in support of his request for the land from the Khan, and moreover he has twice

(134) 烏朱留.

(135) A note says: 'this was *Hu han-ya's* chief queen.'

(136) 輿; A note says, 'Son of *Hu-han-ya's* 5th queen.'

(137) 股奴; 烏鞮牙斯.

(138) 夏侯潘 (139) 韓容.

(140) 王根.

(141) 温偶駼.

(142) South *Shan Si.*

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been liberally pardoned for other offences. I now remove *P'an* to be prefect of *Tsi-nan*(143) and do not permit him to have further doings with the Huns.' Next year the son-page died, and was sent back for burial. Another son, the left *Yü-t'u Ch'ou-ch an* Prince *Ki-liu-k'u*(144) was sent as page.

And so things went on until the 2nd year(145) of *Ai Ti's* reign, period *Ki'en-ping*, when the *Wu-sun* Beg(146) *Pei-yüan-chï*,(147) son by a concubine, led a horde of men into the Huns, western dominions, carrying off herds of cattle and killing a considerable number of people. The Khan when he heard of this sent the Left Great *Tang-hu*(148) *Wu-i-ling*(149) at the head of 5,000 horsemen to attack the *Wu-sun*, of whom they killed several hundred, carrying off over a thousand individuals, and driving off herds of cattle. *Pei-yüan-chï* in terror sent his son *Ts'ü-luh*(150) as hostage to the Huns. The Khan received him and explained matters to *Han*, who sent the adjutant general *Ting-ye-lin*(151) and the assistant-protector *Kung-ch'êng-yin*(152) as envoys to the Huns, reproaching the Khan, and ordering him to send back *Pei-yüan-chï's* son. In view of this mandate the Khan sent him back. In the 4th year of *Ki'en-p'ing* the Khan sent up a letter offering to come to court for the 5th year's [new year]. Just then *Ai Ti* was ill, and some one said that each visit of the Huns from the north had always been ominous of evil. Ever since the period *Hwang-lung* and *King-ning* there had been a death on each occasion the Khan had come to court. His Majesty for this reason objected to the proposal, and consulted the dukes and lords, who also expressed the view that it was a vain waste of treasure, and that it would be just as well to refuse. The Khan's envoy took his leave, but, before he started, the keeper of the Seraglio *Yang Huing*(153) sent up a remonstrance running:—'The chief thing inculcated in the Six Classics is the absence of anarchy, and the chieftain of a successful Captain is to avoid [the necessity for] a battle. These two things are of the essence of wisdom. Still, in the inception of affairs, we cannot but be circumspect. Now, the Khan has sent up a letter offering to come to court, which the Emperor's government does not accept, but declines In my humble opinion this may land *Han* in a war with the Huns. From the first the subjection of the northern nomads has been what the Five Emperors [of antiquity] could not achieve, or the Three Kings [founders of subsequent dynasties] bring about, so that it is very plain we can not rashly create a *casus belli*. But I may be too bold in citing extreme antiquity. I will simply take from the *Ts'in* dynasty to now as an illustration. With all the power of the First Emperor of *Ts'in* and the prestige of [his general] *Mêng T'ien*, supported by 400 000 armoured men, they were unable to get as far as the West River,(154) so they built the Long Wall to mark them off. At the first rise of the *Han* dynasty, with all the magical prestige of *Kao Tsu*, a host of 300 000 men were hemmed in at

(143) In *Shan Tung*.

(144) 稽留昆; as brothers' wives are taken over, I presume nephews being sons of such brothers become sons.

(145) B.C. 5.

(146) *T. S. Tribes*, page 121, N. 136.

(147) 卑援疆; it is presumed the last king; son.

(148) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 9, Note 111.

(149) 烏夷冷; *cf.* Note 132.

(150) 趨遂. (151) 丁野林.

(152) 公乘音.

(153) 黃門郎楊雄; a very celebrated man: this post was a century previously held by the equally celebrated *Chao Chung-kuoh*.

(154) Mr. Playfair's book fails us here. Probably in *Shen Si*, or *Kan Suh* when *Han Wu Ti* founded the 西河 or West River Prefecture.

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P'ing city(155) and the soldiers had not a meal for perhaps so long as seven days. At that time remarkably shrewd soldiers and hard-headed statesmen were by no means scarce, and yet the world has never been able to speak of the process by which they wriggled out of it.(156). Again, the Empress *Kao* had cause for indignation with the Huns,(157) and the question was referred to the whole court. *Fan K'uai* wanted to overrun the Huns with an army of 100,000, but *Ki Fu* thought that *Fan K'uai* should be decapitated for mischievously pandering to the imperial hint. On this the great officers concocted and sent the best letter the circumstances permitted and suggested. From that time the unity or schism of the Huns always meant China's anxiety or ease; until Pius *Wên*'s reign, when the Huns violently encroached upon the northern frontier, and their cavalry scouts came as far as *Yung*.(158) *Kan-ts'üan* and the metropolis were both in a panic, and three generals were sent to encamp on a certain plain,(159) to be ready for them: they were recalled after a few months When Pius *Wu* mounted the throne, he conceived the ruse of *Ma Yih* in order to entice the Huns,(160) and sent *Han An-kwoh* with an army of about 300,000(161) men to catch them in a trap. The Huns smelt a rat and made off, so all our waste of money and marching was in vain, and we never even saw a Hun, not to say the Khan's own face. From this moment the very existence of the dynasty and the Empire was imperilled; armies were raised on a vast scale, several hundred thousand men at a time, and the campaigns of *Wei Ts'ing* and *Hoh K'ü-ping* endured from first to last over ten years.(162) These two commanders passed the West River, and cut across the desert, defeating the enemy *T'ien-yen*(163), and attacking the royal *ordo*. They got to the extreme of the Hun dominions, chasing them pell-mell northwards, erecting a commemorative mound at *Lang-kü-sü* Mountain, and sacrificing at the *Ku-yen* Hill, until they got near the *Han Hai*, taking prisoner hundreds of distinguished princes and nobles. From this onwards the Huns were panic-stricken and were more anxious than ever to be on friendly terms: yet still they were unwilling to declare themselves our vassals. Is it to be supposed for a moment that former generations delighted in pouring out unlimited treasure, and forced innocent men to serve as soldiers just for the pleasure of getting to the north of *Lang-wang*? (164) They had come to the conclusion that unless they made one supreme effort they would never enjoy peace for any length of time, and that if they would not incur a temporary expense there would be no lasting security. Hence they endured an army of a million men if only to smash the hungry tiger's snout, and carted the whole wealth of the treasury to turn into the valleys of the *Lu*(165) Hills without grudge. And then at the beginning of the period *Pên-shi*(166) the Huns with truculent intent

(155) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 11, note 141.

(156) A note says 'a dirty business.' Perhaps the Emperor had to kneel to or the Empress to embrace the Khan.

(157) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 12, Notes 145, 151.

(158) 雍; *Fêng-siang Fu* S.W. *Shen Si.*

(159) See *T. S. Tribes*, page 19, note 209. Here it is 西柳棘門堰上.

(160) *T. S. Tribes*, note 216.

(161) Query 30,000.

(162) *T. S. Tribes*, Part 1, Notes 224, 251.

(163) *T. S. Tribes*, P. 23, Notes 264, 265, 266, 267. It is most puzzling to try and fix the whereabouts of these places. The *Yih-t'ung chi* places *Lang-kü-sü* west of the River Loop and South of Kara Narin, and the *Han Hai* north-east of the Loop, near Buhain Usu.

(164) 狼望: all the Chinese can say is that it is a place in Hunland.

(165) In the same way all the Chinese can tell us is 'mountains in Hunland' 盧山.

(166) B.C. 73. *T. S. Tribes*, Page 120, Note 127.

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tried to plunder the *Wu sun* and possess themselves of our princess, on which we despatched an army of 150,000 horsemen under five generals to scour their south, while the *Ch'ang-lo* Marquess(167) with 50,000 *Wu-sun* horsemen created a diversion on their west, all reaching the appointed *rendez-vous* and returning home. On this occasion they got but little, and made but a vain demonstration of military prowess, just in order to shew that the *Han* troops were like the thunder and the wind. Though they returned as they went empty-handed, yet two of the generals were punished with death. The result was the Huns were still unsubdued and China was still unable to sleep in peace and security. And so things went on until the *Yüan-k'ang* and *Shên-tsioh*(168) periods, when the divine perspicuity had full play and the immense grace was spread far and wide.(169) The Huns had a civil war, and five Khans were striving for the sceptre. *Jih-chuh* and *Hu-han-ya* with their respective States(170) came over to their deaths, humbly craving permission to be our vassals. But even yet it was only a nominal subjection(171) and not downright subjection.(172) After this, whenever they wished to come to court they were not refused, and when they did not wish they were not compelled. And why? The natural character of foreign nations is impulsiveness. Of robust and imposing exterior, they place their reliance upon might and daring, being difficult to soften by kindness, and easy to bring under by mild force. Their strength is as hard to bend, as their docility is hard to secure. Hence the terrible difficulty we have from time to time when they are intractable, wearing out our armies in remote campaigns, emptying the State of its treasure, covering the earth with corpses and rivers of blood, and engaging in desperate hand-to-hand encounters with the enemy. And whenever we have subdued them, we have to take precautionary measures by treating them in a kind, conciliatory manner, gaining them over with presents, and treating them with a mixture of firmness and politeness. In past times we massacred the inhabitants of *Ta-yüan*(173) city and overran the strong places of the *Wu-hwan*;(174) we looked over the walls of the *Ku-tsêng*,(175) and trampled on the seat of the *Tang-tsz*.(176) We crossed *Chao-sien*(177) and seized the standards of the two *Yüeh*.(178) Barely a campaign of ten days to a month, or at the utmost three months, before we ploughed over their capitals and swept their villages, turning them into prefectures and districts, carrying everything before us like a whirlwind; since which time we have had no great trouble. Only with the northern nomads is it not so. They are truly hard enemies of China, very different from those on the other three frontiers.(179) Former generations felt it severely as an evil not to be despised. But now the Khan has come to a right mind and nourishes a submissive heart, wishing to leave his *ordo* and present himself before your Majesty: this is just what former generations have schemed for and bequeathed to us, and what the divine genius always hoped for.(180) Though it involves expense

(167) *T. S. Tribes*, P. 121, Note 134.

(168) B.C. 65 to 58.

(169) Possibly of the gods; more likely a fulsome way of speaking of the Emperor.

(170) *T. S. Tribes*, P. 125, Note 171. See also above, Note 85.

(171) See my paper on the *Wu-hwan*, Note 131.

(172) 顓制.

(173) 大宛 Ferghana.

(174) See my paper on the *Wu-hwan* Tunguses

(175) 姑繒; somewhere towards *Sz-ch'wan* or *Yün Nan*; this was in B.C. 86.

(176) 蕩姐; a note says 'Tibetans;' perhaps the same as the 唐蕃 also Tibetans.

(177) North Corea.

(178) Canton and Foochow.

(179) 三垂比之懸矣: I suppose this is the meaning.

(180) I suppose of *Kao Ti* and *Wu Ti*.

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to the State, it is a thing that must be done. How can we say that he comes too often and refuse him, putting him off *sine die* and making him more distant towards us, annulling the grace of previous rulers and creating ground for hostility in future? To furnish such grounds when he dutifully comes is to cause his heart to fill with hatred, and to disappoint his legitimate expectations based on our previous language. He will lay all the blame on *Han*, and in consequence break off relations, never having the heart to turn his face north. Demonstrations will not do: remonstrances will fail. Can this ever be anything but a great sorrow for us? Perspicacious men see events before they arrive, and alert men hear something before there is a noise, prophesying exactly what is going to happen. Even though another *Mêng T'ien* and another *Fan K'uai* may not have to repeat the acts connected with the names of those worthies, and though another demonstration like that of the Thorn Gate be unnecessary, what was the object of(181) our *Ma-y h* ruse? For what purpose were *Wei* and *Hoh's* services rendered?(182) Why did we send out our five generals to vaunt our military power? If we do not accept his proposals, so soon as ever there shall arise a ground for dispute, even the shrewdest of us will at once feel overwhelmed with anxiety at home, whilst envoys after envoys follow upon each other's heels to explain things away abroad; and still the result will never be so good as if nothing of the kind had taken place at all. Moreover, it cannot be supposed that in past times our scheme of policy for the Turkestan States and our restraining hold upon *Küshi*; our founding of cities and appointing a president over the 36 states at the cost of a million(183) a year, had as a motive to prevent the *K'ang-kü* and *Wu-sun* from perchance crossing the *Pêh-lung Tui*,(184) and becoming lords and masters of the western frontier marches? It was to restrain the Huns! I shall feel very anxious for the State if we lose in one day the work of a century, and forego an advantage for considerations not one tenth of the value of what we have paid for it. May your Majesty be circumspect before confusion and war take place, so as to nip in the bud the evil now blossoming on the frontier!'

When the above memorial was laid before the Emperor, his Majesty awoke to its significance, and called back the Hun envoy, sending a written reply to the Khan instead, acceding to his proposal. Presents were also sent of 50 pieces of cloth(185) and ten pounds of gold. Before the Khan started he happened to fall sick, and once more he sent an envoy offering to come to court the following year as before. When the Khans had visited court, their suites from the prices of high status downwards had numbered over 200 persons. The Khan sent up another letter saying that, thanks to the Emperor's divine influence, his people were strong and flourishing, and that he would like to bring a suite of 500 individuals to court, so as to make still further manifest the sacred policy of the Emperor. All this was granted by the Emperor.

In the second year(186) of *Yüan-shou* the Khan came to court. As Jupiter's position was not in that part of the orbit which augured victory, the Emperor quartered him in the Grape Palace of the Zoological Gardens, saying that the Khan should understand that this was an additional mark of

(181) See Note 159.
(182) See Note 162.
(183) 大萬.

(184) 白龍堆; I make this place somewhere between Dabsun Nor and Lob Nor, on the edge of the *Lou-lan* (later *Shen-shen*) country. See *T. S. Tribes*, P. 14, Note 164.

(185) 雄布; probably a misprint for 雜.

(186) B.C. 1.

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respect.(187) Presents were added of 370 suits of clothes, 30,000 pieces of embroidered silk and other stuffs, 30,000 pounds of floss, and the rest as on the *Ho-p'ing* occasion.(188) When the functions were all over, he sent the adjutant-general *Han K'wang*(189) to escort the Khan back. The Khan had got beyond the wall as far as the *Hiu-t'un*(190) well and crossed the *Ch'ê-t'ien-lu*(191) river to the north, when, on account of the circuitous route taken, *K'wang* and his party fell short of provisions. The Khan supplied them with the necessary food, but they were fifty days behind time when they got back.

Now the Emperor had sent *Ki-liu-k'un*(192) back after the Khan, and when the latter had reached his own country he sent him back to China once more together with his uterine elder brother the Right Great *Tsü-fang*(193) and wife to act as pages. And when he reached home, he sent the *Tsü-fang's* uterine elder brother the *Jih-chuh* Prince *Tu*(194) and his wife also to act as pages. At this time(195) the *Han* Emperor *P'ing* was very young, and the Empress-Dowager was Regent. *Wang Mang*, Marquess of *Sin-tu*(196) was administering the Government, and, being desirous of pleasing the Empress-Dowager by making out that her prestige and policy were very much more successful than was the case formerly, he hinted to the Khan that he might send *Wang Chao Kün's* daughter the *Sü-puh* Princess(197) *Yün* as a page(198), which being done, the Empress conferred very liberal gifts upon her. It so fell out that *Kou-ku*(199) king of Ulterior *Kü-shï* in Turkestan took refuge with *T'ang-tou* the Prince of(200) *Hu-lai*, who, like himself, was aggrieved and angry at the conduct of the Chinese proconsul and the protector, and went over with his family and horde to the Huns. It was rumoured in Turkestan that the Khan had harboured and quartered the refugees in the Left *Luh-li* land. He sent an envoy to submit a letter explaining as follows :—'Your vassal has indeed received them.' A decree ordered the adjutant-generals *Han Lung*(201) and *Wang Ch'ang*(202), the assistant-protector *Chên Fou*(203), the chamberlain *Péh-pi*(204), and the *Chang Shwei*(205) protector *Wang Hih*(206) to proceed on a mission to the Huns, and declare to them as follows :—'Turkestan States which belong to China should not have been received: you should now send them back.' The Khan said :—'The late Emperors Pius *Süan* and Pius *Yüan* had compassion on us and made an agreement. From the Long Wall southwards was to be the Emperor's; from the

(187) There is probably some mixture of trickery and superstition here, akin to that which has always prevented the Manchu Emperors from receiving the envoys of Europe properly.

(188) B.C. 27.

(189) 韓況.

(190) 休屯.

(191) 車田廬水.

(192) See Note 144.

(193) 且方; the wife evidently to serve the Dowager.

(194) 都. (195) A.D. 1.

(196) 王莽; 新都.

(197) 云; See note 117.

(198) 侍; the same word is used for pages and ladies-of-honour.

(199) 句姑; elsewhere reversed as *Ku-kou*.

(200) 胡來王唐兢; according to the chapter on *Ku-shï*, a squabble had arisen about a new road from the Pass of of *Yüh-mên* 玉門, the Chinese being anxious to avoid the defiles of *Péh-lung Tui*. The Ulterior king's capital was a place called *Wu-t'u* 務塗. *Tang-tou's* dominions were near those of the Red Water Tibetans 赤水羌, as distinguished from the White Waters 白水 of that ilk.

(201) 韓隆. (202) 王昌.

(203) 甄阜. (204) 帛敞.

(205) 長水; west of *Ch'ang-an*.

(206) 王歙.

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Long Wall northwards the Khan's. If either side made trespass over the frontier, there were to be explanations, and no deserting bodies were to be received. I know that my father *Hu-han-ya* received immeasurable consideration. Dying, he left a testament saying :—" If any come from China to surrender, do not receive them, but send them back to the Wall, so as to make return for the Emperor's heavy favour." But these are foreign States, and I may receive them.' The envoys said :—' When the Huns were attacking each other, kith and kin, and their dominion almost came to an end, they received China's great consideration ; the danger of disappearing was once more warded off, wives and children enjoyed perfect peace, generation after generation has gone on doing so, and the Huns ought to make some return for this vast favour.' The Khan made obeisance and confessed his offence, arresting the two freebooters and handing them over to the envoys. A decree ordered the adjutant-general *Wang Méng*(207) to proceed as far as the *Oh-tu-nu*(208) Valley on the frontier and there wait to receive them. The Khan, however, sent an envoy to escort them back to their own country, and then begged that this might not be considered an offence. But a decree refused to pardon the act. After several of the Turkestan kings had been beheaded as a warning, four new rules were established providing that 'no Chinese or *Wu-sun* taking refuge with the Huns might be received, nor might the natives of any States holding China's seal and ribbon, nor might the *Wu-hwan*.' The adjutant-generals *Wang Tsün*(209) and *Wang Ch'ang*, and the assistant-protectors *Chên Fou* and *Wang Sün*(210) were sent on a mission to the Huns to announce these four rules and deliver them to the Khan, sealed up in a despatch-box, together with other letters for the Khan ordering him to obey. They returned after recovering from him the former treaty and sealed-box sent by the Emperor *Süan.*(211) *Mang* sent up a memorial recommending that an order should be issued forbidding the use of two names(212) in China ; he then sent an envoy to hint to the Khan that he would do well to send up a letter shewing his devotion to civilised ways using one name, when *Han* would be certain to bestow further rewards upon him. The Khan did so, and sent up the following letter :—' Luckily I have obtained the position of frontier vassal, and humbly rejoice in the great peace and sacred convention. I therefore respectfully change my former name of *Nang-chï-ya-sz* to that of *Chï-mang-ta-shwei*(213)' This was explained to the Empress-Dowager, who sent an envoy to lecture him in reply, and besides bestowed liberal rewards. *Han*, having circulated the four rules, afterwards extended protection to the *Wu-hwan* envoys, and told the *Wu-hwan* people that they need not again pay taxes of hides and cloth to the Huns.(214) The Huns considered that this was an established practice, and sent an envoy to demand the *Wu-hwan* tax. The Hun people, including the women, wished to engage in trade and hawking, and all backed this up. The *Wu-hwan* refused saying :—' We have received the Emperor's decree and rules saying that we must not

(207) 王萌.
(208) 惡都奴.
(209) 王駿.
(210) 王尋.

(211) *Yüan.*
(212) I do not understand whether this refers to the second name or *tsz* 字, or whether it is a question touching the principles of *tabu*. The possession of two names is said by *Kung-yang Kao* 公羊高 to be improper 二名非禮也.
(213) 知莽大說; this is probably a Hun word containing in its Chinese character dress a complimentary allusion to *Wang Mang*.
(214) See my paper on the *Wu-hwan*, Page 75, *China Review*, Vol. XX.

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grant taxes to the Huns.' The Hun envoy was angry, arrested the *Wu-hwan* chief and hung him up head downwards. The chief's younger brothers were angry, and set upon the Hun envoy and suite, whom they murdered, besides seizing and carrying off their women, horses, and cattle. The Khan, hearing of it, despatched an envoy, and at the same time sent a body of troops under the Left Virtuous Prince to march into *Wu-hwan* territory and demand reparation from those who had killed the envoy. An attack was made, and the *Wu-hwan* scattered in flight, some seeking refuge in the hills, and others holding the line of the Wall. The Huns killed a considerable number of people, and drove off with them women and young children to the number of about a thousand individuals, whom they quartered in the Left Land. They warned the *Wu-hwan* saying:—'Bring horses and flocks, skins and cloth to redeem them.' The *Wu-hwan*, seeing that the kidnapped numbered over 2,000 of their friends and relatives, took valuables and herds wherewith to redeem them. The Huns accepted their things, but would not let the people go.

E. H. PARKER.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

NOTES BY MR. E. H. PARKER.

Mr. Du Bose's very readable and popular work '*The Dragon, Image, and Demon*' goes over much the same ground, only in a popular way, as the highly scholarly work (published in Chinese) of the Chinese Jesuits *Hwang* and *Tsiang*. The latter book, the 集說詮眞, may almost be described as a classic, so admirably pure is the Chinese style. Unlike Chinese classics, however, it is clearly printed. In both works the most interesting part is the historical treatment of *Lao Tsz*, Buddha, and Confucius. Fathers *Hwang* and *Tsiang* give their exact authority for every single statement made, and, as critics of the three so-called religions, have left on record a masterpiece which should be closely studied by every careful student of Chinese. Even Mr Du Bose's historical treatment of these three founders is a highly respectable effort, though of course it possesses but a small modicum of scholarly precision or accuracy. Both authors also discuss the minor Chinese gods, too barren a subject for the writer to tackle. But even here, where there is genuine history involved, as in the cases of the 18 Arhans and *Hwang-tao P'o* (the introducer of cotton into China from the South), the Jesuit Fathers leave valuable critical work on record. Though Mr Du Bose's book is printed in New York, the spelling is English throughout, which makes it all the more readable; for American spelling, like the American accent, however defensible on various theoretical grounds, is irritating in each case to one of the five senses of 'Britishers.' The book, too, is wonderfully free from Americanisms, which proves that some of the American publishers at least know and disapprove of them. 'There is not one who *does not have*' on page 54, 'the centre of his body' (for 'his hips') on page 236, and (horror of horrors, vulgarity of vulgarities!) 'the old ladies wear red *pants*' on page 220, are about the only yankeeisms in the book.

The reading of the volumes of Fathers Hwang and Tsiang is much facilitated by the use of various marks to denote proper names, so that one can be sure of the value of each character. The use of the 'eternal date,' beginning B.C. 2697, is also convenient for the student of consecutive history. The numerous punctuation points and other marks, however, though very convenient somewhat detract from the scholarly aspect

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of the book as viewed by the eye of a Chinese purist, and the writer is bound to say, in the words of Horace, from the aesthetical side of his mind: 'I observe the ameliorations and approve, but prefer t'other thing.'

Another instance in which Mr. Giles has copied Williams' errors is under the character 制. The sentence in Williams is 臨朝稱制 '[an Empress] ascending the throne is termed *chï*.' Mr. Giles has '[an Empress] ascending the throne is called *chih*.' What it really means '[the Empress] assumed the reins of government.' The two last words are akin to 稱臣, 'declared himself vassal.' The Emperor himself may 稱制, e.g. 帝親 | | 臨決: so may anybody else, e.g. | | 假號. So, again, the Duke of Edinburgh did | | when he assumed charge of Coburg-Gotha. One must read Chinese history to find out these things.

Apropos of this word *chï*, I may state that the Cantonese form is *chai* and not *chi*, both in the case of 制 and 製. In the combination however | 台 the Cantonese often say *chi-t'oi*. Students should alter these at once.

The Chinese Jesuits, Fathers *Hwang* and *Tsiang*, in a book called the 集說詮眞, seem to give the best existing account of the invention of printing in China. Quoting from the 事物原會, they show that in the year A.D. 593 the *Sui* Emperor ordered that all discarded pictures and casual copies of the classics 廢像遺經 should be carved on blocks 雕板.

The *T'ang* dynasty advanced a step farther. Citing the 文獻通考 they show, though without giving dates, that during the *T'ang* dynasty certain lesser books, printed from blocks, were already sold in the market places 書肆已有雕板字書小學印紙.

The statesman 馮道, who served the Turkish dynasty of After *T'ang*, and the Turkish dynasty of After *Chou* successively, in the year A.D. 932 of the Turkish Emperor *Ming Tsung*, corrected the classics 校正九經 and had them cut on blocks and publicly sold 鏤板印賣流布天下. The authority for this is the 周書.

The *Sung* History says that, during the reign A.D. 954-960 of the After *Chou* Emperor *Shï Tsung*, there were for the first time printed versions of the classics 始有經籍刻板, which saved scholars the trouble of copying 學者無筆札之勞. Father *Hwang* does not express an opinion how this statement is reconcilable with the last.

He very justly points out that the carving of the classics on stone by *Ts'ai Yung* of the After *Han* dynasty has nothing to do with the question of printing.

During the reign A.D. 1041-9 of the *Sung* Emperor *Jên Tsung* a common man, named *Pih Shêng* 畢昇, invented movable types 爲活字板. The characters were formed of clay, baked hard, and an iron *slaie* or framework 範 was placed over a board, and the movable types dropped through the holes of the *slaie* on to the board.

During the *Ming* dynasty (no date given) a 常州 man made movable types of copper and lead 用銅鉛爲活字.

Most of the above facts are recorded by Mr. Satow (Ch. B. R. A. S. J. Vol. X) and Dr. Williams (Recorder, Vol. VI); but as error dies hard, it is well to quote the Chinese Father's researches too. See also my numerous notes on the subject in the *China Review*.

In my note upon the Shan word *shieng*, written with the character 睒, the *China Review* has made a mess of it. The above is the correct form and 睒 is the common but erroneous form.

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Father *Hwang* and *Tsiang* also give the best existent account of early Buddhism in China, which throws Dr. Eitel into the shade. I shall give a translation of it before long. E. H. P.

A CORRECTION.—Referring to the first and second Notes in the last number of the *China Review* (Vol. XXI., p. 53), I beg to say, that a better authority than any dictionary, even Giles', for the two phrases in question is the famous Memorial of Kia I (賈誼) in the Han History, in which we read:—

視殺人若艾草菅然,

and 簠簋不飾.

Putting the cart after the horse write 草菅 not 菅草.

JOHN CHINAMAN.

Burns in Easy Wen Li.

衣	將	希	噫賜
飾	免	得	見吾儕
行	許	見	己妙
拜	多	己	如能
去	愚	如	人小
矜	蒙	人	瑣
可	偏	見	小
可	跛	我	瑣

'Oh, wad some power the giftie gi'e us,
To see oursel's as ithers see us.
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion.
What airs in dress an' gait wad le'ae us,
And even devotion.'

J. C.

ERRATA.

In my *Sketch of Burmese History*:—

Page 48, Line 23, for 'Emperor' read 'Superior.'

,, 48, Line 2 (Col. 2), for 'Nigurs' read 'Uigurs.'

,, 48, Line 30 (Col. 2), for 'Manwang' read 'Manwaing.'

,, 49, Line 29, for 'Pegnan' read 'Peguan.'

Notes.—Page 54 the Foochow sound of 檄 is $k'ik_2$ not $k'it_2$.

In my note upon *tieh* (Page 57, Vol. XXI), read 'There is no such a sound as $tieh^4$ at all;' and 'just as pai^2 must be pronounced $pé^4$;' and 'all the words in question are pronounced $tieh^2$.' The last two words $_2tich$ and $_5tieh$ are correctly printed.

E. H. PARKER.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 1. L'Ile de Tsong-ming a l'embouchure du Yang-se-kiang. Par le P. Henri Havret, S.J. Printed at the Catholic Mission Press, T'ou-sé-wé Orphanage, Shanghai.

The author in his preface starts out with some very just general remarks touching the superficiality of much of the Chinese study of to-day, the flippant claims of ephemeral travellers to discuss the problems of an old civilisation, and the necessity for exactness in any work which is worth doing at all. Whilst admitting the vast industry and ability of the versatile but irreverent M. Reclus, he proceeds to hoist him upon the pillory as a specific warning to slip-shod workers. In parallel columns he cites a number of statements made concerning the island of Ch'ung-ming by the unfortunate geographer, who, like the man who described a lobster as a 'red fish which walked backwards,' seems to have succeeded in jamming into a small

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space almost as many errors as it is possible to commit. Instead of 'just barely appearing above the surface during the Mongol dynasty' the island dates from at least 700 years earlier; instead of having been first 'populated by exiles' it was colonised by voluntary emigrants whose names always have been and still are known to us; and instead of their blood being largely 'mixed with that of Japanese pirates of the 17th century' there is nothing to shew that there was any Japanese blood left in the island at all which was not buried with the piratical Japanese then slain by the defenders. Instead of there being '2,000,000 of well-to-do inhabitants huddled together upon 1,000 square kilométres of fertile soil,' there are only a million wretchedly poor people pullulating upon 720 kilométres of second-class land. And so on with many other statements touching the habits and character of the people. M. Reclus being ignorant of Chinese, has of course had to depend upon the imperfect work of specialists in that language, just as M. Rein in Japan has filled his *magnum opus* with innumerable absurd misstatements based on credulous and uncritical translations of suspiciously concocted Japanese 'histories.' It is to destroy illusions, and plant the banner of truth, so far as the island of Ch'ung-ming is concerned, that the present author has supplied us with the careful study now under review, taken in great part from the local annals or *chí* concerning the total absence of 'proportion' in the arrangement of which our author has some very caustic and witty remarks with which, so far as they concern widows and warriors, we are in complete accord. From our tolerably wide experience of these *chí*, however, we are inclined to share the opinion, cited by our author, of M. Reclus and P. Amiot that the' body of Chinese Annals forms the best record of humanity in existence.' Of course we speak, as M. Reclus undoubtedly spoke, of human works only, and have not in our mind's eye any intention to criticise 'revealed knowledge,' P. Havret now proceeds to treat his subject systematically: (1) the history of accretions and washings away from the first appearance of two competing sandbanks in A.D. 620; (2) the various theories of Chinese and Europeans to account for the gradual upheaval of the island; (3) the effect upon it of the current of the Great River; (4) the history of its first colonisation; (5) the system of taxation, and the effects of official action or inaction; (6) the attacks of Japanese pirates; (7) the manufacture of salt; (8) the local dialect &c. &c. A comparison of maps discloses a considerable amount of discrepancy in the minds of modern cartographers as to the exact shape and the position of Ch'ung Ming Island, but the author furnishes an excellent map of his own or the mission's. The chapter devoted to landed property is very interesting. Then follows a list of national catastrophes, earthquakes, &c., such as the Chinese Annals never fail to keep an exact record of for every part of the Empire. Infanticide seems to prevail largely owing to the great poverty of the people; but the *Sainte Enfance* has been established in the island since 1845, and now possesses six establishments to cope with the evil. In 1889 the orphanages received more than 3,000 children, chiefly girls—about one in twelve of the whole number of births on the island. The remaining chapters are devoted to a detailed discussion of the local popular life. The whole forms an invaluable addition to our exact data upon Chinese subjects, and will be read with interest by all those who have the welfare of the yellow-skinned people at heart.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 2, La Province du Ngan-Hoei (avec deux cartes hors texte), par Le P. Henri Havret, S.J. Shanghai Catholic Mission Printing Press at T'ou-sè-wè.

The preface to this work says that it was

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undertaken in response to a circular of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society dated 10 February 1890, (printed *in extenso*) calling for information regarding Inland Communications. The first chapter deals with the geographical position, boundaries, and measurements of the province, the population, main productions, and general economy. The second chapter treats of the general topography, rivers and mountains, the political divisions, canals, lakes, &c. The above two chapters form Part I. of the work, and the exact information contained therein seems to have been collected rather from the data supplied by European travellers who have actually been over the ground than from the native Provincial Annals or *Chi*. Part II, in one chapter, consists of tabulated lists shewing the civil and military organisation of the province, and the administrative divisions into prefectures, districts, market towns, &c. This part is presumably largely taken from the provincial *chi*, but it places before the eye the distribution of administrative divisions much more clearly than is possible with the clumsy native arrangements of tabular type. The third Part, which ought to be invaluable to future travellers, treats of the great roads which run through the province. It is subdivided into three chapters, one devoted to each of the three *taotai*-ships or intendancies into which the province is apportioned. Each intendancy is again sub-divided into prefectures. Descriptions are given of the rapids, the boats, the productions met with along the routes, the local value of the tael, the manufactures, mines, popular life, state of public safety, inns, means of transport, fauna, flora, bridges, distribution of wealth, secret societies, posts, agricultural methods, trade, consumption and growth of opium, social evils, density or decimation of the population, dikes, drained marshes (or *polders* as the Dutch call them), tea culture, paper factories, superstitions, customs-houses, fairs and markets, food consumption; and, finally, suggestions are offered for the relief of the immense mass of popular misery and improvidence which prevails. This is perhaps the most carefully prepared and detailed study of a Chinese province which has ever been given to the European world, and will probably be read with avidity and interest by economists in every part of the world. For our part we intend to study it in detail and at leisure, for the moment merely glancing over it. Part IV is a very interesting tabulated compilation shewing the incidence of land-tax, and is also perhaps the most *raisonnée* description of this particular subject which has ever been presented to the European eye. Part V is a list of alphabetically arranged geographical names, to which is appended another list shewing the commonest local topical terms, such as 'farm,' 'ford,' 'plain,' 'eyot,' &c. Regarding the word 圩, which the author calls *yu*, 'digue,' in and about Shanghai it is a parochical subdivision of a *t'u* 圖, and in and around Yangchow it is pronounced *uei*, like 圍, and appears to mean 'a large field or tract surrounded by dykes.' It is interesting to find such words as 疃, 墅, 墩, and 塌 in local use.

Finally, there are two very excellent maps: one of the whole province, absolutely of priceless value to the traveller, and the other a very complete chart of those parts of the Yangtsze which run through Anhwei. If this careful and valuable study is but the precursor of others on the same scale to follow for the whole 20 provinces, students of Chinese matters will indeed be in luck. All work turned out by the Jesuit Mission at Shanghai is of the highest quality, and we feel sure this contribution to our general knowledge of China will be warmly welcomed everywhere. We shall probably recur to the matter in more detail after we shall have thoroughly digested the book.

E. H. P.

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Varié'és Sinologiques, No. 3. *Croix et Swastika en Chine.* Par Le P. Louis Gaillard, S.J. Printed at the Catholic Mission, Shanghai.

We may fairly congratulate ourselves that a new era is dawning in Sino-European literature when we see these volumes of carefully-elaborated *Variétés* following each other in rapid succession, and reflect what has already been done by Fathers Zottoli, de Bussy, Boucher, Heude, Decheverens, Chevalier, Colombel, Lorando, Havret, and others of the same school, the reëmbodiments so to speak, of the Riccis, Schaals, Verbiests, and others their predecessors of 250 years ago. Much though we owe to the earlier school of Jesuits in China, it is not unfair to them to say that a great deal of their work requires thorough overhauling by the lights of the improved encyclopaedic knowledge which we now possess, and which places at our disposal ready-made and certain aids to learning which they had to forge for themselves in the rough as their needs suggested, and often very speculatively.

The present work gathers in one focus all the available and heterogeneous information regarding the appearance and effect of the Christian Cross in China, and examines all the grounds which have been put forward for connecting it historically with that 'four-legged Manx-man' the *Svastika* or 'gamma'd cross,' known to the Chinese and Japanese as *Wan-tsz* or *Manji*. All authorities, however humble, are impartially cited and consulted, and it is hardly too much to say that every European who has written anything at all in China or on China worth writing will find that he has, voluntarily or involuntarily, contributed some mite of information to the general store garnered in by Father Gaillard.

When we say that the book, which is so profusely adorned with illustrations as to be almost a work of art available even for the builder and the house decorator, contains 280 pages, it will be understood how difficult it is, within the limits of a short newspaper notice, to give an adequate idea of the scope of the enquiry. The first thing that Father Gaillard does, with the assistance of his fellow-iconoclast Father Havret (if we may be allowed for this purpose to consider 'imaginations' as 'images') is to dispose of the absurd idea started, apparently without intention, by Prémare, that the almost purely mythical Chinese Emperor *Huang Ti*, 4,500 years ago, and nearly 2,700 years before Christ, had a presentiment of the mystery of the Cross. The fact that this Emperor disposed the shaft and cross-bar of his newly-invented chariot in a certain way, and that the said chariot was dedicated to his memory in honour of the Emperor's majesty, has been twisted round to mean that he 'invented the Cross as a symbol of honour to the Most High.' This is a striking instance in point, illustrating how completely all the old work requires overhauling by the light of the laws of Chinese composition as now better understood, and of the exact meaning of words with which the experience of two centuries has furnished us. To come again to a more recent date: the whole of the work of Pauthiers, clever though he was, must be condemned as untrustworthy and used with great caution, owing to his ignorance of the first principles of Chinese composition and his inveterate habit of guessing at ideas. Partly as a corollary to this exploded idea suggested by Prémare's mistake, Father Gaillard very properly rejects *in toto* the idea that the early cross could have been in any way derived from the *svastika*, Chinese or Indian, and gives us all the learning on the subject of the latter and its connection with art, religious and otherwise. As to this portion, we would venture to suggest the condensation, reconstruction, and republication in a more consecutive form, as it is difficult to arrange the ideas, amid such a mass of evidence and dates, so as to gain a general historical grasp of the question.

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The most interesting part of the book is perhaps that which treats of the so-called 'Nestorian' tablet of Si-an Fu. 'Catholic' tablet would be more correct, as Father Gaillard shows, and there seems no special reason for 'infecting' the stone with the Nestorian heresy, even if this heresy were better defined than it is in the majority of minds. But we are promised a special and separate work on this subject by Father Havret, who proposes to examine all the available texts and translations, and publish an entirely new critical study of the whole inscription. It is hardly necessary to say that the appearance of this, embodying as it will the combined wisdom of the most accomplished theologians and sinologists, will be awaited with intense interest by all thinking students of Chinese. The chapter on the Si an Fu tablet is prefaced by a reduced phototype of the stone itself: it is a pity that the whole of it was not given, for there was plenty of room to give it all on the one page; and if anything had to be lopped off it might well have been the Chinese dragons at the top of it. It is quite possible, and even not improbable, that the Christian Cross may have been introduced into the state of *Wu* by Alexandrian or Roman merchants taking the sea route. Father Gaillard is not to be rashly understood to say positively that it was, but he adduces all the evidence which might tend to shew how this Christian idea of the Cross, as an emblem, might possibly have been first carried to the Far East. Personally, however, we are disposed to believe that Christianity was first brought to China solely by way of Bukara and Kan Suh, and that it made way solely amongst the Tartar rulers of China, of whom T'ang T'ai-tsung was one—on his mother's side. In his 45 h chapter Gibbon says that, according to the Nestorian traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes, Christianity was in the 6th century successfully preached to the Bactrians, Huns, Persians, Indians, Persarmenians, &c. The Emperor Justinian endeavoured by treaty to secure the toleration of Christianity in Persia, and 'the missionaries of Balkh and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar.' Again, in Chapter 50:—'The Churches of Yemen and the Princes of Hira and Gassan were instructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.' The *Old T'ang Shu* tells us that the Kashgarians, Turks, Harashar people and Khotenese all worshipped the *Sien* (or God of the Nestorians): true, in some cases it is doubtful if the word 祆 is not intended for *Yao* 祅; but on the other hand it seems to be occasionally interchanged with *t ien* 天. At that time there appears to have been a confusion in the Chinese mind as to whether Buddhism and Christianity were not different forms of one and the same religion, and we may assume that the early Christian missionaries of the 6 h and 7th centuries, had a certain sympathy, living as they did amongst idolators, with the Buddhists, just as we find now that individual Mussulmans in idolatrous China often display a marked sympathy with individual Christians. Nor does it seem in the least improbable that both sects may have borrowed from the other ideas, or at least convenient ways of expressing ideas, not inconsistent with the general tenets of the faith thus supplemented by borrowing. Father Gaillard covers with very just ridicule the apparently preposterous attempt of the Rev. Dr Williamson to give a Protestant tinge to the tablet, and to utilise it as 'evidence against the Roman Catholics and idolators, because it shews that the Protestant form of Christianity does not date from yesterday.' Who ever heard of any 'protests' against the mere form of established Christianity in the 7th century? However, Dr Williamson evidently meant no more than 'the stone is evidence of a form of religion simpler than the indulgence-hawking and debased Catholicism of Luther's time,' just as most

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Protestants think that the Bible is evidence of a simpler religion than that defined by the infallible Popes of to-day. In spite of the attempts recently made by the diplomatic body at Peking to secure the protection of the stone, the wilfulness or stupidity of the local officials seems resolved that it shall hopelessly perish before long. Why not apply for permission to take it bodily away? There might be given in exchange some trumpery privilege connected with *likin* or transit-passes.

The account of the various Christian crosses found in recent years in various parts of China is very interesting. There is no doubt that the Chinese originally were, and still are, willing to tolerate Christianity just like any other religion if it only could be divested of all political and anti-Confucian effect. The first Emperor of the Manchu dynasty was within an ace of being baptized. Father Gaillard's book discloses a considerable amount of *odium theologicum* on the part of missionaries in China, though he himself is moderate enough in his criticism. Perhaps both sides are open to the blame of excessive zeal occasionally. It is satisfactory, however, to see that Mr Wylie is, as usual, mentioned with great respect, and his memory deserves it, as being a man of almost perfect charity. Doctor Legge is also quoted with deference. It is a pity that all Christian sects cannot go about their religious work and their studies without allowing differences of theological opinion to embitter their words.

E. H. P.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE TURKO-SCYTHIAN TRIBES.

(Continued from page 119, *Vol. XXI.)*

As touching Wang Mang's usurpation, in the first year of *Kien-kwoh*,(214*a*) he sent General *Wang Tsün*, having under his orders the officers *Chén Fou*, *Wang Lih*,(215) *Ch'ên Jao*,(216) *Pêh-pi*, and *Ting Yeh*,(217) to take great quantities of money, cloths, &c., for the purpose of making the Khan grand presents, explaining to him that he had received (divine) commands to take the place of *Han*. Then he changed the Khan's old seal, which had the inscription 'The Hun Khan's seal.'(218) *Wang Mang* changed it to 'The New(219) Hun Khan's stamp.'(220) The officers, having arrived, handed the Khan his seal and ribbon, ordering him to re-submit his old seal and ribbon. The Khan made obeisance twice, and received the mandate. The interpreter advanced, and wished to undo and take away the old seal and ribbon. The Khan was about to deliver it up, keeping it raised aloft all the time. *Su*, the Left *Ku-sih*(220*a*) marquess whispered to the Khan:—'I would not give it up until we see what inscription the new seal bears!' The Khan then stopped his movements in the direction of delivering it, and begged the envoys to be seated in the tent. The Khan was about to advance and present the wassail bowl.(221) The General said:—'The old seal and ribbon should be given up this instant.' The Khan said:—'Yes,' and again elevated it by way of handing it to the interpreter. *Su* again said:—'You should not deliver it up until you see the new seal's superscription.' The Khan said:—'Why should the new seal's superscription be changed?' He proceeded to undo the old seal and ribbon and submitted them to the officers, who took them over. He then put on the new ribbon, but did not know how to decipher the seal. Eating and drinking went on till night, when the function ended. The Right Officer *Ch'ên Jao* said to the other officers:—'Just now the *Ku-sih* marquess suspected the superscription on the seal, and nearly prevented the Khan from giving the other

(214*a*) A.D. 9.

(215) 王颯; here so pronounced.

(216) 陳饒. (217) 丁業.

(218) 璽.

(219) A note says 'imitation of "The New Mang."'

(220) 章.

(220*a*) 蘇; I think the other characters are 姑夕.

(221) 爲壽.

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one up. If we allow him to look at the seal and find out the change, he will want to have the old one again, and we shall have no excuse for refusing the request. To lose hold of it after having once got it in our power, would be a discredit to our trust in the highest degree. Better to break up the old seal so as to get rid of the difficulty at the root.' The other officers hesitated, and none of them made any reply. *Jao* was a *Yen*(222) soldier of determined temper, and he forthwith took an axe and smashed it up. Next day, sure enough, the Khan sent the Right *Kuh tu* marquess to make the following statement to the officers:—'*Han* gave the Khan a seal with the word "seal" upon it, and not "stamp," and there were no [other] Chinese characters [besides].(222*a*) Princes and others of lower degree all have the word "stamp" in Chinese. To now substitute the word "stamp" for the word "seal" is to make me indistinguishable from subject persons. I want the old seal.' The officers shewed him the old seal, and said to him:—'A new family now ruling under heaven with a new system, the old seal has been broken up with an axe: the Khan should conform to heaven's trust, and submit to the new house's rules.' The Khan's messengers returned to explain this to him. Seeing that there was now no help for it, and having received many presents, he forthwith sent his younger brother the Right Virtuous Prince *Yü*(223) to submit offerings of horses and cattle; to proceed to court along with the officers and express the Khan's thanks, and after that present a letter craving the old seal. When the officers on their way back reached the land of the Left *Li-han*(224), Prince *Hien*(225), they noticed that the *Wu-hwan* people seemed very numerous there, and asked *Hien* about it. *Hien* explained it all.(226) The officers said:—'Some time ago there were circulated under seal four rules under which no deserting *Wu-hwan* could be harboured. You should promptly send them back.' *Hien* said:—'Let me confidentially inform the Khan, and when I hear from him I will return them.' The Khan sent *Hien* a message to the following effect:—'Shall I return them by way of the inside or the outside of the wall?' The officers would not assume the responsibility of deciding, but asked instructions, in response to which a rescript was received:—'Return them *viâ* the outside.'

As the Khan had refused *Han's* demand for the land asked for by *Hia-hou-p'an*, and had himself raided and carried off the *Wu-hwan* when they refused his demand for taxes, a hostile feeling had already grown up: added to which there was his allusion to the substituted seal superscription. The result was he felt anger and hatred, so he sent the great *Tsü-k'ü P'u-hu-lu-tsz*(227) and nine others in charge of a horde of over ten thousand horsemen(228) under pretext of escorting back the *Wu-hwan*. These troops were drawn up in array below the wall at *Shoh-fang*, all which was duly reported by the prefect of that place.

Next year *Sü chï-li*,(229) king of ulterior *Kü-shï*, conspired to go over to the Huns, in consequence of which the president *Tan K'in*(230) arraigned and beheaded him. *Chï-li's* elder brother *Hu-lan-chï*(231), with a horde of 2,000 men and all the flocks and herds in the country, went over to the Huns.

(222) Peking.

(222*a*) I suppose the words in brackets must be inserted in order not to clash with note 220.

(223) 輿.

(224) 犁汗; perhaps Li Wu 汙.

(225) 咸 I presume *Nang-chï-ya-sz*.

(226) A note says 'those unredeemed.'

(227) 蒲呼盧訾.

(228) A note says 'to make a raid.'

(229) 須置離.

(230) 但欽.

(231) 狐闌支.

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The Khan received them. *Hu-lan-chï* joined the Huns in a raid, attacked *Kü-shï* and killed the *Hou-ch'êng*(232) chief: after wounding the Chinese proconsul and general in charge, they returned to the Hun dominions. Meanwhile the *Wu-ki*(233) protector's clerks *Ch'ên-liang* and *Chung-tai*(234) together with the general's secretary *Han Hüan*(235) and the *Yü-k'üh* marquess *Jên Shang*(236), observing that the whole of Turkestan was in a state of revolt, hearing also that the Huns were going to make an attack on a large scale, and fearing that they themselves would perish with the rest, conspired to rob and carry off the official and police staff, numbering several hundred individuals, and to kill the *Wu-ki* protector *Tiao Hu*(237.) They sent messengers to the Hun Prince of south *Li-han* and to the South General to communicate their intention. The Hun South General entered Turkestan at the head of 2,000 horsemen to meet *Ch'ên Liang*, &c., who forced to join him or carried off the whole of the *Wu-ki* protector's staff, guards, &c., with their women, numbering over 2,000 souls in all, and entered Hun land. *Hüan* and *Shang* remained at the South General's place, whilst *Liang* and *Tai* went straight to the Khan's court, after settling their people apart on the *Ling-wu*(238) River as cultivators of the land. The Khan gave *Liang* and *Tai* each the title of '*Wu-hwan* protector,'(239) kept them in residence at his court, and frequently sent for them to eat or drink with him. *Tan K'in*, President of the Turkestan regions,(240) sent up a report to the following effect:—'The Hun South General and Right *I-chih-tsz* are leading their hordes of men to attack the various States.' *Wang Mang* on this divided the whole Hun dominions into fifteen Khanates, and sent the adjutant-general *Lin Pao*,(241) and the assistant-protector *Tai Kih*(242) at the head of 20,000 horsemen, taking with them a large store of valuables to the Wall at *Yün-chung*, with a view of enticing over all *Hu-han-ya* Khan's sons who were to succeed to the Khanate in turns. The envoys and interpreters went beyond the Wall with a view to coax over the Right *Li-han* Prince *Hien*. *Hien's* two sons *Têng* and *Chu*(242*a*) came, after which *Hien* was constrained to accept the title of 'Filial Khan;' he was presented with a chariot of ease, a drum cart, 1,000 pounds of gold and 1,000 pieces of assorted stuffs, and ten flagged spears.(243) *Chu* was created the 'Obedient Khan,' and presented with 500 pounds of gold. *Têng* and *Chu* were sent on to *Ch'ang-an*. *Mang* ennobled *Pao* as Duke of *Süan wei*,(244) and appointed him a general of the imperial guard; (245) *Kih* was ennobled as Duke of *Yang-wei*(246) and also appointed general of the guard. The Khan was incensed when he heard about this and said:—'My Khanly father was the recipient of the *Han* emperor *Süan's* favour, which it is impossible to

(232) 後成; A note says 'of a petty *Kü-shï* State.

(233) *T. S. Tribes*, page 10, note 128, Karahodjo.

(234) 陳夏; 終帶.

(235) 韓玄.

(236) 右曲侯任商.

(237) 刀護 (238) 零吾水.

(239) Another chapter has it *Wu-pên Tu-wei* 烏賁都尉; of the Chinese 虎 | and 武 |.

(240) 西域都護.

(241) 閻苞.

(242) 戴級.

(242*a*) 登; 助.

(243) 戲戟; apparently the same as the 槃戟 of the first *Hu-han-ya's* time. See Note 47.

(244) 宣威.

(245) 虎牙; I do not know how this differs from the other.

(246) 揚威; 虎賁.

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ignore. But the present emperor is not the son or grandson of *Süan Ti*. How then comes he to reign ?' He then sent the Left *Kuh-tu* Marquess, the Right *I-chih tsz* Prince *Hu-lu-tsz*,(247) and the Left Virtuous Prince *Loh* at the head of a body of troops to the Wall at *Yün-chung* and *Yih-shou*, (248) massacring officials and people on a wholesale scale. This was in the 3rd year of *Kien-kwoh*. After this the Khan sent word to the tribes under the Right and Left *tu-wei* and all the border princes to pass the Wall and raid and rob, which they did in large bodies ranging from several hundred to several thousand, and in some cases over ten thousand. The prefects and *tu-wei*(249) of *Yen-mên* and *Shoh-fang* were killed, and innumerable people, officials, flocks, and herds were carried off, the whole frontier line being devastated. *Wang-mang*, having only recently mounted the throne, felt confident with all the accumulations of the treasuries at his disposal. He appointed twelve generals of provinces,(250) collected the bravest soldiers of the prefectural States, and the veteran troops of the metropolitan guard,(251) each body of whom had a place to garrison or hold. Everything available was carted off to the frontier, and it was intended that there should be a host of fully 300,000. They were to take with them 300 days' provision, and march out simultaneously in ten different directions, pursuing the Huns to the utmost degree, and thrusting them into the *Ting-ling* country. Then their land was to be divided, and the fifteen sons of *Hu-han-ya* set up as Khans. *Mang's* general *Yen Yu*(252) remonstrated saying: —'I have heard that the trouble caused to us by the Huns has lasted for a long time up to this day. I have not heard that our remotest antecessors ever felt bound to carry war into their country. Our more recent predecessors of *Chou*, *Ts'in*, and *Han* sent expeditions against them, but none of them ever succeeded in hitting it off really well. *Chou* did pretty well, and *Han* badly. *Ts'in* achieved nothing at all. In the time of the Emperor *Süan* of *Chou*(253) the *Hien-yün* (254) trespassed as far as *King-yang*,(255) and the general sent against them returned after driving them quite beyond our frontiers.(256) They regarded the encroachments of the nomad(257) as the stinging of mosquitoes, simply driving them off. Therefore the Empire expressed satisfaction.(258) This is what I mean by "doing pretty well." *Han Wu Ti* made choice of generals and trained up armies, who, unencumbered and lightly burdened, marched far into the enemy's country and established garrisons in remote places. Though they succeeded in gaining victories, the Tartars always avenged them. Army followed army, and trouble was brewed which endured for over thirty years. China was exhausted and injured whilst the Huns also were decimated. Therefore the Empire could characterise him as warlike.(259) This is what I mean by

(247) 呼盧訾.

(248) 益壽; I cannot find this place.

(249) Compare Note 239. It will be noticed that both Chinese and Huns have these offices, which like *Hiao-wei* I usually translate 'protector' when the context allows it.

(250) 十二部; China was then so divided.

(251) 武庫; like the 'Tower' of London.

(252) 嚴尤; See my paper on the *Wu-huan*, Note 413.

(253) B.C. 827-781.

(254) *i.e.* Huns; See *T. S. Tribes*, note 2.

(255) 涇陽; near *Si-an Fu*.

(256) 盡境而還; I do not see what else this can mean in view of note 22 of *T. S. Tribes*.

(257) 戎狄.

(258) 稱明; I cannot find this expression elsewhere.

(259) 稱武; antithetical to note 258; 'declared it sagacious, declared it soldierlike.'

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"doing badly." The First Emperor(260) of *Ts'in* could not brook petty despite, and treated the people's interests with contemptuous levity, building the solid Long Wall which meandered away for 10,000 *li*, necessitating the carriage of material from the sea-board right up to the northern borders. This strong frontier being finished, the interior of China was exhausted, and the dynasty collapsed. This is what I call "achieving nothing at all." At this moment the Empire has encountered an astrological crisis(261) with successive years of dearth, more especially along the northern frontier. If we raise a host of 300,000 men and prepare 300 days' provisions for them, taking men and material from *Hai-tai*(262) in the east and from *Kiang-hwai*(263) in the south, by the time all preparations are made and the troops massed together, at least a year will have elapsed. The first arrivals will be huddled together and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather; the men will get sick of it, as their weapons will get out of order and almost useless. This is one objection. The frontier once depleted will be incapable of supplying the troops with grain: to send it uninterruptedly from the prefectural States inside the Wall, will be impossible. This is the second objection. At the rate of 300 days' food, each man will require eighteen measures(263*a*) of dry rice, and only ox power is equal to the work. The oxen, again, must carry their own food, thus adding a weight of twenty measures. The Tartar land is salt and sandy, and for the most part scant in water and grass. If we judge by what has taken place on previous occasions, the oxen will have nearly all died before the army is a hundred days out, and the men themselves are incapable of carrying the large amount of grain there will still remain over. This is the third objection. The Tartar land is very cold in autumn and winter, and very windy in spring and summer. The weight of the pots and pans, fuel and charcoal that will be necessary on a wholesale scale, will be an insuperable difficulty. The army, having nothing to eat during the whole year but dry rice and water, will suffer from sickness and distemper. For this reason our antecessors in attacking the Huns were never more than 100 days about it; not that they would not have been longer if they could, but they could not hold out. This is the fourth objection. As the baggage train must follow, the effective(264) force will necessarily be limited, and cannot move rapidly: the freebooters will quietly make

(260) Like the Roman *reges*, the *Chou* monarchs used the word *Wang* (ruler or *rex*), and the *Ts'in* conqueror was the first to introduce the combination *Hwang-ti*. The ancient *Ti* 帝 seems to mean *pontifex*, and the ancient *Hwang* 皇 (originally 皇) to mean 'divine' or 'emanating from heaven.' 'Emperor' has a history more like that of the Japanese *Shōgun* 將軍 than that of the automatic rulers who now affect the title in Europe; yet it is the only word that we can apply to translate the Chinese *Hwang-ti*.

(261) 陽九之阨. The explanation given by a Chinese commentator is as follows:—A period of 4,617 years is a *yüan* 元, and each *yüan* has nine sub-divisions, called *tu*, 度, of 513 years apiece, the *yang-ngeh* 陽尼 five, and the *yin-ngeh* 陰 four. *Yang* is drought, and *yin* is flood. The *yang* numbers are 3, 5, 7, and 9. When, 106 years after entering upon a *yüan*, there is a *ngeh*, that means the 'remaining forces of the previous *yüan*' are at work, and it is called *yang-kiu*. Possibly wiser men than I may be able to fathom this, but I strongly suspect it is all silly twaddle.

(262) 海代; if not a misprint, this perhaps means *Shan Tung* and *Shan Si*.

(263) 江淮; the Yang-tsze region; the whole sentence is a little obscure.

(263*a*) 斛; as this measure varies from 2½ pints to 300 pounds, we may assume that Williams' 'regular table' measurement of 51½ litres is about correct. This would give each man three litres or five pounds a day.

(264) 精銳.

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off and we shall not be able to catch them up. And even if we do come across the freebooters, we shall be encumbered with our baggage. If we have to pass through defiles, we must march in a long file upon each other's heels where the freebooters can separate the front from the rear,—an incalculable risk. This is objection number five. In short, we cannot be sure of any result to follow on wholesale warlike operations, and I feel very anxious about it. But, as some troops have already started, the first arrivals should be allowed to go on; I with certain others will march right into the enemy's country and strike an overwhelming blow as a first step towards teaching the freebooters a severe lesson.'

Mang would not listen to *Yu's* words, and went on transporting troops and grain as before, much to the disorganization of the empire. Meanwhile *Hien*, after receiving *Mang's* title as the Filial Khan, lost no time in getting beyond the Wall and reaching the Khan's court, in order to explain all about his having been constrained to acquiesce. The Khan changed his title to that of *Yü-suh Chï chï*(265) marquess, a very petty Hun office. After this *Chu* died of sickness, and *Mang* appointed *Têng* in his place as Obedient Khan. The Difficulty-quelling general *Ch'ên K'in*(266) and the Namad-awing general *Wang Sün*(267) encamped at the Wall near *Koh ya*(268) in *Yün-chung*. Just about then the Huns made several border raids, killing the military and civil officers and the people, carrying folks off, and driving away flocks and herds in great numbers. Freebooting prisoners captured, all deposed on examination that *Kioh*,(269) the son of the Filial Khan *Hien*, had made several raids, which fact was reported by the two generals. In the fourth year *Mang* assembled all the barbarians(270) and had *Hien's* son(271) executed in the *Ch'ang an* market-place.

Now, ever since the Emperor *Süan's* time, the northern frontier had not known for several generations what it was to see the alarm of smoke-fires; the people had grown numerous and well-off, and the plains were covered with horses and cattle, until *Mang* stirred up trouble and the Huns made difficulties with him, resulting in the death or captivity(272) of many of the border people. Moreover the armies of the twelve provinces(273) after camping in idleness got weary of never going out further, and for several years the northern frontier was depleted and the plains covered with bones.

U-chu-liu Khan reigned 21 years, and died in the 5th year of *Kien-kwok*. Now the Hun minister then in power, the Right *Kuh-tu* marquess *Sü puh-tang*,(274) was the husband of *Yün*, Princess of *I-mêh*(275), *Wang-chao-kün's* daughter. *Yün* often expressed a wish to be on good terms with China. Moreover she had hitherto been on very intimate terms with *Hien*. Noticing how *Hien* kept on receiving appointments from *Mang*, she passed over *Yü*(276), and set up *Hien* as the *U-lei* (277) *Joh-ti* Khan. *U-lei* Khan having succeeded made his

(265) 於粟置支侯.
(266) 厭難; 陳欽.
(267) 囂狄; 王巡.
(268) 葛邪. (269) 角.

(270) 蠻夷: The Khan *Chï-chï* had been executed in the *Man-i Ti* 邸 which is explained as being the same as the later 鴻臚客館 or Foreign Offices.

(271) i.e. *Têng*.

(272) 係獲; I think a misprint for 俘.

(273) I presume 'twelve provinces' is really meant, and not 'tribes,' for, after *Wu Ti's* conquests, the ancient 州 were turned into 13 *pu* 十三部 each with a governor 刺史.

(274) 當 cf. Notes 117 and 197.

(275) 伊墨.

(276) The late Khan's brother. See Note 223.

(277) 烏累; See Note 112.

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younger brother *Yü* Left *Luh-li* Prince. *U-chu-liu* Khan's son *Su-t'u-hu*(278) had been Left Virtuous Prince, and he made his younger brother, Queen *T'u k'i's*(279) son *Lu-hun*(280), Right Virtuous Prince. When *U-chu-liu* Khan was alive, several Left Virtuous Princes had died in succession, and so the title was changed for better luck to that of *Hu yü*(281). *Hu yü's* rank was the noblest, and in strict order of seniority he ought to have become Khan. Therefore *U-chu-liu* Khan gave it to his eldest son, believing that he would pass the succession on to him(282). *Hien* felt aggrieved at *U-chu-liu* Khan's thus belittling the title(283) he bore, and he had no desire to pass on the succession(284), so when he was once on the throne he degraded *Hu-yü* to be Left *T'u-k'i* prince. *Yün* thereupon(285) counselled *Hien* a policy of peace. In the 1st year(286) of *Tien-fêng*, therefore, she sent a man to the Wall at *Chü lu*(287) in *Hu-mêng*(288) [district] of *Si-ho* [prefecture] to notify the Wall officers that she wished to see the *Ho-ts'in*(289) Marquess. This individual was *Wang Hih*,(290) the son of *Wang Chao-kün's* elder brother. The protector(291) of the Central Tribe reported this to *Wang Mang*, who sent *Hih* and Hih's younger brother, the knight *Lih*(292), Marquess of *Chan-têh*,(293) as envoys to the Huns in order to congratulate the Khan on his accession. They presented him with garments of gold, bedding, stuffs, and cloths, and deceived him into the belief that his son, the page *Têng*, was alive. Then they endeavoured to bribe him with gold into letting them have *Ch'ên Liang*, *Chung Tai*, &c. The Khan arrested the four men, and also the criminal *Chi-yin*,(294) (the actual murderer of the protector *Tiao Hu*), together with their wives, children and others of less degree, 27 persons in all, and despatched them all chained and in cages to the envoys. He also sent a party under the *Ch'u-wei Ku-sih*, Prince *Fu*(295), to accompany *Hih* and *Lih* back with an escort of 40 men. *Mang* invented the roasting(296) form of punishment for *Ch'ên Liang* and his comrades, who were burnt alive; he did away with all the officers and soldiers, and only kept up the *Yu-kih*(297) and *tu-wei*.

The Khan, covetous of *Mang's* presents, kept up all the *Han* precedents externally, but internally(298) took every opportunity to raid and kidnap. Moreover, when his envoys returned, he discovered that his son *Têng* had died some time ago, so in his hatred and indignation he kept up an incessant series of plundering raids from the Left Land as a base. When the envoys asked the Khan about it, he always said:—'The *Wu-kwan* and Huns, uncouth rascally people that they are, make raids together on your side of the Wall just like the robbers which you have in China [? do on ours]. But as I have only recently come to the throne, the confidence they have in my restraining capacity is but limited, and I do my best to prevent raiding, for I would not dare to deal double with you.'

(278) 蘇屠胡.

(279) See *T. S. Tribes*, P. 9, Note 1 3.

(280) 盧渾. (281) 護于.

(282) I suppose to *Hien*.

(283 i.e. Right Virtuous Prince. See Note 117 and the context following.

(284) I suppose to *Hu yü*; but I am a little confused here.

(285) 當; possibly 'thereupon' should be '(and her husband) *Tang*.' See Note 224

(286) A.D. 14.

(287) 制虜. (288) 虎猛.

(289) 和親.

(290) See Note 206.

(291) 中部都尉; See Notes 239, 249.

(292) See Note 215.

(293) 展德. (294) 芝音.

(295) 廚唯; 富. (296) 焚如.

(297) I have lost the characters, but I suppose they are 游擊.

(298) I do not know if this means 'at home and abroad' or 'in appearance and secretly.'

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In the 5th moon of the 2nd year of *T'ien-fêng*, *Mang* again sent *Hih* and the *Wu-wei* general *Wang Hien*,(299) with *Fuh An*, (300) *Ting Yeh*,(301) and others under their orders, six in all, as envoys to escort back the Right *Ch'u-wei Ku-sih* Prince. The remains of the page son *Têng*, who had been beheaded, and those of the nobles forming his retinue, were also decently sent back in long carts(302) to the other side of the Wall. The son of *Yün* and *Tang*, the great *tsü-k'ü Shê* (303) and others came as far as the Wall to receive these, and when [*Wang*] *Hien*(304) and his party arrived, liberal presents of gold and jewels were made to the Khan, and it was announced that the national designation must be changed to that of *Kung-nu*.(305) The Khan said 'Good.' Then a seal and ribbon were presented, and the *Kuh-tu* marquess *Tang* was made Duke of *Hou-an*.(306) *Tang's* son *Shê*(307) was made Marquess of *Hou-an*.(306) The Khan, greedy of *Mang's* gold and presents, was fain to agree to all this, but he raided and robbed as before. Besides this *Hien* and *Hih* handed over to *Yün* and *Tang* the blood money for *Ch'ên Liang*, &c., telling them to distribute it according to deserts. By the 12th moon they had returned to our side of the Wall. *Mang* was greatly pleased, and presented *Hih* with 2,000,000(307*a*) cash. *An* and the others were all ennobled.

The Khan *Hien* reigned 5 years, and died in the 5th year of *T'ien-fêng*. His younger brother, the Left Virtuous Prince *Yü*, succeeded as *Hu-tu-êrh-shï-tao-kao*(308) *Joh-ti* Khan. The Hun word for 'filial'(309) is *joh-ti*. Ever since *Hu-han-ya's* time, having had intimate relations with *Han*, and noticing that *Han* gave their deceased Emperors the posthumous title of *hiao*, in their desire to imitate, they all took the style of *joh-ti*. *Yü*, the *Hu-tu-êrh-shï*(310) Khan, being on the throne, coveted the good things and presents [of *Han*], and sent the great *tsü-k'ü Shê* with Prince *Hi-tuh*,(311) son of *Yün's* younger sister the Princes, *Tang-hu*, (312) all of whom were to perform their court devoirs on arrival at *Ch'ang-an*. *Mang* sent the *Ho-ts'in* marquess *Hih* to go with *Shê* and his party to the Wall at *Chï-lu* to welcome *Yün* and *Tang*, and then he employed his military forces to compel them to

(299) 五威; 王咸. (300) 伏黠.

(301) See Note 217.

(302) 長車; I cannot find out what these were. It is curious to find that, in closely studying the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu*, one can easily see what chapters of history have been accidentally or intentionally overlooked by the concordance makers. This latter chapter is one.

(303) 奢.

(304) Possibly this may be [the Khan] *Hien*. More probably *Wang Hien* [at the Khan's *ordo*].

(305) 恭奴. The few sound philological rules we can but very approximately discover from a comparative study of Chinese dialects lead us to believe that the ancient word 匈奴 was pronounced *Khüngnu* or *Hiunnou*; i.e. to say the Chinese chose two characters, meaning 'fierce slaves,' to represent as nearly as they could the Hun sound (whatever it was). The substituted characters *Kung-nu* or *Küng-nou* probably then differed from the old ones much less than they do now; they mean 'respectful slaves.'

(306) 後安.

(307) 子男奢: the same expression as first occurred. Perhaps it should be 'sons *Nan* and *Shê*,' for I can find no precedent for 子男 in the sense of 'son.' That would make two marquesses of *Hou-an*.

(307*a*) In *Wên Ti's* time 10,000 cash went to a 'pound' (斤 or 金); and £100, or a million cash was considered patrimony sufficient for ten ordinary families.

(308) 呼都而尸道皐. It thus appears that *Hien* the *Li-han* and *Hien* the R. V. Prince were one and the same.

(309) 孝; *hiao*; *pius* or *divus*.

(310) *Sic.* (311) 醯櫝.

(312) See Note 117, where 于 would seem to be a misprint for 戶. See also note 148. Compare *T. S. Tribes*, page 9, note 111; and page 17, note 199.

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give in their adhesion. As they were approaching *Ch'ang-an*, the younger son(313) of *Yün* and *Tang* escaped from [where he was(314)] outside the Wall and returned to the Huns. When *Tang* reached *Ch'ang-an*, *Mang* made him *Sü puh* Khan and wanted to send out troops on a wholesale scale to put him on the throne; but his tactics failed again, and the Huns were angrier than ever: they made a combined raid over the northern frontiers, which were now utterly devastated. *Tang* then died of sickness, and, in order to shew him distinction, *Mang* conferred upon his son *Shê*, now Duke [by succession] of *Hou-an*, his own concubine-born daughter, *Jên*(315) of *Luh-luh*(316) town, and even wished to send out troops to set him on the throne; but just then the soldiers of *Han* put *Mang* to death, and *Yün* and *Shê* also perished.

In the winter of the 2nd year of the period *Kêng-shï*(317), *Han* sent the Adjutant-general *Lih*, Marquess of *Kwei-têh*(318), and the Minister of War, General *Ch'ên Tsun* (319), on a mission to the Huns to give the Khan a seal and ribbon under the old *Han* rules, besides seals and ribbons for the Princes, Marquesses, and others of less degree. The surviving relatives of *Yün* and *Tang*, together with their retinue of nobles, &c., were also sent back. The Khan *Yü* behaved in an over-weening manner, and addressed *Tsun* and *Lih* as follows:—'The Huns used to be brethren with *Han*. When the Huns were in the throes of civil war, the Emperor Pius Süan assisted in placing *Hu-han-ya* Khan on the throne. Therefore he styled himself 'vassal' in order to do honour to *Han*. Now *Han* is herself in the throes of civil war, and has undergone a usurpation at the hands of *Wang Mung*. The Huns likewise despatched armies to attack *Mang* and laid waste his frontiers, thus causing the Empire to be perturbed in their anxiety for the *Han* house. This has resulted in *Mang's* defeat, and *Han* once more occupies the throne. Begad! this is our doing! You ought to honour me in like style!' *Tsun*(320) contested this line of argument; but the Khan still persisted in representing this view. In the summer of the following year they returned to *Ch'ang-an*, but just then the Red Eyebrows(321) entered *Ch'ang-an*, and *Kêng-shï*(322) was worsted.

* * * *

The next part, which is but short, describes the state of the Huns during the after *Han* dynasty. After that the great body migrate to Europe, where Attila or Etzel claims descent from *Mêh-têh*: but several centuries later the remnants of them re-appear north of China as the Turks, who will be separately treated.

E. H. Parker.

(313) 男; here used as 'son;' no name given. See Note 207.

(314) I suppose that is the meaning.

(315) 任.

(316) 陸逡; a note says 'a *yih* 邑.'

(317) A.D. 24; the last Emperor of the first or western *Hans*.

(318) 歸德; See Note 293. Probably a misprint; cf. *T. S. Tribes*, Page 125, note 171.

(319) 陳遵.

(320) The After *Han Shu* adds 'and *Lih*.'

(321) The name given to the rebels who overturned the *Han* dynasty.

(322) It is very unusual, at least at this date, to call an emperor by his reign-style. But there is nothing else to call this one by, unless it be his personal name, or *tabu*, *Hüen* 玄. After his flight, he was created Prince of *Hwai-yang* 淮陽.

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MINISTER 薛福成 ON CHINESE EMIGRANTS ABROAD.

The following is a rather free translation of a memorial addressed to the Emperor of China by Sieh *Ta-jên*, recommending the repeal of the law against Chinese emigrating to foreign parts:—

During the reigns Shun Chi (1644-62) K'ang Hi (1662-1723), the prohibition to go abroad was first stringently enforced. Koxinga and his son had taken possession of Formosa, and were a menace to the Province of Kiangsu, Chehkiang, Fuhkien and Canton, from whence they were alluring recruits to join their desperate bands. Fuhkien men caught breaking the law and endeavouring to cross to Formosa, or returned from there, were executed without fail.

In the 56th year of K'ang Hi (1717) it was resolved to write to foreign governments and ask for the rendition of any Chinese who had gone abroad, but the Emperor Sheng Tsu Jên ('K'ang Hi') made an exception of those who had been gone 56 years, who were allowed to return quietly to their homes in China if they liked.

In the 6th year of Yung Chêng (1728), an Edict appeared notifying the people that those who by long absence had shown a preference for living abroad for good, and those who were at the time of the Edict still unlawfully proceeding abroad, would never be allowed to return to China.

During the 14th year of K'ien Lung (1749) the Emperor Kao Tsung Shun ('K'ien Lung') issued an Imperial ukase that Ch'ên I Lao (陳怡老) for having unlawfully proceeded to Java, where he had become a 'Capitan China,' should be severely punished, and his possessions confiscated.

At that time at home piracy was rampant; while abroad China had not yet established any rules of intercourse with foreign nations. It was therefore considered advisable for two reasons to prevent Chinese going abroad; first, to prevent fresh accessions to the ranks of the freebooters; second, to prevent disputes with foreign powers. It was feared that natives of China going abroad would let out more information than was convenient as to the way things were managed there, with possible detriment to the prestige of the Country.

Although the Empire was at peace, the population was not in proportion to the vast extent of the Country. Ground was left untilled for want of men, and depopulation, by its natives going away and living out of it, was a thing to be guarded against by the prohibition of emigration. The measure was therefore, from these various causes, one of State necessity, and should not be branded as unnecessarily harsh to the people of the State.

Since the 22nd year of Tao Kwang (1842), China has successively made Treaties of commerce with the various countries across the seas both to the East and to the West.

In Art. I. of the Kiang-ning (Nanking) Treaty (of 1842) it is laid down that subjects of China in British dominions, and of England in Chinese, shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property.

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Art. V. of the Additional Treaty with America, (of 1868), recognizes the full rights of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other either temporarily or as permanent residents. (In the Chinese version, *naturalization* is meant,—see Giles, *sub voce* 籍,—but this is expressly barred by Art. VI.)

The Treaty with Peru (1874) and the Rules for Chinese Emigration to Cuba are full of excellent provisions framed with the most sincere desire of protecting the emigrant labourer. Every effort has been made in them to provide for all possible contingencies. With the same intention, Chinese Consuls have been stationed at important points abroad.

Steamers and railway-trains have brought about a great change from the old order of things. There are now hardly any impossible distances or obstacles. It might almost be said, now-a-days, that the countries of the world are to each other like neighbouring houses in a town or neighbouring articles of furniture in a room. It is no longer possible to shut oneself up from one's neighbours or live by oneself.

Moreover, owing to the benign government of our present Sacred Dynasty for over 200 years past, China is beginning to feel a *plethora* of population, and the finding of work for the masses is an object calling for the serious attention of the statesman. The opening of new channels of trade is wanted in order to increase the country's wealth. The encouragement and not discouragement, of a popular tendency is called for to encourage patriotism and loyalty. The display of the power and resources of China is required in order to keep up with the requirements of her position as a great power.

Now it is perfectly true that the prohibition against emigration has long been practically allowed to lapse in China. The adventurous spirit has increased with increasing enlightenment. Those who live afar are looked on with the same eyes as those who live close at hand. The old prohibitory law has not been repealed, but it has repealed itself. If the prohibition was, (as I observed before), in its time, a measure of State necessity, and not to be qualified as needlessly harsh to the people, it is no less true that its virtual removal has been brought about by a State necessity, and does not deserve to be censured as unduly liberal to that portion of its people which seeks its livelihood abroad.

During the 17th year of the present reign 'Kwang Sü' (1891), on my recommendation, *Tao-t'ai* Hwang Tsun-hien (黃遵憲) was appointed Consul at Singapore, and he was instructed to draw up, after taking up his post, as accurate as possible a Report on Chinese emigrants. He now reports the following statistics:—

The number of Chinese in the regions called by the Chinese 'the South Sea Islands' (i.e. Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, Dutch and Spanish Indies, etc.) is not under a million.

Approximately, the coasting trade and the ownership of real estate is divided between the following proportions as regards nationalities:—

Europeans	10 per cent.
Arabs (including Indians?)..	10 ,,
Malays (including Javanese, etc.?)	10 ,,
Chinese	70 ,,

Of the Chinese population the constituents are as follows:—

Two-sevenths are Cantonese, Hainanese, and Hui-chow and Kia-ying Chow men (all from the Canton Province. The two last seem to be part of what are called, in the Straits Settlements, 'Tiechews,' although 'Tiechew,' i.e. Ch'ao-chow,—which, with Hui and Kia-ying, makes up the 'Hui-ch'ao-kia' jurisdiction of the Swatow Tao-t'ai,—is not here mentioned).

Five-sevenths are made up of men from the 'Tiechew' (Ch'ao-chow) country in the Canton Province, and from the Chang-chow

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and Ts'üan-chow ('Chinchew') regions of the Fuhkien ('Fokien') Province.

The men of Canton come and go, while of the Ch'ao-chow people at least half form a settled resident population. The Fuhkien men enjoy the reputation of being the most wealthy, and the great majority of these are old settlers, who become proprietors of gardens and fields, rear sons and grandsons, but after a hundred years abroad still preserve their Chinese costume and customs, their rites of marriage and of burial, their etiquette and religious ceremonies. Now-a-days when the people of China are called on, from time to time, to contribute to national relief or defence works, these far-away sons of China mostly subscribe large sums, and are glad to be rewarded with official Chinese decorations of buttons or peacock's feathers, and with brevet rank as mandarins of China. Their indefatigable loyalty shows the affection which they retain for the sacred ruler in their distant home.

Much as they love their old home, however, they are, and will continue to be, so long as the law against emigration is not expressly repealed, debarred from seeing it again by various fears. The fear of the mandarins finding them out; the fear of persecution by the mandarins' runners; of 'squeezing' by fellow-clansmen and fellow-townsmen.

Until the law is repealed, the emigrants who come back must continue to be subjected to denunciation as robbers; to taunts as associates of foreign barbarians; to slanders as dealers in contraband arms, supporters of pirates, kidnappers of coolies, plotters with foreign invading robbers. They must continue to have their boxes carried off by force, their amassed savings distributed against their will, their houses torn down and themselves forbidden to build any. They must continue to have presented to them for payment so-called 'old accounts' for things which they never had; but nevertheless, they are impudently accused of having gone abroad for the sole reason of evading payment of them. Often without kith or kin to back them up, they are easily ruined by such false and outrageous accusations. It is no wonder, then, that many emigrants are afraid to come back to China.

Of those who visit the old country for some trade purpose it often happens that one will call himself a British subject, another a Netherlands subject, and so on, and both will flaunt his foreign protection in the face of the Mandarins and set the laws of China at defiance.

To sweep away all these abuses, it is only necessary to proclaim to the Chinese nation that the old laws against emigration are forthwith annulled. . . . . .

Such is the able report of our Chinese Consul at Singapore.

[Here follow some elegant quotations from the Chinese classics, without which, of course, a State paper is not a State paper *en règle.*]

There is no doubt, continues His Excellency, that the diminution of grinding poverty and the even prosperous condition of coast districts and towns whose people formerly had a hard struggle to live at all, is to be ascribed to the money brought into the country by emigrants returning to the Province of *Canton.* Although these people are generally of the humble class of labourers, their return with money enough and a little to spare has, owing to their great force numerically, produced this distinct result.

With regard to the *Fuhkien* emigrants, on the other hand, they are mostly of a different class and of different customs, from the generality of Cantonese who go abroad. They are often merchants of very large standing and fortune, and unless they feel sure of courteous and liberal treatment in China, not one in ten may be expected to return thither.

It is not owing to any want of love for the old country on the part of the people, or any deterrent measures amounting to expulsion on the part of the government, that

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this unsatisfactory State of things has been brought about. The cause of it is that when the Treaties were made, they were not promulgated all over China as they ought to have been, so that not a household might be in ignorance of their existence, and not a deceitful *Yamen-runner* or unprincipled *notable* might have a loophole for extortion.

To drive fish into others' nets, or birds into others' snares, (says Mencius), is not clever policy, but it is what we have been doing for England, Holland, and other countries. These get Chinese labour, and great towns spring into being on desert islands. Foreign countries thus make us into instruments for their own aggrandisement. We, the while, drive away Chinese skill and the profits of it into their arms.

It is not too late to do something to bring back some of the advantages we have been ignorantly parting with, and redeem our former errors by a wiser policy. The longer we defer doing this, the worse will it be for us.

The former Viceroy Shên Pao-chên submitted a memorial praying for the abolition of the old law forbidding Chinese from the mainland to cross the channel to Formosa, and this excellent work was done, without many words written over the matter, and has been a subject of satisfaction to the whole nation ever since. I respectfully submit that the same should be done with the old law forbidding emigration to foreign countries. I pray that His Imperial Majesty may of his grace command the Tsung-li Yamên to take into careful consideration the means to be adopted for the protection of Chinese proceeding abroad, and to declare that the old rule is reversed from now onwards, in order to stop the extortion which is due to the old rule still being in theory enforceable. This extortion, as I have shown, is practised both by private persons and by persons holding official posts, and the condition of poverty of the population requires that it should cease. I pray that commands may be given to the Viceroys and Governors of the Maritime Provinces, and to all the envoys abroad, to circulate the news of the repeal in the widest and most careful and thorough manner, so that all may know. I also pray that Chinese Consuls abroad may be instructed to issue passports, to persons of known respectability only, so as to avoid mistakes and complications.

[The Minister winds up with a few remarks on the benefits to be expected from the measure which he recommends].

From Shanghai '*Shên Pao*,'
14th Nov., 1893.

THE GHILYAK LANGUAGE.

Giljakisches Wörterverzeichniss nebst gram. Bemerkungen von Dr. W. Grube.
St. Petersburg, 1892, II, 150 pp. 4to.

A number of most valuable volumes have already appeared in which Mr. von Schrenck, by order of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, has published the results of a scientific exploration of the Amur country in the years 1854-56. The present publication is the first instalment of the linguistic material harvested during the expedition and subsequently entrusted to the competent care of Prof. Grube in Berlin.

The work treats of the language of the Ghilyaks, who live in small numbers on the mouth of the Amur and on the northern part of the opposite island of Saghalien. About 2000 words, collected by Messrs von Schrenck and von Glehn, are given, together

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with the material found in previous publications. Very few sentences, however, and merely four short songs have been transcribed by the travellers; while for the adequate interpretation of the latter the vocabulary is not sufficient. We cannot therefore gain an insight into the syntactical construction of the language. As regards its phonology and etymology, though the knowledge gained is but slight, Prof. Grube has so admirably elucidated the material before him that we are enabled to judge as to the proper relationship of this hitherto almost unknown language.

In linguistical handbooks (e.g. A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, 3rd ed., Vol. II., p. 48) Ghilyak is classed with Corean, as if both formed one distinct family; in the work instanced, however, a sign of interrogation is carefully added—a necessary appendage, seeing that heretofore nothing reliable on the subject had been published.

Prof. Grube arrives at the conclusion that Ghilyak is an isolated language, not related to any of the known types. I have come to a different view, and in the following it will be my endeavour to prove that Ghilyak is by every right a member of the great Ural-Altaic family of languages, and not only stands in close relationship to Tungusic, but also was once a neighbour of the Ostiak-Samoied.

Ghilyak is an agglutinative language; its accent, with some few (doubtful) exceptions, lies on the first syllable, as in Finn and Magyar. The harmony of vowels seems to exist. Reduplication is of frequent occurrence.

Nouns are formed by the suffixes *lanc*,* *lac*, *la*, *r*, *rsh*, *rs*. The adjective has an attributive and a predicative form, as in Corean and Japanese. The attributive form is unchangeable; by adding to it the verbal suffix *nt*, *nc*, or *c* it becomes predicative, i.e. a verb.

* *C* stands for tsh, *j* for dsh; *h* is guttural.

Verbs are formed by the suffixes *henc*, *int*, *anc*, *ent*, *iunt*, *yuc*, *yc*, *rac*. Examples:— *eri* river, *erhenc* to flow; *usk* payment, *uskint* to pay.

The case suffixes are: Instrumental, *gir*, *ci*; compare T.† *it*, *ji*. Dative, in the sense of going to, *toh*, *tu*, *to*; comp. T. *du*, M. *de*. Ablative, in the sense of coming from, *ruh*, *ruk* (*uh ?*); comp. T. *uk*, *duk*.

The suffix *gur* is said to be used for measurements, and would then correspond to M. *geri*.

The personal pronouns are:—

Ni I, *mer* me; T. *bi*, *bu*.

Ci thou, *ting* you; T. *shi*, *shu*.

Hyc, *huc* he; *ceng* they; T. *nungan*, *nungar*.

There is also a prefixed objective pronoun: 1st pers. *n*, 2nd *c*, 3rd *h*, and *k*, but its use is not quite clear.

We learn but little of the forms of the verb. There is a participle in *n*, the use of which corresponds exactly with the participle in Corean: the sentence *säta ion mif*, the country where sugar is, would be in Corean *satang hanyn kuk*.

A gerund in *er*, *r* corresponds, with the Tungusic present participle in *ri*. A present gerund in *ngan*, *nan* has a counterpart in the Tungusic gerund in *na*.

The imperative mood has the suffixes *ya*, *ye*, *nite*, *nete*—T. *to*, *tä*, Cor. *ra*.

The suffix *rhai*, *hai* serves to form the conditional tense and seems similar to T. *birkä*, 3rd pers. s. II, perf. of *bihim*, to be.

The negation is *kauk*, *kaua* not, no, when added to the verb a mere *k*, corresponding with M. *akū*, *waka*, Sam. *aha*.

For the postposition *lager*, *tager* along, I find the Buriat *zahar*, along the border of; for the conjunction *lo—lo* as well as, the T. *wal—wal*; for the adversative particle *at*, but, the M. *damu*.

The numerals show clearly that the Ghilyaks originally counted up to seven, and that 8 contains a 2, 9 a 1; 2 and 8, 1

† T. = Tungusic, M. = Manchu, Sam. = Ostiak-Samoied.

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and 9 have the same initial, 2 and 10 have a certain resemblance, as have the two corresponding numbers in Manchu. The words for 4, 5, 6, and 7 are clearly related to T. and M.; *netan* for 100, *nämga* for 1000 are M. with *ne*, *nä*, i.e. one, prefixed.

Ghilyak.	Tungusic.	Manchu.
1. *Nakr, nik, nih, ner, nu, nin* ..	*umun*	*emu.*
2. *makr, mik, mih, mer, mu, mä* ..	*zur*	*juwe.*
3. *Cakr, ca, cer, ceh*	*ilan*	*ilan*, but 30: *gūsin.*
4. *Nykr, nur, nurs, nyr*	*diqin*	*duin*, 40: *dehi.*
5. *Tokr, tor, tors, toh, tor,*	*tonga*	*sunja*, 15: *tofoho.*
6. *Nah, ngah, ngaga*	*nungun*	*ninggun.*
7. *Namyh, ngamah*	*nadan*	*nadan.*
8. *Minj, minih, minsh*	*zapkun*	*jakūn.*
9. *Ninbeng, niungbin, niang togen*	*yägin*	*uyun.*
10. *Mohokr, mohong, moho* ..	*zan*	*juwan.*
20. *Meroksh, mohon*	*orin*	*orin.*
100. *Netan, nitang*..	*namaji*	*tanggū.*
1000. *Nämga, nemka*	*minggan*	*minggun.*

The position of words in a sentence is true Ural-Altaic:

1. The subject stands first.
2. The verb concludes the sentence.
3. A word precedes that by which it is governed.

Having thus briefly outlined the leading principles of the Ghilyak grammar, the principal part of the volume before us—namely, the vocabulary—demands our consideration. Some words in it, as occasionally pointed out by Prof. Grube, are Chinese, either direct loans or importations through the Manchu.

These are:—

Ka, steel; 鋼 *kang.*

Ka, sleeping place; 炕 *k'ang*, stove bed.

Keng, whale; 鯨 *ch'ing.*

Ho, bottle; 壺 *hu* pot, M. *hurse.*

Lyi, thunder; 雷 *lei.*

Tai, pipe; 袋 *tai*, Cor. *tä.*

Tynges, tyns, candle; M. *dengjan*, 燈 (蓋) *têng-(chan)*, lamp.

Tungza, interpreter; 通事 *t'ung-shih*, Cor. *tongsa.*

Pai, playing cards; 牌 *p'ai.*

Mais (*oba*), wheat (bread); 麥子 *mai-tzŭ.*

Mäoca, möcö, möciö, gun; M. *miaocan*, 鳥鎗 *niao ch'iang.*

Tamza, earthenware pot; M. *tamse*; 罈子 *t'an-tzŭ.*

Other words seem to have been borrowed from Tungusic and Manchu, being the names of articles which Ghilyak civilization was not able to produce:—

Arak, spirits; M. *arki.*

Anak, dish, M. *anakū.*

Oht, medicine; in composition, *ohto*, M. *okto.*

Hausal, paper; M. *haushan.*

Yahalak, coal-pan; T. *yaharako*: M. M. *yaha*, coal; Sam. *ya.*

Yanpa, girdle used by shamans; T. *yanpa.*

Yohang, cotton; M. *yohan.*

Jani, janggin, lord, master; M. *janggin.*

Tac, tin; T. *toja.*

Taps, salt, M. *dabsun.*

Tamak, tobacco; M. *dambagu.*

Säta, sugar; M. *shatan*; Cor. *satang*; Jap. *sato.*

C-ha, money; M. *jika.*

Shush, sorghum; M. *shushu.*

Pitgy, letter; M *bithe*, book,

Pos, linen-cloth; M. and T. *boso.*

Pyh, ink; M. *behe.*

Uyuk, tobacco box; T. *uiekä.*

Buik, mirror; M. *buleku.*

The phenomenon that most words are shortened at the end is due to the fact that the Ghilyak accent is placed on the first syllable, in opposition to M. and T.

The following words show a relationship between Ghilyak and cognate languages.

Arm, thumb-ring; T. *urugun*; M. *fergetun* (from *ferhe* thumb).

Aiginc, yiginc, to flow; T. *äyänäm*; M. *eyembi.*

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Aint, yaint, to repair; T. *ätäm*, M. *etembi*.

Aiz totta, gold; *aiz* (*anj, anz*): M. *uisin*, gold, T. *altan*; T. *totta*, silver, Sam. *tola* copper; T. *zät* copper.

Aui, yng, mouth; T. *amnga*, M. *angga*, Sam. *ang, ak, aha*.

Akynt, ykunc, ykyn, elder brother or sister; M. *akūn, ahūn*, Sam. *aga*.

Akkinc, ykkinc, orkinc, bad; M. *ehe*, T. *orukco*.

Akr, beyond; T. *bargila*.

Agern, when?; comp. M. *ai erin de*.

Aghde, spittle; Sam. *üöɣöt*.

Ala, ela, come on! M. *ara*.

Alaz, glass bead; M. *ori*.

Alh, seal; M. *algin* beaver.

Alhalant, variegated; M. *alha*, Sam. *lügeri*.

Als, berry; M. *alisun*, sprout, shoot.

Ara, nearly, scarcely; T. *arai*, Sam. *arei*.

An, year; M. *aniya*.

Atk, ligz, wolf; T. *ngaluku, agilkän*; also Ghily. *nylk*, M. *niohe, nioheri*.

Att, tiger; M. *sati* bear.

Azo, male of a fish, M. *atuha*.

Askai, interj. hot! M. *eisi*.

As-ha, younger sister; M. *asihan*.

Ass, frame of a net; M. *asu* net.

Azmi, fish gill; M. *amji*.

Apak, uncle; Cor. *apoci* father; Sam. *apa* father.

Amal, friend; M. *anda*.

Amtlac, to taste; M. *amtalambi*, Sam. *attelban* (M., Mong., Yakutic *amtan* taste).

Ek, there, M. *eke*.

Egnync, to go away, M. *genembi* to go.

Elelent, to lick; T. *iläm*, Sam. *nüläm*.

Eri, river; M. *ula*.

Edac, a calm, M. *edun akū* (no wind).

Emuc, to know; T. *sam*, M. *sambi*.

Iglunc, igluc, to fear; M. *gelembi*, T. *näläm, ngäläm*, Sam. *änang, närmbang*.

Ingync, hingilac, light (in weight); T. *änim, hynnüo*.

Itkt, red bilberry (*Vaccinium vitis idaea*); T. *imäktä*.

Ongte, ongti, onhty, buttocks; T. *buksu*.

Olyonk, olong, pig; M. *ulgiyan*.

Olqos, waterchestnut (*Trapa natans*); T. *koroco, korco* (com. M. *orho*).

Oloila-na, flying squirrel (*Pteromys volans*); T. *umuki, uluki, ulguki*.

Oryngynt, a Tungus; Cor. *orangkä*, barbarian.

Orkai, kind of arrow; T. *luki*, Sam. *luky* club arrow.

Orra, nephew; T. *kurakän*.

Olyör, slow; T. *arukun*.

Ur, red currant (*Ribes rubrum*); T. *bultäna*; Yen. Sam. *ore* berry.

Ungyr, uniger, ungir, star; M. *usiha*, T. *oshikta*, Sam. *keshka*.

Yginc, bark, T. *gogom*.

Ytr, wooden box, T. *abdura*.

Ka, and, also (suffixed); Cor. *ka*.

Karsh, oak; M. *lahari*.

Kan, dog; *ngaiak* puppy; Sam. *kanak*, T. *katikan*, Cor. *kai*.

Käk, falcon; T. *käk-cɪ*.

Ken, keng, sun; T. *sygun*.

Ke, fishing net; T. *kadi*.

Kerhtkonc, fishing hook to catch haddock, T. *kakolidam*.

Kotr, bear, M. *kūtka*, T. *kongnora*, Sam. *korg*, Finn. *karhu*.

Koss, raven, T. *käre*, Sam. *kule*.

Kom, hom, iron spoon, ladle, T. *umkan*.

Komer, sand, T. *kair*.

Kunnu, day-break, T. *kongor* light red, Sam. *kuend* morning-red, comp. M. *konggoro* cream-coloured horse, Sam. *kor*.

Kutinc to fall, to run away, M. *gūdumbi* to shoal (like fish).

Ungir kutinc, a star drops (shooting-star), comp. M. *usiha fajambi*.

Kuba, twine, T. *kufa*, M. *kubun*.

Kykik, swan (Cygnus musicus), T. *kuku*, gag, M. *garu*.

Kyh, a fish of an unknown kind, M. *kiyakū?*

Kylana, snake, T. *kulin*.

Kyllant, long, M. *golmin*.

Kylmer, kylmes, wooden board, Burj. *karshe, harshi*.

Kylmes, navel, Mong. *kuison*.

Kabi, snow, Burj. *köbenek*.

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Kyssk, cat, M. *kesike.*

Jakko, knife, M. *jakarambi* to split.

Kymkymr, a large spoon, T. *hamujak.* See *kom*, *hom.*

Koc, *hoc*, to sleep, T. *ahinam*, Sam. *kondak.*

Korkorc, *horhoc*, to boil [water], T. *hujum.*

Klö, heaven, M. *kulun.*

Kranh, arrow-head, T. *horon*, *oron.*

Kruni, snipe, Sam. *himgn.*

Genec, *gec*, to take, T. *gadam*, *gam.*

Gikun, owl, T. *geho.*

Haur, a pole to steer a sledge with, T. *kaure.*

Haunc, name, T. *gärbi*, Sam. *nep*, 名.

Hall, name, M. *hala*, 姓.

Hagi, garlic (*Allium victoriale*), T. *gungur.*

Hallu, swamp, M. *hali*, Sam. *ngar.*

Hanc, to shoot, T. *karpadar*, M. *gabtambi.*

Han, alder (*Alnus incana*), T. *holo*, *hologdan.*

Hatah, snail, T. *kurkekta.*

Hasske, little, T. *kacikan.*

Haza, scissors, T. *haja*, M. *hasaha.*

Habaf, lung, T. *äpcä.*

Hikinc, to suckle, T. *ukuwum.*

Higer, stomach, T. *guligä.*

Hilh, tongue, T. *ingi.*

Hitkund, sling, T. *urka*, *orka.*

Hisk, nettle, T. *kokukta.*

Hip, birch-bark, T. *kiwa*, Sam. *ho-pir.*

Hivis, *hibis*, birch-tree, Sam. *kwe.*

Hims, ashes, T. *horomsa.*

Hoi-co, salmon (Salmo Orientalis), Sam. *kuru*, S. Lenox.

Koroj, *horoz*, cold, T. *kelde*, Sam. *kael.*

Hantak, bag, T. *kanturgo*, Sam. *kota.*

Huht, coat, T. *hokto.*

Naur, brains, T. *irgä.*

Nakhr, snow, T. *umkak*, *kok.*

Nangyr, palate, T. *tangelai.*

Narla, similar, M. *adali.*

Narni, pine, T. *ngankta*, Sam. *kade.*

Nars, blood, T. *shagsa.*

Mif, heart, T. *mäwan.*

Noik, egg, T. *umuk.*

Noh, fat, T. *imuqsa.*

Nus, duck (*Anas Penelope*, *Anas glocitans*), M. *niyehe*, T. *waire.*

Cangent, *kana*, white, Sam. *cag*, M. *shanyan*, Burj. *sagang.*

Nyangal, lead, T. *nengal.*

Hang, hazel-hen (Tetrastes bonasia), T. *hinki*, *hinkican*, *inki.*

Hazeml, Tetrao falcipennis, M. *haci*, T. *hac-ha.*

Havl, *Garrulus glandarius*, M. T. *kafako kabka.*

Jerha, cow, T. *jehha*, Sam. *hyr.*

Cecr, sea-swallow (*Sterna longipennis*), T. *kecci*; Sam. *shar* (*S. hirundo*).

Cohnic, intoxicated, M. *soktombi.*

Cah-cah, magpie (*Pica caudata*), M. T. *sahsi.*

Cam Shaman, M. *saman.*

Nah, sleeping place, M. *nahan* bed.

Nigh, eye, Cor. *nun.*

Nigh-ceah (*lit.* eye-water) tear, Cor. *nunmul.*

Nibah, *nibuh*, *nibuh*, *nihbung*, *nihbyng*, man, human being, comp. M. *nialma.*

Noss, ear, M. *shu.*

Nöni, goose, T. *nunna*, *nunnaki*, M. *niongniaha.*

Tcrkrah, black cock (*Tetrao urogalloides*), T. *oroki*, *horoki*, *hurki*; comp. Cor. *talk* fowl.

Tamla, much, M. *tome.*

Tebrä, maple, T. *dedylä.*

Toh, elk (*Cervus alces*), T. *toki*, *to*, M. *toko*, *han-tahan*, *kan-tahan.*

Colngi, *tolngi*. *clangi*, *tlangi*, rein-deer, M. *oron.*

Torskh, badger (Meles taxus), T. *dokqo.*

Tu, sledge, T. *tokki*, *tukki.*

Tukki-kä-kilks, netting needle for making nets to catch sturgeon, comp. M. *togiya* part of a netting needle.

Tukr, on this side, M. *tulergi.*

Tuh, axe, Sam. *tuka*, M. *suhe.*

Tuhf, winter, M. *turveri.*

Tulyunt, to insert, M. *toktombi.*

Tur, fire, Sam. *tii*, M. *tuwa.*

Tur, *tursh*, bean, M. *turi*,

Tur, here, M. *tuttu* thus.

Turi, *turri*, birch tree, M. *tolhon*, T. *calban.*

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Tutut, turtle-dove (*Columba turtur* var. *gelastis*), M. *kutty*, T. *kutei*, *kuttyty*.

Tyngr, violin with one string, T. *tankara*; Mongol and Jakutic *düngür* drum, used by Shamans.

Typ, *tyf*, house, M. *tobo* tent.

Tatuc, to learn, M. *tacimbi* to teach.

Shik, every, all, Cor. *sik*.

Sonc, good, Sam. *song*.

Shom, Anas histrionica, M. *somo* cormoran, comp. *shongkoro* a white falcon (海東青).

Pagla, *pahla*, red, M. *fulgiyan*.

Pah, stone, Sam. *pō*, comp. M. *buktan* heap of earth, *fakū* dike.

Pal floor in winter tent, T. *pala*, M. *falan* interior of a house.

Parrä, white grouse (*Lagopus albus*), T. *päala*, *fädala*.

Pasing, *Cornusalba*, T. *pocokto*, *pogokto*, *bussuakta*.

Päkk, fowl, T. *päkko*.

Pisskh, black kite (*Milvus niyer*), T. *picu*.

Puf, saw, T. *pofu*.

Boca, *buca*, stag (*Cervus elaphus*), T. boca, M. *butru*.

Wakkä, chest, T. *ukäk*, Burj. *ukuk*.

Maga, *manga*, very strong, M. *mangga*, Mong. *mögö*.

Malho, *molgo*, *malhoc*, much, M. *malukan*.

Macka, small, M. *majige*.

Mäzla, mountain-ash (*Sorbus aucuparia*), T. *milekta*.

Mur, horse, T., M., Mongol. *morin*, Cor. *mal*.

Muc, *munc*, to die, T. *buddm*, *bum*.

Mygr cam, brown eagle (*Haliaëtos albicilla*), T. *muri*.

Koh, breast, M. *huhun*.

Luj, *lud*, ice, Mongol. *muson*, Turk. *mus*, Yak. *mus*, *bus*.

Amak, *ymuk*, mother, M. *ema*.

Tu, lake, Sam. *tu*, Magyar *tó*.

To sum up: the Ghilyak language possesses the characteristics of an Ural-Altaic language; its vocabulary is partly related to eastern Tungusic dialects; and its claims to relationship to Ostak-Samoied seem to point to a time when Samoied Tribes were neighbours of the Ghilyaks, before the Mongols forced their way southwards and caused the Ghilyaks to be driven eastwards.

P. G. VON MOELLENDORFF.

MACAO'S DEEDS OF ARMS.

The numerous forts which crest the hills and flank the shores of picturesque Macao are in themselves eminently suggestive of the query as to whether a place bearing such a pronounced martial aspect was ever the scene of any stirring deeds of arms, whether from the commanding heights and strategic points those imposing, hoary strongholds ever had an occasion to thunder forth in defence of the colony since they began to watch over its destinies three centuries ago.

It is in fact to be wondered how very often similar queries must have escaped the lips of foreign travellers without eliciting any but very succinct and sometimes inaccurate replies, for, in default of a complete history of the colony, few are those in possession of circumstantial information on the subject, whilst the early historical traits of the settlement are buried in the pages of rare old books.

It may not be a thankless task, therefore, to answer such queries in a leisurely, impartial spirit, bringing to light the cause which justified such lavish armament, the deeds of prowess which more than once saved the colony from grave and imminent perils, the faded glories of that 'gem of the orient earth.'

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THE ROUT OF CHANG SI LAO.

Shrouded in the mist of ages and doubts, the early history of Macao has given rise to various versions as to the cause which led to the establishment of the colony. But if a majority of opinion carries weight in this instance, if we may side with unprejudiced foreign authorities on the subject, there can scarcely remain any doubt whatever that the original cession of the place to the Portuguese—it might have been a conditional cession—was the immediate outcome of their valour in the cause of the Chinese Empire.

In 1557 the little peninsula on which the colony now stands was but an arid waste, studded with huge boulders which, forming themselves into labyrinths and coves, rendered the place easily tenable. Not in vain did nature thus adapt the spot for a bandit's retreat. It was the haunt of a dreaded horde of pirates who had for chieftain the notorious Chang Si Lao. From that sombre rendezvous there sallied forth swarms of piratical junks which held the neighbouring coasts in constant terror. Such, at length, was the rising power of Chang Si Lao, such his ambition and audacity, that, no longer satisfied with preying upon long-suffering villages and richly-laden crafts, he set his eyes upon the wealth and magnificence of Canton.

Invested by his formidable fleet, the city stood in great risk of falling a prey to the rapacious horde, for the imperial war-junks were hardly able to cope with such daring and hardy adversaries. At this grave conjuncture the alarmed mandarins bethought themselves of the Portuguese, whose heavy-armed, awe-inspiring galleons the pirates were known to dread.

Since 1554 the foreign trade of China was centred at a small island not far from Macao, Lampacao, whence the Portuguese carried on a flourishing business with the merchants of Canton. According to Balthazar Gago—a Jesuit who, shipwrecked on the coast of Hainan whilst on a voyage to Japan, resorted to Lampacao—there were then from five to six hundred Portuguese stationed there.

To them the mandarins recoursed, stipulating that if the pirates could be driven from Canton and dislodged from their base of operation at Macao, the Portuguese might have the latter place for themselves.

Eager not only for martial display, but also to safeguard their commerce and befriend the intolerant mandarins, the Portuguese forthwith started for Canton in their galleons,—six in number. Though greatly outnumbered, they had the advantage of superior naval tactics, whilst their artillery wrought such havoc that after several engagements the siege was raised and the remnant of the pirates chased to their retreat at Macao, where, despite their strategical position, they were at last utterly routed.

Thus did the Portuguese in 1557 establish themselves at Macao, and subsequently when the Emperor Kiatsing was informed of the deliverance of Canton and the extermination of the pirates, he, it is said, confirmed the cession granted by the Canton mandarins.

Irrespective of reliable Portuguese writers on the subject, this version of the colony's origin is based on the impartial authority of various foreign authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably on that of du Halde in his 'Description de la Chine,' of Alvaro Semedo in his 'Relatione della Cina,' and of Fr. Juan de la Concepcion in his 'Historia General de las Islas Philipinas.'

Yet, the detractors of Macao attribute the origin of the settlement to the supposed requirement of a spot where some Portuguese merchants might land and dry goods damaged in a typhoon!

Unfortunately there is no extant official document to give the lie to this idle assertion. But tradition has it that the cession of the colony was confirmed by an imperial decree written in gilt characters. This token of an emperor's gratitude and consideration, which should have been the

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proudest heirloom of the Macao people, is, however, not to be found.

In the Macao edition of the 'Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China,'* Ljungstedt argues that if such a decree was ever issued, a copy might be found in the imperial archives at Canton, Nanking or Peking; that in 1809 enquiries on the subject were made at Canton with no satisfactory result; and that consequently the story about the vaunted document was purely mythical, characteristic of a people who disdained such possessions as were not conquered by their arms. But, strange enough, these allusions were mysteriously suppressed in the subsequent Boston edition of the work,† for what reason it is difficult to say, since the prejudiced views of the first edition remain but little altered thereby.

Quite possibly the document might have been lost. It is the plaint of many who have attempted to write the history of Macao that the ravages of time, helped by past neglect and by book-worms and white ants, have depleted the archives of the senate of many an important historical paper. On the other hand the enquiries made at Canton might have been balked by the mandarins, as it must have been in their interest to hush up an imperial decree which, if extant, would certainly militate against their interference in Macao politics, frequent and notorious in by-gone times. But nowadays when there cannot possibly exist any political reason for keeping the traditional decree in the dark, when Macao is by the Luso-Chinese Treaty of 1888 definitely though tardily ceded to Portugal, nowadays another enquiry at the imperial archives may likely meet with better success than in 1809—an epoch which, as will be duly shown, afforded the Portuguese a capital opportunity to make up for past political remissness.

To resume the thread of the discourse, there is, in connection with the naval expedition against the pirates, an interesting conjecture which should not be allowed to pass unnoticed: that amongst those who fought for the acquisition of Macao was the very poet-soldier whose name is associated with the romantic grotto where he afterwards sang the prowess of Lusitanian heroes. Exiled from Goa in 1556 with the appointment of commissary for the estates of his deceased countrymen in China, Camões sailed for his destination in one of the six galleons which composed Captain Martins' squadron. Being stationed at Lampacao in 1557, it is to be presumed, says Viscount de Juromenha in his edition of the Lusiads, that the gallant poet himself must have shared the glory which the naval victory shed on Lusitanian arms, and, it may be added, on the origin of the colony signalised by his brilliant genius.

THE DUTCH INVASION OF MACAO.

In the history of Portugal there is no gloomier period than that extending from 1580 to 1640, when, exhausted and oppressed, the country laboured under the Spanish dominion. It was the sunset of Portugal's greatness. Faded was the splendour of her maritime discoveries, withered the laurels of her oriental conquests. Her independence itself was gone. Yet amidst this gloom there burst forth on the distant shores of Macao the lustre of a deed of arms such as recalled to mind the heroic traits of the nation's palmy days. The contrast is a striking one. The disaster which in 1578 befell Don Sebastian and his army in the African campaign, fatally exposed the Portuguese realm to the cupidity of the Castilian usurper, Philip II. Not so, how-

* A copy of this rare work is to be seen at the City Hall Library. The edition consisted of one hundred copies only, published in 1832.

† Published in 1836. Several copies are extant in the colony. In this edition the name of the author appears as Sir Andrew Ljungstedt. It is questionable whether he had a right to be thus styled, being only a knight of the Swedish Order of Wasa; while the title of Sir is an exclusively British title.

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ever, did the absence of Macao's main garrison prevent that colony from repelling the Dutch invaders in 1622. Whilst the red and yellow ensign enshrouded Portugal and her other colonies, Macao was the only spot where the Lusitanian colours waved.

They defiantly waved over unguarded battlements—unguarded, for, strange improvidence! the main garrison, some 400 strong, was then on the way to uphold the cause of the Ming dynasty against the Eastern Tartars, who threatened the Chinese Empire.*

At that time the fortifications of Macao consisted of the Monte citadel in an unfinished state, the fort of Bomparto, the upper battery of the San Francisco fort, and another small battery at the bend where the Barra fort now stands. They were raised because the Dutch were known to have an eye on the flourishing colony, having in 1607 sent a spy, Captain Matelief, to report upon the military resources of the place.

Well might Macao be coveted then. It was the sole foreign emporium in China. The splendour of its commerce fascinated the Dutch, who, moreover, owed the Portuguese a grudge for thwarting Van Warwick's efforts in 1604 to establish friendly and commercial relations between China and the Dutch East Indies.

But the meditated descent on Macao had to be deferred in consequence of a truce of twelve years between Holland and Spain, then the usurper of Portugal. That truce ended in 1621.

With its main garrison away, Macao in 1622 was evidently expected to be an easy prey. But for the providential valour of the citizens, the imprudence of leaving the place almost ungarrisoned would have cost dear indeed. For, availing himself of such a capital opportunity, Governor Koen, of the Dutch East Indies, despatched from Batavia a powerful fleet under the command of Admiral Reyersz van Derzton for the purpose of capturing the coveted El Dorado of China.

It may well be imagined what the consternation at Macao was when, early on the morning of the memorable 24th of June, 1622, the tocsin tolled most alarmingly, the people ran about in dismay, and the news spread like wildfire that the colony was being invaded!

On the roadstead stood a fleet of fifteen Dutch ships. Two of them, of light draught, sailed in and opened fire on the San Francisco battery by way of diverting all attention thither, whilst a flotilla of twenty-three boats approached the beach at Cacilhas under cover of the guns of two other light vessels.

To the beach marched a batch of armed citizens to prevent the invaders from landing. Failing to do so, they retreated beyond reach of the ships' artillery, and concealed themselves among the rocks of Guia.

Elated, the Dutch advanced, leaving a detachment of 200 men in charge of the field-pieces and ammunition which were being brought on shore.

Meanwhile the Jesuit fathers of the old seminary of St. Paul, who had resorted to the commanding citadel of Monte, bethought themselves of its artillery, on which would seem to rest the destinies of the colony.

The advancing Dutchmen were now on the field close to the hill where stands the fortress of Guia—then a hermitage only—when a heavy Monte gun began to thunder upon them, then several others of less calibre.

* At Nanchangfoo, the capital of Kiang Si, the force received orders to return home in 1622. According to Semedo, the Emperor, who was favourably disposed towards the contingents, was prevailed upon to dispense with their services at the instance of the Canton officials, as it was apprehended the expedition would result in the Portuguese establishing direct commercial relations with the North, depriving Canton merchants of the trade carried on through them.

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Such was the effect of those shots, aimed by the Jesuits, that the Dutchmen at length found themselves on untenable ground. To advance or retreat along the road was likewise to expose themselves to the telling fire.

Moreover, the defenders who had retreated from the beach, now pressed forward together with fifty musketeers commanded by João Soares Vivas. They were followed by a crowd, in all about three hundred men including several negro slaves.

At this conjuncture it struck the Dutch that, on the declivity of the hill close by, they might not only shelter themselves from the Monte guns, but even secure a strong position to face the advancing defenders. Thither they rushed in confusion.

At this evolution of theirs, Vivas and his followers charged their rear. The onset was such that, after a desperate hand to hand struggle on the hillside, the invaders took to their heels down the hill, and back to the beach, most of them easing themselves of their arms, whilst the less swift ones were sabred on the way.

The detachment stationed at the beach, however, bravely stood their ground and did all they could to rally their flying comrades, but they were so furiously assailed that ultimately they also gave way, plunging into the sea with the rest, or surrendering themselves.

In all the Dutch lost five standards, five drums, a field gun just brought on shore, over a thousand firearms and swords, and all their baggage. Many of those who attempted to regain the boats by swimming were drowned, whilst four officers and about a hundred rank and file were slain, and about as many made prisoners, including one officer. By the following day only seven of them survived.

In defence of the colony fell four Portuguese, two Spaniards, and several negroes.

The survivors among the slaves, who had fought bravely, were all set at liberty.

Ljungstedt, who at first was evidently disposed to view this feat of arms in the light of another myth, took the trouble of comparing the Portuguese version with that of the Dutch Admiral, which, he declares, tallies with the former in all the essential points. In his brief sketch of the fray, however, Ljungstedt refrains from adverting to the incontestable fact that the ramparts of Macao were the work of the Dutch prisoners, as was also the fortress of Guia—a fact admitted even by van Braam in his accounts of the Dutch embassy to China.

That the Jesuit fathers handled the Monte guns so well, need not be wondered at. In those days they cultivated the military art. Whilst they thus distinguished themselves as artillerists, a decree dated 22nd April, 1622, was on the way to Macao appointing a Dominican friar in conjunction with two citizens to the vacant post of commander-in-chief of the colony—an anomaly which brings to mind the saying that truth is in some instances stranger than fiction.

Apprehensive of further invasion, the government subsequently garrisoned the colony with a Spanish detachment of 200 men with several guns brought from Manila.

That apprehension was by no means ill-founded, for in 1627 Macao was blockaded by a Dutch squadron of four ships, stationed among the islands in the roadstead to waylay some trading vessels.

The Captain-General, Thomas Vieira, a native of Macao, proved himself equal to the emergency. With five well-equipped galleys he fell upon the Dutch flagship, boarded and captured her, slaying 37 of her crew, and taking some 50 prisoners, with 24 guns, 2,000 cannon balls, and some money; after which the vessel was set on fire. The rest of the squadron fled with all sails set.

The captured guns were, on the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy in 1640, sent as a gift of the colony to King John IV, who, in view of the city's staunch allegiance, proclaimed Macao to be the most

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loyal of colonies. Those historical words '*não ha outra mais leal*' are to be seen engraved in the hall of the Senate House.

The Dutch may boast of having left an indelible impression at Macao. Ever since 1622, the 24th of June, St. John's day, has always been the occasion of a solemn thanksgiving and procession in honour of that saint, accredited by a popular legend* with having saved the colony from the Dutch invaders, and consequently called the patron saint of Macao.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CAM PAU CHAI.

The beginning of the present century witnessed the mightiest gathering of pirates that ever infested the China Sea. Under the banners of these rapacious hordes were enlisted thousands of rebels and outlaws from Formosa and Cochin China, then in a state of political fermentation. To these were leagued the desperate characters from China in great numbers, and together they inaugurated a reign of terror along the coast of China.

In 1807 the piratical confederacy numbered from 40,000 to 60,000 strong, in possession of a fleet of over 600 junks, divided into two squadrons. One, flying a red flag and consisting of about 350 junks, was under the immediate control of the commander-in-chief, Cam Pau Chai. The other, numbering about 250 junks, flew a black flag, and was commanded by another chieftain, Kwo Po Tai. There were, besides, several other lesser chieftains, with something like a thousand auxiliary small craft.

The junks were mostly built specially for warlike purposes, being generally watertight, longer, narrower, and swifter as well as of a comelier appearance than ordinary junks. They varied in size from 15 to 200 tons, the majority averaging from 70 to 150 tons. The largest carried a crew of from 100 to 200 men, with from 20 to 25 guns besides firelocks, short swords, and spears thrown like javelins. Each junk had a rowing boat manned by from 18 to 30 men, and mounted with 6 or 8 small swivel guns. These auxiliary craft were used for the purpose of collecting tributes from villages on the coast, along which they coursed usually at night, spreading horror and desolation in case their impositions were not complied with.

In vain the imperial fleet strove to crush these terrible marauders. In the first encounter with the red squadron, a whole imperial division of 28 junks surrendered, with 500 guns and 8,000 men. In the second and third engagements the imperial fleet was again defeated with the loss of 24 sail. Subsequently, however, Admiral Tseng with 100 junks scored a victory, only to be utterly routed afterwards from front and rear, whereupon he committed suicide to escape official disgrace.

Powerless to crush such formidable adversaries by the force of arms, the Chinese Government stopped all native shipping in southern waters with the view of cutting off the supply of provisions to the piratical fleet. In retaliation a series of abominable atrocities was perpetrated on the coast villages. Still worse was thenceforth the fate of prisoners captured from the imperial fleet, who were generally disembowelled alive—a practice which spread such terror that no imperial junk dared to face the pirates.†

In view of the reigning insecurity, the Senate of Macao ordered the construction of a brig for the protection of Macao shipping, as the pirates now began to harass Portuguese vessels within the very sight of Macao. In addition to the brig—the *Princeza Carlota*, of 120 tons and 16 guns—the Senate bought a galley, the *Ulysses*, and

* The legend was foisted upon the pious and superstitious Macao people by some insinuating Dutch prisoners who averred that, whilst they fought the Portuguese, a supernatural being appeared, with a capacious mantle, into which were deviated all their shots.

† Vide Chinese Repository, Vol. III.

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also a lorcha—a sort of light little vessel with European hull and Chinese rigging.

Commanded by the gallant Lieut. Barreto, this squadron was, on the 6th May 1807, near Macao, faced by a piratical division of 50 junks, 30 of which engaged the galley and lorcha, while the others went for the brig. After a lively exchange of shot lasting over an hour, the piratical craft, considerably mauled, retreated, with the single exception of the flagship, an unusually large junk, with over 300 men and 20 guns, which bravely withstood the brig's furious cannonade and fusillade. Closer and closer drew the two vessels, for Barreto resolved to board the junk. Scarcely had the hooks been fixed on her, when, amidst countless javelins, stinkpots were hurled on board the brig, very nearly setting her on fire. Barreto intrepidly sprang on board the junk, followed by about thirty of his crew, working havoc with their swords. Not one of the pirates, however, would surrender. Desperately they fought to the bitter end, and when their bold chief found resistance no longer possible, he slew his wife, and with her corpse locked in his arms, threw himself overboard and perished.*

The captured junk was then towed to Macao, and those who first visited her, were shocked at the traces of carnage to be seen on board.

The result of this encounter caused such an impression on the pirates, that they shifted from the vicinity of Macao, evidently disliking such adversaries as Barreto, whom they nicknamed 'Sea Tiger.'

Meanwhile the power of Cam Pau Chai was in the ascendant. Availing himself of the popular aversion towards the Manchu dynasty, he secured the allegiance of a great number of malcontents on land as well as on sea; and with consummate tact, raised a political agitation of no despicable magnitude at Canton.

At the same time the pirates began to view Cam Pau Chai as no ordinary mortal, for whatever he recommended was just what their oracles advised them. Amongst their fleet was a superb junk, full of bonzes and idols which the chiefs consulted before every important venture. To the bonzes Cam Pau Chai secretly communicated his views beforehand, so that through their instrumentality the chiefs were admonished by the idols or oracles to follow the very same course which Cam Pau Chai had already suggested to them; and such admonitions generally turned out well.

In 1809, soon after Barreto's departure in the *Ulysses* for Brazil, the pirates again approached Macao. A Portuguese ship arriving from Goa, was set upon by the main fleet of the black flag. After an unavailing resistance the ill-fated vessel fell into the hands of the pirates, who killed the captain and most of the crew, sparing some, however, in the hope of their training them in the use of European guns. The captured vessel was then brought within sight of Macao, with her flag lowered to the level of the sea by way of a scornful display. The brigs *Princeza Carlota* and *Belisario* were hastily despatched under command of Captain Alcoforado of the artillery, with orders not to return without having amply avenged the insult to the national flag and the fate of the unfortunate vessel. A lorcha followed with provisions which in the hurry had been left behind.

The provisions delivered, this lorcha was, on her way back to Macao, beset by 16 junks. A desperate fight ensued. The lorcha was commanded by Pilot Carocha, a man brave even to foolhardiness. With his pivot gun he held the junks in check, while any of them that dared to approach the lorcha, were met by a deadly musketry fire. With more than half of his crew laid low Carocha still held on. At last, assailed right and left, the survivors, eight in

* The above as well as the following particulars are gathered from authentic Macao records, notably from Andrade's 'Feitos Macaenses contra os Piratas.'

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number, bound their rash leader hand and foot, and effected their escape in the nick of time, but only to be dismissed the service on their arrival at Macao, at the instance of their indignant commander.

The two brigs were on the very day of their departure detained by a typhoon which, however, proved propitious to the survivors on board the captured ship, for availing themselves of the pirates' hasty retreat for shelter, they cut the cables by which their vessel was secured and let her drift with the tide down to Taipa, an islet on the Macao roadstead, where she stranded, and they landed safely.

At length, on September 15th, the two brigs encountered the piratical fleet off Whampoa. While the small crafts made for shallows beyond the range of the brigs' artillery, the junks, sailing down the river, opened fire, and in return suffered considerably from Alcoforado's broadsides, which ultimately sent them flying away in hot haste.

Pursuit had to be abandoned, as heavy damages, sustained in the typhoon as well as in the encounter, necessitated the immediate return of the brigs to Macao for repairs. The *Belisario*, especially, was quite *hors de combat*. Being but a trading vessel of weak construction, she was unable to withstand the shock of her broadsides, which cracked her holds in several places.

Meanwhile the political agitation at Canton was spreading far and wide. A great number of malcontents made no secret of their allegiance to Cam Pau Chai, who now cherished the high ambition of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and proclaiming himself Emperor of China.

The Viceroy of the Two Kwangs, on the other hand, found his resources quite inefficient to check the rising power of the adventurer who, from a mere pirate-chief, had grown into a dangerous rebel and pretender, with no less than 80,000 warriors and over 600 junks at his beck.

Apprehensive of increasing disaffection, the Chinese Government entered into negotiations with the Macao authorities with the view of organising an expedition against Cam Pau Chai, and on the 23rd November 1807 ratified a convention whereby Macao was to furnish a squadron of six ships to co-operate with the imperial navy. In return the Chinese Government agreed to contribute Tls. 80,000 towards the equipment of the ships for six months' service, to divide equally the trophies of the expedition, and to restore certain ancient privileges once conferred on Macao by the Chinese Government. It was on this occasion that the search was vainly made in the Canton archives for the traditional golden decree, by which the privileges were in all likelihood accorded.

Within five days the six ships were fully equipped, the Honourable East India Company liberally furnishing them with a considerable quantity of ammunition. The squadron was placed under the command of Captain Alcoforado, and consisted of the following ships:—

Inconquistavel, of 400 tons, with	26 guns,	160 men.	
Pallas	18 ,,	130 ,,	
Indiana	24 ,,	120 ,,	
S. Miguel	16 ,,	100 ,,	
Princeza Carlota	16 ,,	100 ,,	
Belisario	18 ,,	120 ,,	

In all 730 men and 118 guns.

The Viceroy supplied 60 junks with 1,200 guns and 18,000 soldiers and sailors. But this force was of no avail, Even in concert with the Portuguese, the imperial navy dared not fight the dreaded hordes of Cam Pau Chai, so that the issue of the expedition depended solely on the six ships. The sphere of operation was from the Bogue to Macao and thence to Heang Shan as far as the gulf, thus guarding all the outer waterways leading to Canton.

After some minor engagements, the Portuguese squadron, on the 11th December, fell in with three piratical divisions within sight of Macao, and after a close fight eventually routed them after sinking some fifteen junks.

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With the view of detaching the Portuguese from the imperial cause, Cam Pau Chai then sent an emissary to Captain Alcoforado with proposals of peace and a solemn promise to respect the Portuguese flag in future. In reply Alcoforado advised Cam Pau Chai to avail himself of the imperial bounty, as the Emperor was disposed not only to grant an amnesty but also to confer on Cam Pau Chai a high post in the imperial navy, in view of his undoubted talent and valour—terms which the rebel-pirate disdained, being evidently mindful of the fate of Ching Chi Lung, Koxinga's father, who, allured by similar brilliant promises, surrendered himself in 1646 only to end his days in a dungeon at Peking.

An amnesty was in fact proclaimed at Canton on the 12th January, 1810, but it fell flat, in spite of every effort of the Chinese Government to give it effect.

The terror of Portuguese arms, however, soon achieved what money, promises, and intrigues on the part of the Viceroy had failed to bring about.

On the 15th of January, after a decisive victory, Captain Alcoforado succeeded in cutting off the retreat of the black flag fleet, with the result that the chieftain Kwo Po Tai in conjunction with several other petty chiefs capitulated with some 100 large and 30 small junks, and about 8000 men.

Dauntless even in face of this defection, Cam Pau Chai upheld his pretensions with unflinching determination. In subsequent encounters his forces fought with redoubled valour, and when vanquished, perished, but never yielded.

To spare further carnage, Alcoforado, while closely blockading the piratical fleet, made fresh proposals for Cam Pau Chai's surrender. To this the fearless rebel-pirate replied that he would never submit himself to a Manchu emperor, adding that if the Portuguese supplied him with four ships, he would, on the overthrow of the empire, cede to them two or three provinces.

This proposal was not accepted, and Cam Pau Chai resolved to attack the Portuguese squadron, which was now assembled at the bay of Lantao. On the morning of the 12th April, 1810, a fleet of over 300 junks approached the bay and manœuvred evidently to form three divisions. At this, Alcoforado's ships advanced in good time to foil the junction, and fell upon the vanguard, composed of the larger junks manned by the bravest among Cam Pau Chai's braves. Ten or twelve junks were dismasted, four sunk; and the rest, unable to withstand the furious broadsides and fusillade, retreated in dismay, giving place to a large division, which now approached the six ships right and left. The onset was a terrible one, and the carnage among the pirates appalling. In about an hour this division, too, gave way despairingly.

Still there remained another greater division, around which the retreating junks all rallied, and amidst which the flag of Cam Pau Chai was conspicuously displayed.

Thither Alcoforado led his ships. Cam Pau Chai dispersed this last division into six groups. Each group approached one ship at all points, apparently with the intention of boarding and overwhelming her with superior numbers.

Alcoforado, perceiving the stratagem, boldly turned it to his own advantage. He allowed the groups to gather around his ships at a safe distance, so that his artillery might have ampler scope, whilst any junk that approached too near became the target for a deadly musketry. Thus, hemmed in at all points, the six ships thundered forth with terrible effect. Such was the shock of the broadsides that, when firing right and left simultaneously, some of the ships, it is said heaved almost out of water.

On the other hand the pirates' fire recoiled upon themselves, for, arrayed as they were in circles, all their stray shots, passing from one side to the other, wrought havoc among themselves.

In the thick of the fray, the *Pallas*

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grounded on a sandbank and was at once assailed by four large junks that attempted to board her, two from the stem and two from the stern. Holding the enemy in check with a ceaseless fire, her crew, inspirited by Captain Miranda, resolved to resist to the last man. For more than an hour they gallantly withstood a desperate assault, until at last, on the point of being boarded, the ship floated with the rising tide.

Meanwhile Carocha, who commanded the *Princeza Carlota*, descried the superb sacred junk escorted by two large and several small junks. Vainly the pirates strove to defend their idols and oracles. In less than a quarter of an hour the magnificent tabernacle sank, peopling the sea with countless screaming bonzes and quaint gilt idols.

This loss created a panic among the superstitious hordes of Cam Pau Chai. Part of the fleet immediately fled. But still their chieftain staunchly braved the incessant, deadly fire of the ships.

Ultimately, however, after considerable parley, he capitulated with 270 junks, 16,000 men, 5000 women, 7000 swords and firelocks, and 1200 guns, followed later on by the remnant of the fleet.

Alcoforado's triumphant ships, some of them riddled with shots, were accorded a most enthusiastic welcome at Macao, the forts firing a salute, and the church bells ringing at their arrival, after which a solemn thanksgiving service was held, and the city illuminated.

The Honourable East India Company thus reported the matter to the Admiralty: 'From these patriotic exertions Macao derives many advantages, the Portuguese Government glory, and all commercial nations the freedom of the China seas. The Chinese do sincerely congratulate themselves on the extinction of an enemy who has for more than twenty years continued to oppress his fellow-subjects, the imperial naval forces being inadequate to check or destroy him.'

The Portuguese Government might well be said to have derived only glory from this expedition; for while the promised restitution of Macao's ancient privileges was never granted, most of the spoils were declined, the guns alone being accepted. Of the promised compensation only some Tls. 66,000 were paid, according to Ljungstedt, who deplores the supineness of the Macao authorities in neglecting this favourable opportunity for obtaining substantial concessions from the Chinese Government.

In accordance with the imperial amnesty, Cam Pau Chai and his followers were pardoned, with the exception of a few criminals of the deepest dye, who were deemed quite beyond the pale of mercy, and who were consequently beheaded.

Cam Pau Chai was duly made a mandarin, and eventually rose to great distinction in the imperial service.

THE STORMING OF PASSALEÃO.

About a mile beyond the isthmus, close to the shores of the inner harbour of Macao, stands the Chinese fort of Pak Sa Leang, called Passaleão in Portuguese. On the 25th August, 1849, that fort was the scene of a brilliant deed of prowess which saved Macao from an impending Chinese invasion, and in part avenged the foul assassination of Governor Ferreira do Amaral three days previously.

It may not be out of place, before entering into the subject, to explain the causes which led to the tragic end of that political martyr who wrested the colony from Chinese thraldom at the cost of his life.

For twenty-five years after its establishment, the colony enjoyed perfect immunity from any interference whatsoever on the part of the mandarins. In 1582 a newly-appointed Viceroy of the Two Kwangs had the audacity to question the rights of the Portuguese to exercise their jurisdiction over the rising settlement. By means of bribery, however, his intolerance was overcome. The only excuse for this pusillanimous attitude of the Macao authorities lay in their solicitude for the colony's

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flourishing trade, which would doubtless have suffered in the event of a rupture with the mandarins. But succeeding events proved how fallacious it was to attempt to avoid the rupture at the cost of national dignity and to the detriment of Portuguese sovereignty. The bribery served as a bad precedent. Thenceforth the same means had frequently to be resorted to in order to spare the colony from harassing impositions. Resistance was at once met with the oft-recurring threat of stopping the supply of provisions to the colony, with an order for a general exodus of the Chinese population. In 1688 a Chinese custom-house was established at Macao, and in 1698 tonnage dues began to be levied by the mandarins on the shipping of the place on the same footing as that of Fokien and Chekiang vessels. Moreover, a ground rent amounting to Tls. 500 was annually exacted from the colony since the reign of Wan-li (A. D. 1573 to 1620). From the Portuguese jurisdiction, except in summary cases, was withheld the Chinese population, controlled by a mandarin residing at Macao. The trade of the colony was hampered by dual customs, Portuguese and Chinese, one levying import and the other export duties respectively—all this through mandarin intolerance and want of gratitude towards people who had more than once rendered eminent services to the Chinese Empire in the hour of need.

At length the rise of Hongkong as a free-port convinced the Portuguese Government of the absolute necessity for vigorous measures to protect the harassed, dwindling trade of Macao. A royal decree was therefore issued on the 20th November, 1845, declaring Macao a free-port too, and the Augean task of freeing the colony from Chinese imposition and abuses was entrusted to an energetic naval officer, Captain Ferreira do Amaral, who assumed the reins of the Government of Macao on the 21st April, 1846.

Consequent on the abolition of the Portuguese Customs, new sources of revenue had to be looked for. Amongst others a light duty was levied on the native shipping. This led to a riot, the junk people advancing towards the city in armed mobs. They were driven back by the soldiery, whilst an armed pinnace assisted by several lorchas fired upon their junks with terrible effect.

For the first time the mandarins found their proverbial threat unavailing. At their instance the market stopped the supply of provisions. Governor Amaral at once proclaimed that, if within twenty-four hours the shops remained closed, the whole market would be razed to the ground by the Monte artillery. In due time the shopmen resumed their business without a single exception.

Vainly the Chinese authorities tried to stem Amaral's determined policy. He reasserted the colony's rights over the neighbouring island of Taipa, and over the land extending from the city-wall down to the Porta do Cerco, along which fine roads were cut, in spite of remonstrances on the part of Chinese inhabitants against the removal of their ancestors' tombstones from that locality. On the other hand Amaral freed the native population from the mandarins' extortions. He abolished the payment of both ground rent and tonnage dues to the Chinese Government, and on his order for the suppression of the Chinese Customs being ignored, he expelled the customs staff from the colony bag and baggage. By this *coup de grace*, dealt on the 13th March, 1849, the last vestige of Chinese authority was swept away, and Macao once more regained its pristine independence.

With apparent coolness the mandarins thus forcibly relaxed their grip on the long-suffering colony. At heart, however, they seethed with wrath, and strove to wreak their vengeance on the fearless, upright man who, defying their menaces and spurning their bribes, gained for himself the gratitude and veneration of his country, and the chivalrous appellation of Macao's Liberator.

It was Amaral's wont to ride every evening down to the Porta do Cerco, though

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repeatedly warned by his servants that cut-throats were on the look-out for him in that locality; and on his last ride he was stopped on the way by a favourite beggar who implored him not to proceed, as he was sure to be set upon and murdered—warnings which Amaral laughed to scorn. Accompanied by his aide-de-camp, he continued the fatal ride. As he neared the Porta do Cerco, a boy came forward, and, with the branch of a tree, caused the horse to shy. Simultaneously there sprang from the adjoining thickets seven men armed with short swords. Amaral had only his left arm—the right had been lost in the service of his country. Yet, taking the reins between his teeth, he got hold of his pistol. But ere he could fire, he was hacked right and left, dragged off his horse, and atrociously assassinated, his head and hand being cut off and brought away. Helpless as he was, poor Amaral must have struggled desperately, as the incision on the neck was an irregular and laboured one, the head being severed without part of the chin. The aide-de-camp bolted away and reached the city in a fainting condition. But for his want of presence of mind, the dastardly assassination might possibly have been prevented. It took place about sunset, on the 22nd August, 1849.

The consternation at Macao had scarcely abated when, on the morning of the 25th, the fort of Passaleão and the adjoining heights were observed to be teeming with hostile forces. At the same time it was rumoured that a section of the native community was in league with those forces, the object in view being the total destruction of the colony whose autonomy had cost the lifeblood of its lamented Governor.

Whilst armed citizens patrolled the streets, all the available garrison, amounting to some 200 men, were despatched to guard the Porta do Cerco—the gate of the barrier at the frontier.

On them the fort of Passaleão opened fire with perfect immunity, being beyond the range of the Macao forts. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, such was the fire, that the defenders of the barrier found the place hardly tenable. Yet a retreat would no doubt have emboldened the enemy, while an advance upon Passaleão was deprecated by the foreign representatives not only as an act of unavailing heroism but also as a violation of Chinese territory which might entail serious consequences.

The Administrative Council, presided over by the Bishop, seemed inclined to listen to this disheartening counsel, when a determined young officer of the artillery, Lieut. Mesquita, stepped forward and in forcible language pointed out the imperative necessity that there existed for energetic measures.

Bishop Matta, knitting his brow and waving his hand, dismissed him with the injunction to do what he deemed necessary, but above all to observe the strictest prudence.

At the head of a few artillerymen, Mesquita soon arrived at Porta do Cerco with a howitzer, the gift of a French admiral to Amaral. It proved of little avail, for after the first shot one of its wheels broke. That only shot, however, produced some effect. The shell burst in the fort, spreading confusion among the garrison. It had been aimed by Mesquita himself.

Then it was that Mesquita called for volunteers to take Passaleão by assault. Thirty-six braves stepped to the front, and led by him, marched forward, in spite of the protest of the commander-in-chief, who deemed it the height of folly and rashness for a mere handful of men to venture across a mile of open field swept by a constant fire, in the preposterous hope of taking a commanding and well-garrisoned fort. The bugles therefore ordered a retreat. At this the advancing heroes halted. Mesquita, however, countermanded the call by ordering his bugler to sound the advance. Whilst this was being obeyed, a shot swept past, carrying with it part of the bugle.

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Forward then rushed the gallant thirty-seven, under a ceaseless cannonade and fusillade, across a difficult ground, along the narrow tracks of the ricefields which extended all over the way. At last, in about an hour's time, they reached the foot of the hillock upon which stood Passaleão. At their approach the garrison, about 500 men, got panic-stricken and hastily abandoned the fort with but few exceptions, while Mesquita and his followers, jumping across a narrow dike, rushed up the height, scaled the ramparts at all points, sprang in, shot dead a soldier who attempted to fire the powder magazine, spiked all the guns,—20 in number,—and, amidst great enthusiasm, unfurled and waved the Portuguese ensign.

The forces posted on the adjoining heights, amounting to over 2,000 men, also retreated with the flying garrison. In all the enemy lost some 15 men. On Mesquita's side one soldier was severely wounded. It was the only casualty, thanks to the countless random shots.

In the meantime the city, unaware of the enemy's retreat, laboured under grave apprehensions. The flag at the fort of San Francisco was flown upside down—a signal of distress. A detachment of marines from the British men-of-war in port landed and was stationed at head-quarters, on the Praia Grande. There the cheers with which the garrison of Monte hailed the display of the Portuguese ensign at Passaleão were misconstrued into an alarm. At the same time an officer on horseback approached the head-quarters at full speed. His excitement suggested the gravest conjectures. The marines shouldered arms and stood in readiness to march forward. A moment of breathless suspense ensued. The excited officer's errand, however, was to apprise the Administrative Council of the happy result of Mesquita's heroism, — tidings which were welcomed with amazement and boundless joy. Soon after a tremendous explosion was heard—Mesquita had blown up the fort of Passaleão. But for Mesquita's pluck, Macao would in all likelihood have experienced the same terrible fate of the ancient Portuguese settlements at Ningpo and Chinchew, which were overwhelmed and swept away prior to the establishment of the Portuguese at Lampacao. For his signal services Mesquita, the saviour of Macao, was presented with a sword of honour, and in due course promoted to the rank of colonel.

Months after Amaral's tragic end, his head and hand were recovered through the Chinese Government, and were, together with the body, which lay in state all the while, interred at the convent of St. Francis with great pomp and amidst general demonstrations of grief and sympathy. The honoured remains were subsequently conveyed to Lisbon.

Of the wretches who perpetrated the assassination, one was captured by the Chinese authorities and beheaded. It was an open secret, nevertheless, that mandarins had been privy to Amaral's cruel fate. A protest was therefore sent by the Administrative Council of Macao to the Viceroy at Canton, pending the decision of the Lisbon Government as to the steps which should be taken in the matter.

The idea of a war with China was very popular at Macao, and at one time the campaign seemed quite probable in spite of the critical state of Portuguese finances. Estimates were drawn up for sending troops from Portugal, and a squadron was despatched to Macao, as were also contingents from Goa. Ultimately, however, the matter fell through, owing partly to the fact that the Chinese Government disclaimed all responsibility in connection with Amaral's assassination, and partly also to the sad disaster which befell the frigate Donna Maria II—blown up with nearly all hands on board, and a great quantity of ammunition intended for the campaign. Thus ended the last crisis in the military history of Macao.

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Though comparatively unimportant in size, Macao stands foremost among Portuguese colonies when regarded from a historical point of view. As 'there is none more loyal,' so there is also none more renowned, for it was there that Camões sang the glories of his country; and, as if inspired by the heroic spirit of his epic, heroes arose there whose deeds of arms are by no means unworthy of being ranked among the prodigies of valour immortalised in the Lusiad.

C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS.

THE TRIAD SOCIETY, OR HEAVEN AND EARTH ASSOCIATION.

THE WHITE LOTUS AND OTHER SECRET SOCIETIES.

Secret political Societies have existed in many countries; but in no other part of the world have they flourished and exerted so much influence for ill, as in China. What appear to be societies of this kind are referred to, far back in the annals of the country. At the close of the former and beginning of the after Han dynasties, about the commencement of the Christian era, there existed a rebellious, and apparently secret, Society whose members before going to battle, in order to make themselves more terrible in appearance, painted their eyebrows with vermilion, and were therefore called the *Chih Mei* or Carnation Eyebrows Rebels. Their leader, Fan Ts'ung, after having taken a prominent part in overthrowing the usurper Wang Mang, set up a claim to the sovereignty of the country. In the contest for supremacy between himself and Liú Siú, the founder of the after Han dynasty, he was finally defeated by Feng I, a commander in the Han cause, who drew him into an ambush of soldiers dressed and painted like the Chih Meis. By this stratagem the real Chih Meis were unable to distinguish friend from foe and in the confusion which ensued they were completely routed.

At this period there were other Societies similar to the Chih Mei, such as the *Tung Ma* or Copper Horses, the T'ieh Ching or Iron Shins and others, all of which took part in the anarchy that prevailed.

About A.D. 170, a student of Taoism named Chang Kioh, by pretending to supernatural powers in magic, and curing diseases, gained a large number of followers, in the north-east of China, who looked on him as a God. The number of his adherents continued to increase rapidly and in 184 they raised the standard of rebellion. An immense army of them wearing yellow turbans and divided under thirty-six generals, marched and acted so rapidly that in a month they had subdued the whole north of China. These were the famous Yellow Turban Rebels who played such an important part in bringing about the downfall of the after Han dynasty and ushering in the turbulent times of the three kingdoms. And it was in the struggle against these rebels that Kwan Yü, since deified as Kwan Ti or Wu Ti, the God of War, Liú Pei and Chang Fei, leaders in the wars of the three kingdoms, took the solemn oath in the peach garden, to fight and live and die together. This oath is often referred to by the Triad Society, and its members are exhorted to emulate the faithfulness to each other and loyalty to their cause, of the heroes who took it.

In the reign of Hwei Tsung of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 1102-1119, a band of rebels,

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of whom Sung Chiang and Lu Chün-i were the chiefs, were bound together by an oath somewhat similar to that taken by the Triads now. According to the historical romance entitled Shui Hu Chuan, the oath taken by the one hundred and eight leaders ran thus. 'We are one hundred and eight persons assembled in this hall who regard the Stars as our brothers and Heaven and Earth as our father and mother, and though unlike in features we are alike in stateliness. We possess one hundred and eight hearts, and every heart is spotless. We bind ourselves to share each other's happiness and bear each other's sorrow. We arrange our names before Heaven and must not become a laughing-stock for men. The information of one day being found reliable must be acted upon with life-long courage. Should any of us harbor unkindness in our hearts and sever ourselves from our great cause, or say one thing at home and another abroad; or begin without continuing to the end, may Heaven above look down on us and devils by our sides watch us; may knives and swords cut our bodies and thunder-bolts blot out every trace of us; may we everlastingly sink in hell and not be reborn as human beings for a myriad ages. May such be the retribution of those of us who break our oath. Let Heaven and all the gods look down on us while we swear.' The oath being delivered they swore to it, and said they would meet in every life, and never, in any age, separate. They then drank each other's blood in wine.

Two centuries later the notorious *Pah Lien* or White Lotus Society was established.

The great Mongol warrior Kublai having destroyed the Chinese armies opposed to him and by his generals, driven the faithful Luh Siú-fu when all was lost, to embrace and jump with the last of the Sung line, the ill-fated boy emperor Ti Ping, in his arms, to meet death in the Canton River, ascended the throne of China, in A.D. 1280, as the first emperor of the Yuen dynasty. He and his two immediate successors were wise and powerful and, by their sagacity and vigour, suppressed all opposition to their rule. But after the death of the Emperor Wu Tsung the reins of government were held by feeble princes, who were simply the tools of their ministers, eunuchs and concubines. The country was consequently misruled and the Chinese driven to murmur against the barbarian Mongol Government. It always happens in China that, whenever a desire for a change of government is kindled amongst the people, omens presaging the downfall of the dynasty appear and become common as the desire increases. So they multiplied towards the close of the short-lived Yuen dynasty, especially from the time Shun Li ascended the throne, in 1333, until the empire was prepared for the rebellions that undermined the Mongol power and finally overthrew their dynasty. One amongst other incidents deemed portentous occurred in 1344. The children in Honan and Hupeh sang a childish ditty, 'When stirs the one-eyed man of stone, this dynasty will be o'erthrown.' And it happened about that time that, while the banks of the Yellow River were being repaired, at a place named Huang-ling Kang, a stone image of a one-eyed man was found, or rumoured to have been found, and intense excitement prevailed in consequence. While the excitement was at its height, Han Shan-tung invigorated the White Lotus society, which had been founded by his grandfather, and, by burning incense in worship and proclaiming the advent of Mili or Maytrêya the Buddhist Messiah, gave it a religious character. He was soon joined by multitudes who believed in him, and by the bandit chiefs Liu Fu-tung, Li Erh, Sü Show-hui and Tu Tsun-tao. These pretended he was a descendant in the eighth generation from Hwei Tsung, an emperor of the Sung dynasty who ruled China from 1101-1126, and set him up as their rightful ruler and raised armies to support his cause. His soldiers, like the Triads in recent times, wore red turbans as a distinguishing mark. Han Shan-tung was captured at the com-

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mencement of the insurrection, but his son Han Lin-erh carried on the rebellion, which rapidly spread throughout Central China.

As the rebellion progressed, other chiefs, or self-styled kings, appeared on the scene with large armies, as competitors for the empire. Amongst these was the quondam Buddhist acolyte Chu Yuan-chang. He possessed a genius for warfare and government far superior to all his rivals, whom, with the Mongols, he finally subdued and then ascended the throne of China, under the style of Hung Wu, as the first emperor and founder of the Ming dynasty.

This was the first appearance of the White Lotus Society in history. Its members sowed the seed of sedition from which grew the rebellion they started with the intention of re-establishing the Sung Dynasty; but it happened that a more mighty chief than theirs, snatched away the fruit.

There appears to be nothing further known of the White Lotus Society until towards the close of the Ming Dynasty, when, after two and a half centuries of luxury, the Ming rulers had gradually become enervated and pusillanimous. Again eunuchs and favourites usurped imperial power, and misgoverned the country, and, to add to the people's distress, droughts and famines prevailed in some provinces, and Mongols and Manchus invaded and ravaged the frontiers. So in the reign of Tien Ki, 1621-1628, insurrections were rife; and amidst the intriguing for power, that was ruining the country, Sü Hung-ü, one of the insurgent leaders, employed the White Lotus Society to advance his ambitious political aims. This man had made great progress, and was already proclaimed emperor, under the style of Hsing Sheng, when he was defeated and slain in battle. This appears to have damped the ardour of the society, for it remained inactive during the few succeeding years of rebellion by Li Tzu-sheng and other chiefs, that tore the empire to pieces, and paved the way to the throne for the Manchus.

Although there were several risings against the Manchu dynasty during the first four reigns, the White Lotus Society kept quiet until about 1761, when the Emperor Kien-lung issued an edict against it and the *Ming Tsuen* or Illustrious Worthies and the *Pah Yün* or White Cloud sects. In 1775 a chief of the White Lotus Society, named Liú Sung, was banished from Anhwei to Kansuh, whence he sent his emissaries, under pretext of healing diseases by prayer and incantation, to gain adherents to his cause in Western China. Many partisans joined and the society grew rapidly until 1794, when it broke out into the rebellion that subsequently spread over Hupeh and Western China under Liú Chi-hieh and cast a gloom over the close of the long and brilliant reign of Kien-lung.

This Liú Chi-hieh set up a youth named Wang Fa-sheng, whom he represented to be a member of the Chu family and a descendant of the Ming emperors, as the rightful sovereign of the people. He declared that, to prevent the capture of the young prince when a child, he had fled with him and concealed him beyond the borders of China.

This rebellion grew rapidly under Liu Chi-hieh and other leaders, one of whom was a woman surnamed Wang, until there were a hundred thousand rebels in arms, who fought with varying fortune against an at least equal number of imperialist soldiers. Sometimes whole provinces were subdued by them, and it looked as if their efforts were going to be successful, and Western China, if no other part, would remain theirs. Then a turn of fortune and successive victories of the imperialists would almost annihilate their armies and crush all their hopes. And so the war was waged. After the struggle had lasted six years, Liú Chi-hieh was captured. But as one leader fell or was captured, another replaced him, and as the rebellion was extinguished in one place, it blazed out in another.

This internecine war lasted over ten years, at a cost of tens of thousands of lives and

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an expenditure, by the government alone, of two hundred million taels in money.

The young pretender Wang Fa-sheng was never any other than a puppet in the hands of the leaders, and the manner of his disappearance from the stirring scene, in which his name had been used as the rallying word and his person as the rallying point of his party, is unknown.

In 1814, during the reign of Kia King, a daring insurrection broke out in the imperial palace in Peking, which is supposed to have had as one of its objects, the seizure of the emperor. This insurrection was generally, and probably rightly, ascribed to the White Lotus Society, but it has also been attributed to the White Feather, the Three Incense Sticks, the Eight Diagrams and the Rationalist Societies. That the rising should be imputed to these, tends to show that there is a similarity between the various secret societies in the country. Thus the Three Incense Sticks and Eight Diagrams are important factors in the Triad Society, which is sometimes called by these names; especially by the latter. Moreover Lin Ching, one of the ringleaders in the affair, was a native of the Fukien province, and had been a leader in the Eight Diagrams or Triad Society, which had already given trouble to the authorities there.

This insurrection was planned by a man named Li Wan-cheng, who had a large number of followers in Honan, and Lin Ching, who had followers in Chili and Shan-tung. These leaders pretended to be able to foretell events by reading the constellations. Lin Ching undertook to bribe the eunuchs within the palace from their allegiance, and obtain their assistance in introducing some of his followers, who were to seize the palace. It was arranged that the party to be admitted and those bribed to assist them, were to wear white feathers and white handkerchiefs on their heads, by which to recognize each other. Their adherents in Honan and Shan-tung were to rise simultaneously.

In the meantime the rebels had quietly secreted arms, in wine shops, in the inner city. On the 16th day of the 9th month, three or four hundred of the rebels, dressed like villagers, and carrying baskets of persimmons, under which arms were concealed, assembled around the four gates of the palace and did a good business selling their fruit to the guards and idlers about the gates. After a while, seeing an opportunity when the soldiers were off their guard, they grasped their weapons, dropped their baskets and rushed on and slew the guards, almost without opposition. They then entered the palace, cutting down all without the badge of partisanship. It happened that the eunuchs engaged in their cause, through some mistake, were under the impression that the rising was to take place on the 26th instead of on the 16th of the month and were consequently unprepared; but nevertheless many of them took a prominent part in the rising. In the rush into the palace the insurgents became confused in their movements, and were at a loss how to proceed. This enabled those in the palace who remained loyal, to successfully resist them until assistance came.

The emperor happened to be away at Moukden, on a visit to the imperial tombs; but his second son, afterwards known as the Emperor Tao-kwang, displayed great energy and bravery in the emergency. Hastily collecting a party of guards and eunuchs, he put himself at their head, and drove the rebels from one part of the palace to another, shooting them as they tried to escape, or to hide themselves on the roofs or amongst the rafters of the buildings. The prince himself shot some of the rebels, and while doing so, discovered he had traitors amongst his own little band. A eunuch, a member of the rebellious society, loaded a musket for him, but omitted the bullet. The prince took a steady aim, and fired at a man on the roof, who carried a white flag, but without hitting him. This raised his suspicion, and he loaded the musket for

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himself, and, to obviate any magic, tore a silver button from his clothes and rammed it in for a bullet. He fired again and this time the man toppled over. The eunuch was at once seized and afterwards executed. During this melée many of the rebels are said to have been killed by lightning, in a terrible thunderstorm that broke out.

Lin Ching was not present at this outbreak. He remained at Huang village, some distance from the capital, waiting for tidings of how the plans at the palace had succeeded, and of the expected risings in Honan and Shan-tung. An intelligent lictor named Chang Ssu, conceived the design of capturing him, and accordingly hurried off in a cart for Huang village. On arrival he went straight to Lin Ching and congratulated him on the success of the enterprise he had planned. He told him the palace was captured and his followers urgently required his presence amongst them before taking further action. Lin Ching believed the story and set out with the lictor for Peking. There he soon heard of the failure of his plans and the annihilation of his brave little band, and he was shortly afterwards executed.

The crisis in Honan was brought on a week too soon by the magistrate Chiang Hei-chieh who arrested Li Wan-cheng and cut off his feet. In consequence of this act of barbarity three thousand of the society rose in arms and killed the magistrate and rescued Li Wan-cheng from prison. At the same time their adherents rose in other parts of Honan and in Shan-tung and killed the Government officers and seized several towns. Li Wan-cheng was unable to lead, but under his instructions, Tao Kan, a point on the Grand Canal was seized, and thereby the revolutionists obtained control of provisions intended for the capital. Yang Ju-chun, the general who had been successful against the White Lotus rebels under Liu Chi-hieh, was brought from Shensi to assist the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansuh in suppressing this rebellion, which had already assumed a threatening aspect. He defeated the rebels in his first engagement and beheaded 200 of them that he took prisoners. His name appears to have spread consternation amongst the rebels, for, wherever they met this 'bearded general,' as he was called, they threw down their arms and fled. In a short time he retook Tao Kan and burnt over ten thousand persons to death. He next invested Hua, the principal city of the Hua district. There he received reinforcements from General Lan Tsing, who had suppressed the Shan-tung rebellion and from General Chang Chao, who had suppressed the outbreak in Chili. The walls of Hua were strongly built and the rebels had stored a year's provisions in the city when they held Tao Kan. So that, notwithstanding the city was bombarded with cannon, a long siege was anticipated. The north side of the city overlooked a reedy swamp and was not invested like the other three sides. After the siege had been carried on some time, Lan Kuo-ming, a rebel chief, stole into the city from the north, and rescued Li Wan-cheng, who, being unable to ride, was carried out through the north gate, where he was received by a party of rebels and carried off to the Hui-hsien hills. He was pursued thither by the imperialists under General Yang Fang, and in a battle that ensued he was defeated and two thousand of his soldiers slain. On this, seeing no means of escape, he burnt himself to death.

Yang Fang subsequently blew up the south-western wall of Hua with gunpowder and through an enormous breach that was made, stormed and captured the city. Twenty thousand inhabitants of the city, many of them innocent of rebellion, were put to the sword by the imperialists, and Nin Liang-shen, Su An-kuo and other chiefs were made prisoners and sent to Peking.

The following year Yang Fang defeated a White Lotus army in Shensi, and captured their chief, Tam Kuei, on which his followers dispersed.

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That was the last time the White Lotus Society was in open rebellion, unless, which is not unlikely, the Nien Fei, who rose in the north in the time of the Tai-ping rebellion, were largely recruited from it. But the society is not extinct. It is said to survive in the north under the name of the Tsai Li Society, and those who join it are said to be sworn to abstain from wine, opium and tobacco. But even under this innocent guise it is greatly dreaded by the officials.

For many years a secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui has been known to exist, and, although little appears to be known of its organization and aim, it is undoubtedly inimical to the foreign reigning dynasty. In consequence of the members using their secret power for evil purposes, the government has interdicted it under heavy penalties.

In 1886, three tickets of membership in this society were found on a man arrested in Shanghai for attempting to extort money from shopkeepers. Mr. Playfair, the English Consul in Shanghai, who sat as an Assessor at the trial, obtained one of the tickets; and he gave a facsimile of the face of it, with a translation of the characters on it, in the *China Review* for September-October of that year. The ticket, like those of the Triad Society, was of cloth; but in other respects there does not seem to be any resemblance between the tickets of the two societies.

In 1891 this society became notorious in consequence of the part its members were supposed to have taken in the outbreaks, especially those against foreign missionaries, in the Yang-tsze valley. Some alarm was created, too, by the strange conduct of Mr. Mason, an employee in the Chinese Customs service at Chinkiang, who was detected in an attempt to smuggle a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and some dynamite that he purchased in Hongkong, into Chinkiang. He also engaged half a dozen foreigners, to act as leaders of the Chinese in his insane insurrectionary scheme. When the discovery was made, he was at once suspected by some, especially the Chinese officials, of being a member of the dreaded Kolao Society and of planning to overthrow the dynasty; and he appears by his subsequent behavior to have desired to be looked on in that light. But if he really held the wild notions imputed to him, he appears to have acted in the best way possible to frustrate any revolutionary movements of himself or his associates. For his part in the brilliantly conceived scheme he was tried in Shanghai, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and banishment from there and the other foreign settlements in China. The worst of the affair was that his servants, and other Chinese connected in their labours with him, were suspected of being members of the organization and tortured again and again in the most barbarous manner to try and compel them to divulge the names of their supposed confederates. While under torture these men made statements incriminating a wealthy Chinese gentleman named Li Hung, also known as Li Hsien-man, which subsequent information and events tended to confirm.

At this period the Head Centre of the society was one Kuang Shih-ming, but Li Hung was, in consequence of his opulence, scarcely less powerful than his chief. Moreover he had a real wrong to avenge. His father Li Ch'ang-shou was at one time a prince under the Taiping emperor, but before the final overthrow of him who had exalted him, he deserted and turned his arms against his former comrades. For the good work he did in the Tsing cause he was rewarded and the name of the Perfectly Faithful was conferred on him. But he must still have been looked on as dangerous in some way, for about ten years ago, for some reason or other, he was executed, in Anhui. It was to obtain revenge for his father's ignominious death that Li Hung joined the society; and, if the information obtained by the Chinese officials is correct,

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it was he who supplied Mason with funds to purchase arms. He is said to have conveyed sixty thousand taels of silver from his home in Anhui to Chinkiang for that purpose, and to have delivered half of the amount to Mason. Li Hung was captured by the authorities in 1892, and in 1893, while still detained in prison he committed suicide, and his wife, concubine, and a slave girl followed his example and put an end to their lives at the same time. Subsequently Ku'ang Shih-ming, who had also been captured, was executed and his head and the head of Li Hung were exhibited to the public gaze. A few days later an Elder of the society, an ex-Captain in the army named Wan Sung-ting, and five or six others connected with the society, and with the Mason fiasco, were executed. Soon after the Mason affair, there was a strong ill-feeling shown towards foreigners in the Yang-tse Valley, which led up to murders and other outrages being perpetrated upon them. Those responsible for these outrages and destruction of foreign property, which were connived at, if not prompted by Chinese officials and scholars, have found it very convenient to attribute all the mischief done by incited mobs to the Kolao Society bogey, which, they say, seeks to involve China in a war with foreigners, in order that it may work out its own rebellious schemes.

In 1892 four Kolao Society members were captured in the Liling Hsien, on the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan provinces. Two were put to death and the others imprisoned to await trial. On this about a thousand members of the society rose, liberated their companions and bore them away. They were chased by the local militia and several encounters with loss of life, in some of which the rebels were victorious, took place. The members finding themselves in actual rebellion and not having any notion of republicanism, set up a king and princes and made a stand in the mountains, from which they made occasional incursions into neighbouring towns and captured government officials. Later on, however, in their first serious engagement with trained troops, they were defeated and some of their leaders captured. The remnants of this insurrectionary party afterwards succeeded in establishing themselves in the Wu-kung mountains; but not in sufficient numbers at the time to cause apprehension to the government. According to latest information, however, the number of insurgents in the Liling Hsien had increased to four thousand, and these in June 1893, had caused such an alarm at Ichung that many of the well-to-do people were leaving there. There are said to be emissaries from the insurgents sent all over the country calling upon the society to revenge the deaths of their chiefs, nearly fifteen of whom have already suffered at the hands of the governments of the Liang Kiang and Hu-kwang alone. At the present time the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, and Szechuan are reported to be the hotbed of the society.

THE TRIAD SOCIETY IN CHINA.

It has been supposed by some foreigners well versed in Chinese affairs that the Triad Society is only a continuation of the White Lotus Society under another name, after it had been interdicted by law. The two organizations, however, are quite distinct, although it is not unlikely that the former borrowed and adopted many of the ceremonies of the latter. Moreover they are known to have existed and acted, independently of each other, against the government, at one and the same time. There had been a Triad Society rebellion in Formosa in 1787, or seven years before the great White Lotus Society rebellion in Western China broke out; and the historical account of it distinctly states that the society had existed several tens of years before that time. According to the most common of the records of the society it was established in A.D. 1674, in the 13th year of the Emperor Kanghi's reign, but other records place it sixty years later in the reign of Yung Ching.

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In 1643, while Wu San-kuei was in command of the Chinese forces engaged in fighting the Manchu invaders on the northern frontier, he received tidings of the capture of Peking by the rebel chief Li Tzu-ch'eng, and the suicide of the Emperor Tsing Cheng. Instead of, like many others who held high positions, tendering his submission to the Chinese usurper, he invoked Tientsung the Manchu chief he was fighting against, to assist in expelling the rebel from Peking, and asserting the cause of the rightful claimant to the throne, or as some aver, of dividing the empire between himself and the Manchus. Whatever the compact may have been, it was entered into with alacrity by Tientsung, and the combined forces marched on and captured Peking. Once there, the Manchus showed they intended to remain. Their chief assumed the style of emperor and gave the name of Ta Tsing or Great Pure, to the dynasty he had founded. Wu San-kuei having assisted in suppressing opposition to the new dynasty, received the title of Prince Pacificator of the West and was made Viceroy or Feudatory Prince of Yünnan and Szechuan. After having extended his power in Western China and across the Burmese frontier, he evinced a design of setting up as an independent sovereign. With this object in view he stirred up rebellion in Kwangtung and Fukien, and in 1674 threw off his allegiance to the Manchu emperor. This is the year from which the members of the Triad Society date its origin. They make no mention, however, of Wu San-kuei or any other leaders in this rebellion, which after temporary success turned out so disastrously, four years later, for those engaged in it.

According to the Triad story, a band of militant monks, belonging to the Shaolin monastery, in the Fokien province, rendered good service to the Emperor Kanghi in defeating an invading army of the Silu state, against whom his regular soldiers had been unsuccessful. He rewarded them at first, but afterwards, at the instigation of two ministers, had the monastery surrounded by troops and set on fire, at night, when the monks were asleep. Only five, now styled the five Patriarchs of the Society, escaped, the others, numbering one hundred and twenty-eight, were killed or burnt to death. After many hardships the five that escaped met Ch'en Chin-nan, a discarded minister of state, and then a student of Taoism and all the occult sciences connected with it. He received them kindly, inflamed their desire for revenge and proposed the establishment of the Tien-ti-hui, Heaven and Earth Association, or *Hung*, Deluge, Family, for the Triad Society was started with both designations, as a means of obtaining it.

Some non-members assert that the society was not established till 1749, in the reign of Kienlung; but all agree that it owed its origin to an infamous act of perfidy, in the burning of Shaolin Monastery, and the massacre of most of its inmates after they had done good service to the Manchu cause.

It is evident by the mystic jargon with which the ritual is crammed, that Ch'en Chin-nan or some other Taoist had a hand in its composition. The founder of the Ming Dynasty was brought up in a monastery amongst monks who, according to tradition, foretold his future greatness. It is no wonder, therefore, that the five monks who so miraculously escaped the fate decreed by the, to them, barbarian usurper, should show their utmost zeal in a cause which sought to overthrow their oppressor and re-establish the rule of the glorious priest-predicted dynasty. That the Buddhist monks had a share in composing the ritual, is shown by the prominent positions that Buddha, his eighteen disciples, the Three Precious Ones, Kwan-yin and the Queen of Heaven occupy in it. The part the Triad Society performed during Wu San-kuei's struggle to wrest the empire from the Manchus, may have seemed important and memorable to its members and yet appeared unimportant and unworthy of record to others who watched or took part in the

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great conflict that so seriously threatened to overthrow the Manchu power.

And it may be, when the brotherhood recollected the share Wu San-kuei had taken in establishing a foreign dynasty and hunting down the Ming Princes who attempted to regain the empire of their forefathers, they did not enter very zealously into his cause. They had, no doubt, heard of his capture of Prince Kuei who attempted to continue the Ming Dynasty, under the style of Yungli, and his son, on the borders of Burmah, thirteen years before. It is related that he then appeared, trembling, before the captive, his former prince, who requested to be sent back to Peking that he might die there and be buried with his ancestors. Wu San-kuei promised compliance with the request, but his bannermen threw him into a state of disquietude by shouting 'Long live our emperor,' and remarking to each other, 'This is our true ruler,' when they saw Prince Kuei pass out. He consequently hurried the Prince into his chariot and took him out to be strangled with bowstrings. The young prince, who was then twelve years old and knew of his impending fate, fearlessly addressed Wu San-kuei thus, 'You black rebel, in what way has our house insulted you or my father been your enemy that you have brought us to this?' After he had been strangled, Wu San-kuei burnt the body of Prince Kuei and distributed the ashes among his generals. He also put to death a number of bannermen whom he suspected of sympathizing with the fallen prince. This was not the kind of man the Hung Family were likely to assist. Besides they found a scion of the Chu house, or Ming Dynasty, and set him up as their ruler, and while Wu San-kuei carried on the war in Fukien and Kwangtung, they fought for the Ming cause, with some success at first, in Hukwang. They were however finally defeated and dispersed, and their prince disappeared as suddenly and mysteriously as he came.

The first Triad rebellion recorded in history appears to be that which broke out in Formosa in 1787. At this period Lin Shuang-wan was the head of a powerful clan, which dwelt at Tali in Changhua, a rugged and almost inaccessible part of the island. For a great number of years the people of the district had been joined in Triad Society membership, without having been molested by the local officials. But on intelligence of the unlawful society reaching the ears of General Ch'ai Ta-chi, he despatched a district magistrate with three hundred soldiers to capture Lin Shuang-wan. This detachment was defeated by the country people and the magistrate captured and burnt. Soon after, at the instigation of Lin, the people assembled in arms, and one night attacked and routed a military camp and killed the officer in command. They afterwards proceeded to other parts and slew more officers. It happened about this time, that Chwang Ta-tien, a bandit chief, defeated and slew the magistrate of the Fungshan district. And he and another Triad chief named Yeh Sheng joined Lin. General Ch'ai withdrew his army to a strongly-entrenched stockade at the town of Chu-lo, subsequently named Chia-i. There the Triad army attacked him, but it was defeated with the loss of a thousand lives. Lin then changed his tactics. He laid siege to the place, and surrounded it so closely, that the imperialists had no means of obtaining provisions, except when in an occasional sortie they captured some of the enemy's. In this plight General Ch'ai petitioned for re-inforcements, which after some months' delay were supplied from Fokien under Admiral Huang and General Fuh. On their arrival the siege was raised and the Triads retired, followed by General Fuh, towards Tali. There they made another effort, but in their march to attack the enemy, fell into an ambush and were routed. Lin Shuang-wan subsequently settled with his family amongst the Formosan savages and Chwang Ta-tien was captured by the imperialists. Yeh

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Sheng was killed in battle early in the war. After his death, his widow surnamed Ch'en, who was then twenty-seven years of age, assumed the command of his followers. This woman's name still survives in the annals of the country as an Amazon of the first rank in all except appearance. She possessed an exceedingly beautiful face and graceful person. Yet she wielded the sword with wonderful dexterity and shot with unerring aim with bow and musket. She was daring in war and, when her alluring arts failed, fierce in love. Not satisfied with the youthful lovers her camp supplied, when the imperialist officer Kan Jui-lung fell a prisoner into her hands, she made advances to him. But, strange to say, this unsoldier-like soldier scorned her amorous proposals, and chid her for her lascivious conduct. But he suffered for his temerity. She sliced up his body and pickled his head in a jar of filth, as a terrible warning to other coy gentlemen. After the final route of the Triads in Formosa, this notorious virago, who so disregarded the Triad precepts, escaped with some of her followers to the Kwangtung Province, where she was subsequently captured and put to death.

In 1814 a Triad chief, named Chung Ti-kang, was captured in the Chung-i district of Kiangsi for stirring up rebellion and put to death. At the same period Hu Ping-yao and seventeen others, members of a branch of the Triad Society called the Pure Water Society, were caught and executed for setting up Chu Mao-li as a pretender of the Ming Dynasty.

In 1817 thousands of persons were arrested and many of them executed in Canton for being members of the Triad Society. The Society continued to give great trouble to the Canton authorities until 1827 when a party of them, in arms, was defeated in the Meiling pass. About this time there were so many members of the society in Kiangsi that they terrorized over the officials and interfered in the administration of justice.

In 1832, a tribe of Yao savages in the hills of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan, under their chief Chao Chin-tung, rose in rebellion against the Chinese. This rebellion is said to have been caused by the Triad Society people in that region constantly carrying off the cattle and crops of the savages. The Government troops sent to suppress this rising first directed their arms against the Triad members and two thousand of them were slain. The Triads, finding themselves between the savages and the Government troops, elected to take part with the former against the latter. During the few months this rebellion lasted, the Government troops were on several occasions defeated with heavy loss of life. The savages frequently displayed great strategic cunning, in this war. One dark night they tied lights to the horns of goats and sheep and turned them loose on the mountains, and while the imperialists were occupied in firing on and attacking this strange enemy, the savages defiled to their rear and defeated them with great slaughter. Finally money prevailed where the troops were powerless, and the savages were bribed to retire in peace to their mountains. The Triads, being thus left to their own resources and the tender mercy of the imperialists, were captured and executed in large numbers. And when the butchery ceased, the Chinese Generals returned to receive rewards for victories won where no battles were ever fought.

Although these instances are neither important nor interesting, they tend to show how widespread the Society had become. By 1832 it had made its influence alarmingly felt from Formosa to Hunan and from Kiangsi to Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and it had made Fokien a perfect hotbed of sedition. For a number of years special penal laws had been enacted and enforced against it, without effect. Nor was it a source of anxiety to Chinese officials only. Chinese emigrants had carried the principles of the Society with them from Fokien and Kwangtung to the

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English and Dutch settlements in the Malay Archipelago, to Siam, and to India. In these places many murders and robberies were attributed to the mysterious brotherhood, against which the officials were almost powerless, and thousands joined it through fear and for protection, who would never have done so from principle.

In 1850 the Triads were in rebellion in various parts of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, and helped, although it may have been unintentionally, to give shape and impetus to the Tai-ping rebellion, as it rolled along its course from the sterile hills of Kwang-si to the fertile plains of Central China, where it was finally stopped from overthrowing the Manchu power, by the interposition of England and France.

Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the Emperor Tai-ping of the Tien Kuo or Celestial dynasty, was a remarkable man. He was the son of a small Hakka farmer, and was born in the Hua district, about thirty miles from Canton, in the year 1813. While his two elder brothers assisted their father on the farm, he devoted his time to study, for which he developed an extraordinary capacity. He soon became the pride of his family, and he was extolled throughout the neighbourhood for his abilities. In China literary talent leads to official employment and promotion; his family therefore expected great things from him. But notwithstanding he had proved himself very able in the local examinations, he was unsuccessful in the provincial examination for the Siu-tsai or B. A. Degree. It is said that while he was in Canton to attend an examination, when twenty-three years old, he inquired of a fortune-teller, that he saw in a crowd, whether he would be successful, and the reply was "you will attain the highest rank, so you must not grieve at present failure, for it will make you sick. I congratulate your virtuous father." He failed again. But on this occasion a distributor of Christian books gave him a set of nine volumes, entitled "Good Words for Exhorting the Age," written in Chinese by Liang Ah Fah, a convert of the Rev. Dr. Milne. These he took home and put away in his bookcase without reading. The following year he attended the examination again and really passed well, but his name was removed from a high position in the list to a lower one. He was plucked again. Grief and chagrin at this treatment brought on illness, and he was carried home. During this illness, while his brain was affected by overstudy, he is said to have seen the visions, in which he already seemed an emperor, that made a fanatic of him and goaded him on in his subsequent career. In a few years he had almost recovered, but meanwhile a great change had come over him. He had grown tall with an imposing and attractive, though rather uncanny, demeanour. To earn a livelihood he taught a school and told fortunes. He again attended an examination at Canton, and failing to pass, he returned to teach the family of his cousin Li. This cousin borrowed and read his Christian books and induced him to read them likewise. Amongst other matter they contained whole chapters of the bible, and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan imagined he saw in these a key to his former visions. Like Li he was fascinated with the books and both resolved to be Christians, and learning from them that it was necessary to be baptized, they performed that rite themselves. They afterwards began to make converts and formed a society which has been ever since called the Shang-ti-hui, or the Society of God. Afterwards, when the Society had been driven into rebellion, the imperialists spoke of it as the San-tien Society, which is one of the designations of the Triad Society, and the Tien Ting, Increasing Members Society.

In 1844, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and a friend named Fung Yun-san set out as missionaries. After making some converts in Kwangsi, Hung returned to his home. Two years later, he went, in answer to an invitation, to study Christianity in Canton, under the

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Rev. J. P. Roberts, but he left there without being baptized. The following year he returned to Kwangsi and found the society had greatly increased and that several persons of influence had joined it. He went on propagating Christianity as he had learnt it, and at the same time he inculcated a hatred of the Manchu race. At this period he and Fung Yun-san were distinguished, and brought the wrath of those not of their society down on themselves, by their zeal as idol breakers. In 1848 both returned home, but they went back to Kwang-si the following year. At this period the society numbered two or three thousand members, and amongst their preachers, Yang Hsiu-ching had already become remarkable for his fits of ecstasy, during which he pretended to foretell future events. In those days the use of tobacco, opium and spirituous liquors was strictly prohibited amongst the members. In 1850 Hung Hsiu-ch'üan sent home for his near relatives, the reason he assigned for this was that God had revealed to him that that was to be a year of pestilence and calamities, except to those who remained steadfast in their faith. It happened that a pestilential disease did break out in Kwang-si, and a great many joined the God-worshippers to avoid it. A number of Hakkas, many of them Triad Society men who had been robbers, who were defeated in a civil war with the Puntis, joined them this year.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan saw trouble brewing in this and prepared to meet it. The Magistrate was bribed to put one of his followers in prison on a false charge, and he died there. Soon after some Puntis seized a God-worshipper's buffalo. The God-worshippers were nearly all Hakkas, and, these taking the part of their compatriots, fighting broke out between them and the Puntis, who, notwithstanding they were assisted by soldiers, were frequently defeated by their brave and hardy enemies. The God-worshippers were next accused of interfering with the religious worship of others, harbouring outlaws, and secretly fostering rebellious intentions against the government. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Fung Yun-san fled with a few adherents and concealed themselves in a place surrounded, except that there was one narrow passage, by high mountains. The mandarins however discovered their place of retreat, but, being afraid to attack them, only posted soldiers to watch the passage and prevent their escape. While the little party of God-worshippers were in this dangerous predicament, Yang Hsiu ching, in one of his prophetic spells, revealed to their brethren their danger, and a band of these hastened to the scene, drove away the soldiers and rescued them.

In this critical state of affairs, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan called on all his followers to sell their fields and houses and assemble with all their moveable property at a place that he appointed. The brave Hakkas were so confident that their chief was appointed by Heaven to rule over them, that, at a great sacrifice to many, they obeyed his call without a murmur. Old and young of both sexes, rich and poor, responded to his summons. This first active hostility was shown in the capture of the large village of Tung Hsiang to avenge the murder of Ch'an Kwei, an influential man who had promised to join him. At this place Hung Ta-ch'üan, a clever and daring youth from Hunan, joined the rebel cause. He appears to have been the first of the insurrectionary party to arrogate to himself the title of kings. In the first proclamations of the party he put himself forward, under the surname of Chu, as a scion of the Ming Dynasty, and took the style of Tien-teh, Heavenly Virtue, for his reign. His plans however appear to have clashed with those of some other leaders and he was captured by the imperialists at Yung-an, a year or two later, and sent to Peking. Yang Hsiu-ching, one of the most ambitious of the rebels, has been accused of treacherously promoting and conniving at his capture. At Tung Hsiang two female rebels of distinguished valour joined Hung Hsiu-ch'üan with two thousand

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followers each. About the same period several Triad leaders, already in arms, sent tribute to him and expressed a desire to join his cause. He sent men to them to impart a knowledge of his religion, but when they subsequently saw the strict discipline maintained amongst his followers, all, except Lo Ta-kang, withdrew and joined the imperialists to fight against him. Lo Ta-kang admired the discipline and joined him with all his followers. This man, who had previously been employed on an opium-receiving ship at Lintin, was subsequently promoted to the important post of Commander-in-chief of the Taiping forces at Chinkiang. Both Chinese and foreigners in their writings have stated that Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was a Triad Society leader, and some have called the Taiping Rebellion a Triad Rebellion. But this is entirely wrong; the probabilities are that he himself was never a member of the Triad Society, but he undoubtedly derived whatever assistance he could from it. At the commencement of the Taiping outbreak, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and his immediate followers spoke of their intention to restore the Ming Dynasty, and it was rumoured that these rebels marched under a miraculous banner, which a minister of the last emperor of that dynasty had concealed with the prediction that he who unfurled it in the midst of an army, would ascend the throne of China. Moreover the Taipings, in following the example of the Triads and adopting the Ming or Chinese style of dress and hairdressing instead of the Manchu style, which had been forced on the teeming millions of the empire by their conquerors, lent some colour to the supposition that they were Triads. But on the other hand it is alleged, and apparently with truth, that Hung Hsiu-ch'üan only received such Triad men as were willing to give up their society and follow the teachings of his sect. The Taipings showed also by their destruction of idols and Buddhist temples, whenever they came across them, they were not Triad men, for Triadism is nothing without Buddhism. Nearly all the religion there is about it, and there is a great deal in their ritual, is Buddhist. Regarding these matters, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan said—'Though I never entered the Triad Society, I have often heard it said that their object is to subvert the Tsing and restore the Ming Dynasty. Such an aim was very proper in the time of Kanghi, when this society was first formed, but now after the lapse of two hundred years we may still speak of subverting the Tsing, but we cannot properly speak of restoring the Ming. At all events when our native mountains and rivers are recovered, a new dynasty must be established. How could we at present arouse the energies of men by speaking of restoring the Ming Dynasty? There are several evil practices connected with the Triad Society which I detest. If any new member enter the society, he must worship the devil and utter thirty-six oaths; a sword is placed upon his neck; and he is forced to contribute money for the use of the society. Their real object has now become very mean and unworthy. If we preach the true doctrine and rely upon the powerful help of God, a few of us will equal a multitude of others. I do not think Sun Pin, Wu Ki, Hung Ming and others famous in history deserve much esteem for their military skill and tactics; how much less these bands of the Triad Society.'

In 1851 Hung Hsiu-ch'üan captured and occupied Yung-an, and there he was declared the Emperor of the Taiping Tien Kuo dynasty. At this time his object appears to have been to overthrow the ruling dynasty and in its stead establish one under which God was to be worshipped in accordance with the teaching of the Protestant religion, so far as he had acquired a knowledge of it from the Christian books in his possession and the instruction of the Rev. J. Roberts. That missionaries expected great things from the revolution is undeniable. How he nearly succeeded in conquering the Manchus and gaining the empire, and how the prize for which he contended was wrested from his grasp by our countrymen at the

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prompting of an interested few, are matters of history. The short-sighted policy of that unjustifiable interference, by which the march of civilization in China has been so long delayed, is a matter of regret for the people of to-day. In the early days of the rebellion into which Hung Hsiu-ch üan was driven, because of his religion, the mandarins saw little to fear in the obscure Hakka; but when, in a very short time, they saw him with his band of men, women and boys, all fighting like heroes in what they believed was the cause of their God and their religion, the highest mandarins and greatest generals of the land stood aghast and allowed them to pass on their victorious march to Nankin. But the capricious fates had decreed that those who fought so bravely for their liberty and religion should be defeated by British men and guns, directed by one who was almost as great a fanatic as Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, and who, had he been born and educated as Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was, might well have inspired the same enthusiasm in his followers and with his infinitely superior military genius delivered China from the Manchu yoke. While the Taipings were fighting the Manchu power from Kwangsi to Nanking, the Triads rose in other parts of the empire. About 1849 Ch'en Ch'ing-cheu, a Singapore Chinaman employed in a foreign firm in Amoy, established in that city a branch of the Triad Society to which he gave the name of the Dagger Society. Before long several thousands joined it. In 1851 information of this reached the Provincial Government, and a Tao-tai was sent to Amoy to investigate into the character of the society and suppress it. Ch'en Ch'ing-cheu was arrested and subjected to horrible torture to induce him to confess. In consequence of his being British born, the English Consul interposed and demanded his rendition. The Chinese authorities lied as to where the prisoner was detained and, before the Consul discovered his whereabouts, he was tortured to death and placed, dressed in his usual manner, in a sedan chair and left at his master's door. The leadership of the society was then taken up by an energetic character named Huang Wei. This man used his power as the leader to screen from the Chinese authorities a wealthy man named Huang Te-mei, from whom they had already squeezed an immense sum of money. Huang Te-mei then joined the Society. In 1853 a further attempt was made to extort money from him, in consequence of which Huang Wei with two thousand followers rose in arms to see his friend righted. Many of the leaders in this insurrection were Singapore Chinamen. Having captured two small towns and augmented their forces to eight thousand, they marched on Amoy and captured it. Huang Wei then issued a proclamation informing the inhabitants that he was the Commander-in-chief of the Ming forces in the Fokien province. The insurgents held this city several months against a vastly superior force, and during the whole period foreigners went about in the city at all hours unmolested. According to the historian of this war, the fighting, that was daily carried on while the Triads held the city, was conducted by both sides on the most humane principles and with a proper regard for life, but as they had to burn a large quantity of powder to keep up the appearance of war, notwithstanding all the precautions taken to keep out of range of each other's fire, some accidents occurred. Still there was no meanness practised. Not even those who had seen or heard how the barbarian English fought their countrymen a dozen years before, were prepared to resort to such unfair methods of gaining an advantage as sudden sallies, or night attacks, or similar novelties in warfare. They fought only during the day and ceased fighting at meal hours! And, as neither party feared nor dreamt of such baseness as a night attack, both sides slept undisturbed and rose each morning refreshed for the day's battle. But even this kind of fighting could not go

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on for ever, for food and ammunition cost money, and as the Imperialists had the largest supplies, the Triads had at last to yield up the city. So, after having arranged with the besiegers to have a safe way of escape left, they one morning evacuated the city and sailed off in junks followed by the junks of the Imperialists, who fired a few shots perhaps as a salute, which the Triads returned. The serious business of the war, and that most congenial to the Chinese soldier, began after the Triads left. Then the Imperialists entered the city, wantonly destroyed property and massacred the defenceless people wholesale. Males, many of them not over twelve years of age, were decapitated by butchery at first, and this being found too slow a way of murdering them, they were tied together and drowned. After a day of this atrocious work the English Consul, who had previously begged them, without effect, to desist, took the responsibility of commanding them to do so. And, as he was backed by two men-of-war, he was listened to so far that the butchery was no longer carried on near foreign houses or shipping. But it was carried on in another part of the city two days longer, during which two thousand or more heads were cut off.

Shanghai city was captured by Cantonese and Fukienese Triad men during the same year in which Amoy was taken. The officials had for some time apprehended danger from the large number of persons suspected of sympathy with the Taipings, in those provinces. At daylight on the day of the annual sacrifice to Confucius, six hundred Triads, who had secreted themselves near the North gate, rushed into the city, so soon as the gate was open, and marched, without opposition, straight to the official residence of the Magistrate. They called on him to give up his great seal of office, and on his refusing they rushed on him with their swords and killed him. This was the only life taken in the capture of the city. The Canton men, led by a man surnamed Liú, and the Fukien men led by a man named Ah Ling, all wearing red turbans from which they were called the Red-head Rebels, then proceeded to the Tao-tai's Yamen. There a fire of cannons and muskets was kept up for a time, but, as there was no person killed, it is supposed no shot was used and that the whole affair was for effect. The Tao-tai finally surrendered, and gave up his seal to Liú. As soon as it was known the city was taken, the insurrectionary force was augmented by several thousands; and not only by men from Kwangtung and Fukien, but also by men from Shanghai and Ningpo. These united in sacking the city and collecting a large quantity of treasure, the division of which gave rise to a quarrel between the leaders. This quarrel was increased by Liú trying, against the wishes of Ah Ling, to spare the life of the Tao-tai. While the dispute was going on, two foreigners persuaded the Tao-tai to disguise himself, and they conducted him over the city walls to a place of safety in the Foreign Settlement.

The rescued Tao-tai soon raised a force with the object of recapturing the city. The soldiers of this force, on their first attack, approached the city walls shouting 'Don't fire, don't fire,' and, after a short parley, the rebels grounded their spears and pulled a great number of them up the walls, to join their cause. The Imperialists attacked the city at intervals for several months and were always repulsed. The most effective weapon appears to have been the *pung-dong*, a bamboo about five inches in diameter and ten feet long, with the joints removed. One end of this tube was made solid, and the whole was strengthened with rattan and iron hoops. This weapon was charged with alternate layers of two quarts of the ingredients used in stinkpots, and a less quantity of dry gunpowder. A fuse, after igniting the upper charge of gunpowder, which ejected a large quantity of the terrible liquid fire on the enemy below the wall, burnt on to another charge of gunpowder to

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eject another torrent of the dreaded fire. And so it went on until the tube was empty.

Most of what is narrated here about the Shanghai rebellion is taken from an interesting account of the siege given in a lecture some years ago, by the Rev. Dr. M. T. Yates, who witnessed altogether sixty-eight Imperialist attacks, most of them made under shelter of the Mission premises under his charge and a grove of large trees near. Referring to these attacks, he says—'There were none of them however very serious, for the army almost invariably retired as soon as a man was wounded. They never stood up and fought face to face like men, the practice of both parties being to skulk behind graves; or they would carry a bundle of straw behind which they would fight. They would run from grave to grave so as to flank the enemy and try to get a shot; all the time however being under cover. I never saw the long spear and bannermen come near enough to do each other harm. On one occasion I saw two bannermen stand behind grave mounds, some twenty yards apart. After some conversation, they rushed towards each other, but when near enough to use their spears, these weapons were seen vertically in the air, and the men rushed into each other's arms, exchanged banners, and ran at the top of their speed in opposite directions, each doubtless receiving the reward for capturing the banner of a foe, which was twenty taels!

'On another occasion I saw a rebel with a spear chasing around a grave mound an Imperialist with a match-lock in his hand. If the Imperialist had stopped to prime his gun and adjust his fuse, the rebel would have speared him. Finally however, succeeding in getting all in readiness, he ran to the top of a mound and fired, but the shot did not take effect, because as he pointed downwards the bullet rolled out of the gun; for the imperfection of the barrel necessitated the use of a ball of lesser diameter than the bore of the gun; and the general plan of loading was to drop the shot into the loose charge of powder.

'Both rebels and Imperialists were most kind in their treatment of the wounded. I saw a wounded rebel pursued by three Imperialists who wanted to get his head as a trophy. Two of them speared the man to the ground, to hold him still, while the other cut off his head, but before this was accomplished, one of them was shot by another rebel, who rushed to the spot in the hope of getting the head of the Imperialist; but in turn he was shot by the two other Imperialists; so three were killed in trying to get one head. It was commonly reported that many poor countrymen were beheaded by the Imperial troops simply to gain the reward of bravery. And on the other hand many of these soldiers were cut off by the peasantry when found looting, and buried in their gardens. Individuals on two occasions displayed the most foolhardy bravery. A man from a company of Imperialists, who were hiding behind my house, ran out at the corner of my compound, in front of the guard stationed at one of the bastions, and spreading out his arms insulted them in the vilest manner, and called on them to try and shoot him. They fired the cannon and several rounds of musketry before they hit him. When he was wounded, the whole force retired to the camp! Large reinforcements of Imperial troops arrived from Honan and other places in the interior; and this brought about considerable desertions of Shanghai and Ningpo men from the rebel ranks. The Imperialists made frequent attempts at night, to take the city unawares by scaling the walls. These attacks were always made near my house, for the reason that the forces could approach the wall at that point unseen. They placed numbers of ladders against the wall, which were soon crowded with men to the top; but while they were hesitating to proceed, the rebels would throw over a bag of powder with a lighted fuse attached, which illumined the

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whole scene, whereupon the attacking party would run away!

'On other occasions they would come in great numbers, and, when near, at a given signal the whole army would shout and yell and madly rush about the moat on extemporized bridges towards the wall, with ladders in their hands, all in the dark, the officers spurring up the lagging ones in the rear with their swords. The men would rush up to the top of the wall, but stop there. Each of these frequent night attacks was followed by a cannonade and firing of musketry. One result of these attacks was to alarm the Shanghai and Ningpo men and increase the number of deserters from the rebels.'

The Imperialists, finding they were unable to take the city by storm, resolved to starve the rebels out. But notwithstanding the besiegers' intrenchments, the rebels procured supplies from the Foreign Settlement. This, and a refusal on the part of foreigners to sell guns to the Imperialists, exasperated them so much that they made offensive demonstrations against the foreign community, and attempted to seize the desired guns by force. There was a large force of Imperialists encamped on the race-course, and these had so frequently insulted foreigners that the Consuls joined in requesting the commander to remove them elsewhere. No reply having been given to this and other similar demands, the commander was informed that unless he withdrew by a stated time he would be attacked. And no notice being taken of this ultimatum, a little force of three hundred foreigners, made up of volunteers and English and American marines and blue jackets, marched out to attack them. An offer of assistance from the Triads had been declined. This little force, after a short exchange of fire, in which one foreigner was severely wounded and several Imperialists shot, drove the enemy from the ground and destroyed the camps. A fleet of piratical junks that had been taken into the Imperial service was to have assisted against the foreigners; but it was overawed and prevented by the guns of the foreign men-of-war. On seeing the defeat of the Imperialists, the Triads rushed from the city and destroyed other camps. The next day the Imperialists begged forgiveness for what had happened, and the trouble with foreigners ended.

The Triads next became involved with the French over some operations they began on the French Concession. After an interchange of shot in which some of the French were wounded, the French Admiral opened fire on the city from two war-ships, and a breach having been made in the wall sent two hundred men to the attack. These clambered on the walls and formed without opposition, but there speedily came a volley from the invisible foe that left thirteen dead and over thirty wounded. The others proceeded along the wall to the North gate, which they opened to the Imperialists and then retired. A large force of Imperialists soon occupied the wall from the West gate, round by the north, to the East gate, and it was thought all was over with the Triads. The Imperialists were afraid to enter the city, however, and a rebel leader with two hundred men rushed at them with a tremendous yell, which so overwhelmed them with terror, that, without taking time to run to the gates, they jumped off the wall and many were killed and still more wounded by the fall or by falling on their spears. Those of the Imperialists who escaped fled to their camp and the rebels closed the gate.

The Imperialists subsequently attempted to undermine the city walls. With this object in view they occupied the Ningpo joss-house, about a hundred feet from the city walls, and converted it into a battery. Inside this joss-house they sank a shaft from which they sought to reach the walls by tunnelling underneath the moat. There were a great many coffins stored in the joss-house and these were emptied and used to support the ground in the mining operations. One day, while emptying these coffins of

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their gruesome contents, one was found which, instead of human remains, contained a large quantity of sycee and gold bars. A wealthy man had got up a mock funeral in order to deposit his riches in what he considered safety. After that find, the emptying of the coffins became interesting.

Over ten coffin-lined holes were bored below the moat, but the Triads found out the direction of each, as it approached the walls, and a few men lowered outside the walls at night counteracted the long and arduous toil of their enemy.

In their operations against another part of the wall the Imperialists were more successful. They one day fired two mines under the little South gate. The first explosion brought a crowd of rebels to the defence and the second blew them to atoms. On the Imperialist side the Fu-tai Ch'ing was killed by a brick from the explosion. This man had anticipated the capture of the city as a result of the firing of these mines, and he had issued an order that, on entering it, all who wore long hair were to be put to death. As the rebels had compelled all within the walls to let their hair grow, his order would have led to a general massacre of the inhabitants.

A subsequent mine explosion and attempt to storm the city, is very graphically described by the Reverend Dr. Yates. "After waiting a little time, they began again to mine at the Ningpo joss-house. This time they worked eastward, under a little creek and then turned southward under the city moat. They succeeded in reaching the wall, and excavated a space sufficiently large to hold nine coffins end to end, which were filled with powder and connected by a train. They had by experiment been able to calculate their time, and arranged to explode it just after daybreak, when there would be the fewest rebels on the wall to oppose their entrance into the city. The train was fired by a joss-stick, a similar one to which was lighted at the same time in the Ningpo joss-house, where a storming party of about two thousand men had assembled, having bridges to cross the moat. The mine went off a little after daybreak, with a tremendous report and violent concussion. My house was greatly shattered, doors and windows being forced in. I rushed to the verandah and had a full longitudinal view of the position. Then followed a scene which is indescribable. On the walls from the West to the East Gate, there was a beating of at least five hundred gongs by the terror-stricken guards. The two thousand Imperialists streamed out of their one door of exit, raising a war shout, and rushing across the extemporized bridges, sought to enter the breach, which was about sixty feet wide, the wall being not more than three feet high. Before they succeeded in doing so, their way was impeded by a wall of fire, for the rebels, expecting this, were prepared with a number of oil jars filled with the material of which Chinese stink-pots are made. These were soon placed in the breach and ignited, and in a moment the wall of fire was higher than the city wall; the rebels too, were prepared with ping-dongs from which they poured streams of fire into the mass of the Imperialists, who by this time were crowded between the moat and the city wall. They also were prepared with ordinary wine jars, filled with the same offensive and inflammable material, which they ignited and flung from the top of the wall upon the soldiers below. These exploded like shells, and spread fire in the very midst of the Imperialists. The burning which followed was dreadful. Men's clothing was all ablaze, their powder horns exploded at their sides, fire was everywhere, and men rushed all ablaze into the moat. During the whole of this, there was the most terrible yelling and shouting and beating of gongs, and throwing of bricks off the city wall by those who had no fire weapons.

When the combustible material in the breach was consumed, three Imperialist soldiers stepped to the front, in line, with

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short swords and shields, three rebels stepped through the breach and confronted them in like manner, and while these were going through the customary nine evolutions preparatory to the plunge, the rebels, who had mustered about two hundred strong, raised the war-whoop and rushed through the breach in the wall. The Imperialists fell back *en masse* into the moat, and scrambled out on the other side, making for the single door of the joss-house, the rebels hacking at their rear, and flinging powder-bags into the crowd, which ignited under their feet and brought destruction to many. It was some time before they could get into their retreat, and the commingling of the sounds of the wounded, the terror-stricken and the victors is indescribable.

'When the Imperialists got safely inside, they rushed to their guns to bring them to bear upon the breach, but the rebels flung stink-pots over the battery, one of which fell into the magazine and exploded it, blowing off the roof of the joss-house. All the Imperialists not killed or buried beneath the ruins at once fled, by a back door, to their battery at the top of the Rue du Consulat.'

The rebels repaired the breach in the wall, and the Imperialists having lost all hope of taking the city by storm, once more set about starving out the defenders. With this object in view, they built walls almost surrounding those of the city, and thus cut off all supplies. On this the Triads, who consisted almost entirely of Cantonese and Fukienese, decided to abandon the city. And this was not so difficult as it seemed, surrounded as they were by enemies, for they found friends in the Imperialist camp who agreed to conduct them from the city in safety. It was arranged that Liu and Ah Ling were to meet at night outside the West Gate and there be joined by a guard of Imperialists, who were to conduct them past the camps. Ah Ling and his followers missed their way in the dark, but at daybreak they made a dash for the Foreign Settlement. Many were caught, however, and beheaded. Ah Ling, disguised and carrying a basket and an oil jar, passed through crowds of soldiers to a place of safety. Liu's forces got safely away and, it is supposed, subsequently joined the Taipings. On the morning after the Triads' departure, the inhabitants informed the Imperialists of what had occurred, and they entered and set fire to the city. The fire burnt for days and destroyed a great part of the city. Thus ended a siege carried on for a year and a half by soldiers against an undisciplined mob.

As early as 1850, the Triads were in rebellion in several parts of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Afterwards, when they saw Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and his little army of God-worshippers fighting successfully against all the Imperialists sent against them, they felt encouraged and broke out in other places in those provinces, so that by 1854 every district in Kwangtung and a great part of Kwangsi, was in open rebellion. In this year the important cities of Shin Ling-fu, the second in the Kwangtung province, Fatshan, Tai-leung, and Tungkun, were captured, and Canton was partly invested by the Triads. The Pearl River from Dane's Island to Creek Pagoda was also held and controlled by them. The leaders of the Triad forces occupying the neighbourhood of Canton were Ho A Luk, a native of Shuntak, who before the outbreak had led a very dissolute life, and Chan Hing-lung, who had been a notorious gambler. Notwithstanding their past lives and want of military training these men became powerful chiefs in the attempt to re-establish the Ming Dynasty. For this was the avowed object for which they fought, and their flags bore the Triad legend 'Rebel against Tsing; Return to Ming.' They had the good sense, too, to keep on friendly terms, so far as possible, with foreigners. This trait distinguished them from the Imperalists, who, while securing foreign aid and using foreign flags to ensure a safe passage past the Triad forts and fleet, for their junks conveying provi-

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sions to the blockaded city of Canton, knew not how to be civil to those befriending them. It was this benevolent foreign neutrality shown to the Imperialists here, and much more strikingly afterwards in the north to those fighting the Taipings, that saved the empire for the Manchus and plunged it back into the barbarism from which it seemed about to emerge. Had Canton fallen at this period, the whole south of the empire must have fallen with it.

In November 1854 some rich merchants in Canton fitted out a naval expedition against Fatshan. In the battle that ensued the Triads were victorious. They captured forty or fifty Imperialist junks and slew a great number of soldiers. They also took a great many prisoners, and amongst them an American and an Englishman who were subsequently released. This mercy was not extended to the Chinese, however, for five hundred of those taken were decapitated. At this time the Triad fleet numbered seven hundred junks. In January 1855 a part of this fleet destroyed forty-four large Imperialist junks, in an engagement on the Pearl River.

Foreigners engaged in trade with Canton had for a long time felt the ill effects of the rebellion, and seeing no immediate prospect of success for the Triads, they, especially the English, who suffered most, began to covertly assist the Imperialists. At the same time dissension broke out amongst the Triad chiefs, which led to the defeat of Ho A Luk in an engagement at San-chau, near Canton. After the battle Ho A Luk escaped with a large part of his army into Kiangsi, and 8000 others passed into Kwangsi and joined the Triad General Lo, who was then besieging Kuei-lin, the capital of that province with 120,000 men. Towards the end of 1855, the Imperialist cause began to brighten and a gloomy period of bloodshed and ruthless cruelty arrived, for those who took part, no matter how unwillingly, or were suspected of having taken part in the rebellion. As the cities and large villages fell into the hands of the Imperialists, men, women, and children were butchered by hundreds and thousands. Great numbers were taken to Canton and beheaded. When in the course of time the Triads vacated Shiu-tung-fu without fighting, the inhabitants expected mercy from the Imperialists; but they might as reasonably have expected it from starving wolves. They were driven to Canton in parties of five hundred; and as many as ten thousand were confined in that city at one time and kept without food for several days. Consequently when the time for a form of trial arrived, they showed the utmost callousness to their fate. They knew they were foredoomed, and when they were condemned, they got into the executioners' baskets with apparent satisfaction. The work of decapitation was carried on at the rate of seven or eight hundred a day, until the ten thousand, as well as thousands of others from other places, were put to death. Some were skinned alive, and others were cut and hacked and made to suffer the terrible "lingering death." It has been estimated that a million lives of men, women, and children, were taken in the Kwangtung province before the vengeance of that cruel tyrant, the Viceroy Yeh, was glutted. Vengeance fell swift and sure, on the great Viceroy, too, for, having provoked the English to war, he was two years later a prisoner in their hands, on his way to India to die there, execrated and underservedly stigmatized as a traitor by his own countrymen, after all the terrible proofs of patriotism he had shown.

Notwithstanding the strong measures adopted by Yeh and other officials to suppress the Triad rebellion, it continued to smoulder, with occasional outbursts in the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kiangsi, and Fokien provinces. The occupation of Canton by the English and French, and the march of a Taiping army, under General Shih Ta-kai, from Hunan into Kwangsi, to attempt the capture of Kwei-lin, revived the hopes and increased the activity of the Triad party, and in 1858 there was an army of several thou-

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sands of them assembled in the north of Kwangtung under Ch'en Chin-kang. This chief contemplated an attack on Canton, and only waited for the departure of the allied forces to put his plans in operation. It happened that the Taiping army, in its attack on Kwei-lin, met with such vigorous resistance from the Imperialists that it was compelled to raise the siege and was driven into Kwangtung, to increase the disorder that already prevailed in the north of the province. A portion of this fugitive army joined the Triad army and considerably increased it, while the main body marched into Kiangsi.

Immediately on the departure of the Taipings the Imperialists gathered in force to attack the Triads, and this time found a judicious use of bribe-money and offers of reward, more potent than their swords had ever been in defeating them. An Imperialist captain named Fang Yao—since known to Chinese and foreigners alike as the popular and powerful Admiral Fang,—by bribes and promises of appointments in the Imperial army induced Ch'eng Chin, then better known by the sobriquet of Tai-haw Kam or Big-mouthed Kam, the second in command, and other Triad officers, to assassinate Ch'en Chin-kang and surrender themselves with most of their followers to the Imperialists. Thus, as the Chinese say, Ch'eng Chin cut off the head of his chief (although he was his maternal uncle) to enjoy lasting glory.

But Ch'en Chin-kang's was not the only head to fall. The Imperialists had gained a victory and, to ensure promotion for the officers, it was necessary to report a bloody battle, although the deaths were all on the side of the betrayed and defenceless Triads, more than two thousand of whom were decapitated. Then, when the Imperialists regained the upper hand, dire punishment was inflicted on the Triads who for ten years had spread anarchy throughout Kwangtung and the borders of the adjoining provinces. There was no mercy shown to those who were caught, and but little to their families. Still, many succeeded in escaping to Hongkong, whence they put themselves beyond the reach of Imperialists, to act as propagandists of their society, and inculcate a hatred of Manchu rule in other lands.

One incident that occurred during those days of bloodshed deserves to be recorded, along with its sequel, if only as an example of the strong feeling of gratitude the Chinese possess, and to show there was some sense of mercy amongst all the callousness of the period.

In 1854 a Triad army, commanded by Tai Chün-kat, attacked Taileung, the chief city of the Shuntak district and captured it after half an hour's fighting. Tai Chün-kat, who appears to have been of a merciful disposition, successfully exerted himself in preventing the gentry and wealthy inhabitants from being plundered by his soldiers. One day, while he held the city, an Imperialist soldier, who was suspected of being a spy, was caught and brought to him, but instead of having him executed, as was expected, he ordered him to be released. The soldier had not gone far, however, before he was recaptured by another party and brought back. This time he displayed a reckless boldness, and told Tai Chün-kat he might as well cut his head off, as it was useless attempting to get away from the place. The chief, however, again ordered his release, and sent a soldier with him carrying a warrant to see him safely away from the city. Subsequently, when the rebellion, that then raged throughout the province, was quenched in human blood, Tai Chün-kat escaped to Hongkong. He resided there a few years and then returned to his native place, in the Shuntak district, where through the powerful influence of the gentry whom he had protected, he was allowed to live unmolested. He used to pay occasional visits to Canton, and while there, lodged in a bank in which he had an interest. Not long since, while a military officer holding high rank in the province was conversing with one of the bankers, Tai

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Chün-kat was incidentally spoken of, on which the officer expressed a desire to meet him. On the officer giving his assurance that he had no desire to injure Tai Chün-kat, the banker promised to inform him when he came again. Some time after, when Tai Chün-kat visited the banker, the officer was informed and he sent his official sedan chair with an invitation to him to go to his official residence. He went and on arrival was ushered in with the greatest respect and conducted to the seat of honour. He was astonished and unable to comprehend the reason for this kind of treatment, until the officer asked if he recollected on one occasion, while holding Taileung in the Triad cause, sparing the life of an Imperialist soldier, who was brought before him as a spy, and finally sending him with an escort beyond the operations of the Triad force. Tai Chün-kat failed to recollect the matter at first, but, by mentioning several incidents that occurred at the time, the officer succeeded in reminding him of the affair. He then told him that he was the soldier whose life he spared and that he had often wished for an opportunity to show his gratitude, and happening to hear he was alive, decided to see him. He then sent for his wife and children and commanded them to kneel to the good old man to whom they were all so much indebted. They all treated him with the greatest respect; and before parting with the old Triad chief, the officer offered him the command of one of the large mandarin junks that patrol the Pearl River, which he thankfully declined.

In 1886 there was an insurrection of about three thousand Triad men, under their chiefs Chan King-chung and Wong Paú-shik, at Nimshan in the Waichau prefecture of the Kwangtung province. This was chiefly amongst the Hakka population and was caused by the oppressive acts of Government officials, several of whom were slain at the first outbreak. On this occasion four hundred men from Hongkong, principally stonecutters, assembled at Kowloon, armed with swords and revolvers and commanded by two chiefs, named Ho Ye-mo and Aú Shai-chü, whose aim was to reinforce the Nimshan army. But on reaching Hachung, in the Kwaishin district, they heard of the defeat of the Nimshan rebels by Admiral Fang and General Ch'eng, and they dispersed without coming to blows. The Waichau rebels were badly armed and consequently this rising was easily suppressed. Most of the chiefs escaped to Hongkong and Singapore, where, in both colonies, they have, by their lawless conduct, given considerable trouble to the authorities, in consequence of which some of them have been banished from the first-named place. Others took to piracy, and amongst these were Ch'an Iú and two or three others of those decapitated on the beach at Kowloon in 1891, for looting the S. S. *Namoa* and murdering the captain and others. The last Triad rising was in the beginning of 1892, when a considerable body of men, who were driven to desperation by distress, rose in a thickly-wooded mountainous tract, known as the Tai-yan mountains on the borders of the Sanning, Yanping, and Yeung-chun districts, in the Kwangtung province, under the leadership of a man named Tam Wan-tsing, and under a standard bearing the character Hung. Many recruits joined them and at one time there were several thousands of them, who robbed and plundered the neighbourhood and even threatened the important city of Yeungkong. Troops were despatched from Canton to co-operate with the local trainbands in attacking them by land, and gun vessels were sent to guard the coast and prevent the insurgents from escaping by sea. Though the rebels were supplied with foreign arms, after some severe fighting, in which the Government troops had many killed and wounded, the movement was entirely crushed.

The foregoing is a brief history of the most prominent of the open acts of hostility

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the Triad Society has displayed towards the Government of China. For more than a hundred years, through its secret influence in the provinces in which it has been established, it has been a constant source of worry and anxiety to officials entrusted with the preservation of law and order. Though interdicted by the most stringent penal laws, it has continued to flourish and terrorize over mandarins and people alike, and probably the number of its adherents was never greater than now. It has made itself obnoxious to the people on account of the continual acts of extortion they have had to submit to, through dread of the consequences that would arise from any appeal to the authorities against it, and the Government officials have seen in it a standing menace to society that they have been powerless to remove and afraid to interfere with. To them it has been a hidden mine which, through fear of explosion, they have dreaded to approach. Nevertheless it has seldom, if ever, shown the blood-thirsty spirit and utter disregard for life and property of the Nihilist and Anarchist Societies of Europe. When its members have struck down an unpopular official, they have done it openly and in anticipation of the consequences. And the influence of the Triad Society has not been altogether prejudicial to the welfare of the nation either, for the officials, through dread of rousing the people to action, have undoubtedly refrained from many deeds of oppression they would otherwise have perpetrated. This is no little matter in a country like China, in which it is so dangerous to complain against those who govern, and in which there are no newspapers or other means of criticising their conduct or giving vent to public feeling.

WILLIAM STANTON.

(To be continued.)

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NORTHERN CHINESE DIALECTS.

BY DR. A. FORKE.

The object of this paper is not to give complete syllabaries of various dialects, but to point out the chief characteristics of each, and especially their points of departure from the Pekingese. The interest the author took in the study of these dialects was originally not a purely theoretical one. When travelling in the provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Honan, of which he visited the capitals, he went over the Peking sound-table with natives of different places, in order to make out the peculiarities of their pronunciation, the knowledge of which proved to be of no small advantage to him when talking with the people. The tables for the two Chili, the two Shantung, the Anhui and the Nanking idiom were not compiled on the spot but with the aid of indigenes. The Peking sound-table is that contained in von Moellendorff's Mandarin Primer, a little transposed according to Sir Thomas Wade's orthography, which I have adopted as better answering my purpose with some few alterations.

I drop the *h* in words ending in *ieh* and *üeh*, reserving it only for the entering tone. For Sir Thomas Wade's *jih*, *shih*, *ssŭ* and *tsŭ* I write *jï*, *shï*, *ssë* and *tsë*. The occasional shortness of a vowel in words not having the entering tone is marked by a crotchet (˘) e.g. *ssĕ* or *shĕ* (book). Initial *ng* is replaced by *g*. The syllables: *a*, *ai*, *an*, *ang*, *ao*, *ên*, *o*, *ou* are in the Peking dialect enunciated either as pure vowels or with a consonantal prefix which is not *ng*,

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but a sound lying midway between *g* and *y*. It is the medial sound corresponding to the harsh German *ch* in *nach*, *doch*, *strauch* or the initial *'h* as pronounced in Peking. The sound *gan* for instance is obtained by softening the initial *'h* of *'han*, *qên* by softening *hén*. I have omitted the sounds *hê* (black), *huên*, *kuên* and *lün* which I never heard in Peking, and believe not to be Pekingese. Instead of the termination *ui* I always give *uei*. Just as the vowel *y* in English words ending in *ly*, such as *lovely*, and *truly*, is neither *i* nor *e*, but partakes of both, thus this Chinese termination has no definite sound, inclining sometimes to *ui*, at others to *uei*.

A horizontal stroke in the sound-table shows that a sound of one dialect accords with the Pekingese.

CHILI.

I.—Apart from some slight differences the Peking idiom is spoken all along the road leading by *Pao ting-fu* southwards as far as *Chêng-ting-fu*. Beyond Pao-ting-fu the above enumerated syllables commencing with a pure vowel or *g* are invariably pronounced with the initial *ng*, which does not alternate with a pure vowel. As a reference to the syllabary shows, this rule holds good for all the other dialects except those of *Têng-chou-fu* and *Nanking* which agree with the Pekingese. In the city of *Pao-ting-fu* and its environments, southwards as far as *Shên-chou*, a simple *n* takes the place of initial *ng*. A Pao-ting-fu man will call a saddle *man-tse*, grace *men* and a goose *no*. The original form of this category of words seems to have had *ng* as initial, which by phonetic change degenerated into *n* at Pao-ting and into *g* at Peking. A step further still is the omission of *g*.

II.—The chief divergency between the *Tientsin* idiom and Pekingese lies in the frequent changes of initial *sh* to *s*, and initial *ch* to *ts*. A strict rule like that given by von Moellendorff in his Primer; *shs*, *chts* before *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* does not exist, at least not for Tientsin, where these changes seem to take place or not without any fixed principle. 上, 少, 射, 收, 書, 順, 說, 十 are pronounced as in Peking 沙 is *sa*, but 傻 *sha*; 山 is *san*, but 扇, 善, 陝, 鱔, 珊 are all *shan*, 收=*shou*, 瘦=*sou*; 生=*shêng*, 勝, 升, 賸, 聖=*shêng*; 書=*shu*, 叔, 梳=*su*; 十, 實, 失, 石, 試, 濕=*shï*, 事, 是, 時, 使, 尸, 師, 獅=*ssë*. We find further 找=*tsao*, but 照=*chao*; 正=*chêng*, 爭=*tsêng*; 竹=*tsu*, 主, 住, 豬=*chu*; 出=*ch'u*, but 初, 廚=*ts'u*; 壯=*chuang*, 裝=*tsuang*. 知 sounds *chï*, whereas 紙, 指, 芝 are *tsë*; 尺 is *ch'ï*, 齒 is *ts'ë*.

III.—This irregular change of initial *sh* and *ch* to *s* and *ts* the Tientsin dialect possesses in common with that spoken in the southern parts of Pao-ting-fu about *Ch'i chou*. The latter idiom presents besides, several other peculiarities. Like many southern and several northern Chinese dialects as that of *Têng-chou-fu*, it distinguishes clearly between the initials *hi* and *si*, *ki* and *tsi* which in Pekingese have coalesced to *hsi* and *chi*. The initial *hi*, however, is not spoken with an *h*, but with a soft German *ch*, just as the first syllable of *China* is pronounced in German. I therefore mark this *h* with a *spiritus asper*. Thus, under this scheme, the character *'h* has the sound of the soft German *ch* in *Licht*, *Recht*, *flüchtig*.

The *k mouillé*, as Parker calls it, is in *Ch'i-chou* as well as in *Têng-chou-fu* not quite our *k*. In articulating *k* the tongue touches the palate near the larynx, the *k mouillé* of Ch'i-chou shows a tendency towards the Pekingese *ch* before *i* and *ü*, the top of the tongue strikes the palate almost in the middle. That *k* is *mouillé* like the *ll* and *ñ* in the Spanish words *llorar* and *niño* I designate by a following *y* which seemed to me more adequate than *i*, as this letter might convey the wrong idea of having a vowel sound.

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Both sounds *'h* and *ky* throw some light on the process by which in Pekingese initial *h* and *s*, and *k* and *ts* were amalgamated. This is due, to use an expression of Dr. Edkins (China Review, Vol. xvii. page 174), by the tongue moving outward along the palate. The protrusion of the tongue towards the fore-part of the palate produces *'h*. When the tongue moves on a little towards the gums it gives *hs*, which comes so near the sibilant *s* that this latter sound was absorbed by it. In the same manner by a movement forward of the tongue *ky* becomes *ch* which differs so little from *ts* that both sounds easily run together.

The change of initial *j* to *y* seems to be brought about by a certain laziness in pronunciation, for the articulation of *y* requires much less effort than that of *j*. Even the Pekingese *j* is not quite pure. but savours a little of *y*. In the case of 瑞 and 閏 *j* is replaced by *l*. 閏, *lun*, finds a correlative in the *Tientsin lin*, and the same phenomenon is to be observed in the *lêng*=扔 of *Chinan* and *Têng-chou fu*.

Whereas very often initial *sh* and *ch* become *s* and *ts*, conversely in some instances *sh* and *ch* stand for *s* and *ts*: 僧=*shêng*, 葬, 倉=*chang*, *ch'ang*, 雜, 搽=*cha*, *ch'a*, 怎=*chén*.

As for finals final, *n* in the syllable *ien* is sometimes nasalized, in the syllable *an* very often; sometimes in the latter case it becomes almost inaudible. The vowel of the syllable *an* is the German *ä* by which I designate it. It sounds like the English *a* in *man* and *can*. A nasalized *n* is marked by elevation (ⁿ).

In the diphthong *ua* the *a* is very deep like the English *a* in *all*, I therefore write it with a circumflex: *â*. The final vowel of 這=*chêe*, and 車 *ch'ēe* is a long Italian *e* followed by a short one. The compound sound *äi* heard in 給=*käi* and 來=*läi* consists of an *ä* as described above and an *i*.

IV.—In the language of *Shun-tê-fu* the encroachment of *s* and *ts* is more complete than either in Tientsin or Ch'i-chou. I did not observe this idiom long enough to know whether initial *sh* and *ch* have ceased to exist altogether.

Initial *j* as a rule softens away into *z*—the *z* of zero. In some instances its equivalent is *y*: 軟=*yuan*, 毧=*yung*, sometimes *l*: 儒=*lu*. This transition of *j* into *z* is pretty well known in France also and there called *zézaiement*. Chiefly children, but grown up persons too, unable to enunciate *j* substitute the kindred sound *z* for it. Yet, whereas this is considered incorrect in France, it has become a general rule in *Shun-tê-fu* and many other parts of China.

SHANSI.

Still on this side of the Ku-kuan Pass, which is the frontier of the two provinces of Chili and Shansi, one can trace the influence of the *Tai yuan fu* pronunciation. At *Ching-hsing hsien* a man is called *jêng*, a grandson *sung*, difficult is *nä* and a year *nie*.

I. In the capital of Shansi the points of departure from the Pekinese are, setting aside some occasional changes of initial *se* and *ch*, exclusively met with in the finals. Most of them are the result of the strong nasalizing of final *n* and *ng*, a fashion spread over all China. Here we can distinguish two cases: (1) *n* and *ng* are so to say evaporated. (2) *n* is strengthened into *ng*. In the first case we find:

ien-ie, an ä, ang â, uang-nô.

Under the second head the following changes are to be noticed:

in ing, un-ung, ên êng, ün-iung.

In order to show the change of the vowel sound preceding *n* in the syllable *ên* it would be better to write *ön-ong*, *ö* being the short German *ö* in *möchte, göttlich* It must be borne in mind that in Peking also, the sound of *ê* in *ên* and *ê-ng* differs in the same way, and that Wade's orthography is not quite correct. In the syllables *chê* and *chêng*, for instance a very open *o* partaking a little of *e* is heard, while in *chên* it is *ö*.

Very numerous are the changes of the

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final vowels in words having once had the entering tone of which there are still some examples in the Tai-yuan idiom. The terminations of entering tone words are transformed as follows: (1) Whereas 西, 里, 米, 比 are pronounced regularly *hsi*, *lie*, *mi*, *pi*, 席 and 息, 力, 蜜, 筆, 七, become *hsie*, *lie*, *mie*, *pie*, *tsie*. (2) *ii=üe*: 曲, 橘=*chüe*. (3) *i=ê*: 十, 濕, 直, 尺, 日=*shê*, *chê*, *ch ê*, *jê*. (4) *ê=ieh* or *â*: 德, 得, 墨=*tieh* and *mieh*, 則, 册=*tsâ*, *tsâ* (5) *ai=ieh* 麥, 百, 白, 伯=*mieh* and *pieh* One says *ming pieh* clear, but generally *pai*=white. (6) *o=â*: 客, 渴, 合, 昨=*kâ*, *k'â*, *hâ*, *tsâ*. (7) *u=oh*: 木, 不, 速, 讀=*moh*, *poh*, *soh*, *toh*, 竹 and 出 are *cho* and *ch'o*.

The termination *u* of words not in the entering tone sometimes changes to *ou*: 路, 奴=*lou*, *nou*, 眼 and 硬 are pronounced *nye* and *nying*.

II. The Tai-yuen idiom extends southwards as far as *Huo chou*. Some irregularities, however, are to be noticed at *Ping-yao-hsien* and further on at *Chie-hsiu* and *Ling-shï-esien*:

(1) Final *ng* remains *ng* or is nasalized *añg*.

(2) The termination *an* becomes *ang*.

The most striking peculiarity, however, is:

(3) Initial *f* turns into *hu*. The words 罰; 反, 方; 非; 分, 風; 佛, 否, 夫 are pronounced: *hua*; *huang*, *huang*; *huei*; *hung*, *hung*; *hu*, *hu*, *hu*. Strange to say, this remarkable feature is met with in the *Foochow* and *Amoy* dialects also, which in this respect, differ from all the other southern dialects. Nevertheless, I would not infer from this circumstance any former connection between Shansi and Fukien, any immigration or colonisation, for the same phenomenon can very well occur independently in different places. The Spanish language presents an analogy, initial Latin *f* changing sometimes in Spanish to *h*: *fugere* =*huir*, *fossa*=*huesa*, folia=*hoja*, foedus=*hedo*, filius=*hijo*.

III. Of the Huo-chou dialect very little is to be said. It comes very near the Pekingese standard in regard to initials and finals. Yet it has one characteristic feature. to wit: initial *ti* changes to *chi*. Thus 地 is *chi*, 鐵=*chie*, 條=*chiao*. Exceptions from the Pekingese standard are to be observed in several single words as in 客=*kêe*, 德, 得=*têe*, 說=*hsüe*.

IV.—Viewed from our stand-point the dialect of *Ping-yang-fu* is pretty regular. A tendency to substitute initial *sh* for *s* and to pronounce the termination *un* with a very full, pouting vowel = *wun* appears from the syllabary.

The two principal points of difference from the Pekingese, however, are:

(1.) the change of initial *shu* to *fu*,

(2) the change of initial *ju* to *wu*.

The physiological process which turns *shu* into *fu* is not confined to China only. In Germany one can often hear little children say: *Fanz* instead of *Schwanz* and *Fester* instead of *Schwester*, just as a native of Ping-yang unable to pronounce *shuan* and *shuei* says *fan* and *fu*. (This last irregular form is *fei* at *P'u chou*). Owing to a certain laziness in articulating, the consonant *sh* is dropped, and the emphasis inherent in the *tenuis sh* transferred on the following and semi-vowel *w* which from a *media* becomes a *tenuis f*. The initial *j*, being the *media* of *sh*, when dropped does not affect the semi-vowel *w*. The forms *fên* and *fêng*, *wên* and *wêng* point to original *shwên* and *shwêng*, *jwên* and *jwêng*, the prototypes of *fei* (Pu-chou) and *wei* must have been *shwei* and *jwei* not *shui* and *jui*.

V.—In addition to these two peculiarities which prevail throughout *P'u-chou-fu* likewise, this dialect still offers one more analogous change of sound, viz:

(3.) initial *chu* = *pfu*.

The strong and energetic double consonant *ch*, consisting of the *tenuis t* and the *tenuis sh*, when dying away leaves all his force to his successor the semi-vowel *w*. This soft semi-vowel thus intensified be-

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comes the strong double consonant *pf*, the German *pf* of *Kopf*, *Napf*, etc.

Another change concerning initials is:

(4.) initial *n*, except when preceding *i* and *ü*, becomes *l*.

As for finals, the transformations they undergo are as in *Tai-yuan-fu* exclusively due to the nasalizing of final *n* and *ng* which in some cases results in distracting the preceding vowel. Thus we find:

(1) ang = ånng (2) an = ä^{n} (3) in = i^{n} (4) ien = ie^{n} (5) ên = ei^{n} (6) un = wei^{n} (7) ün = üe^{n}.

The termination *ei*^{n} is to be pronounced like the Pekingese *ei* followed by an almost inaudible nasal sound.

The transliteration: 鳥 = *nyao*, 寧 = *nying*, 女 = *nyü*, means that *n* is *mouillé*.

Quite irregularly pronounced are the words: 亂 = *yüan*^{n}, 倫 = *yüe*^{n}, 虐 = *hsüe*, 弄 = *wo*, 波 = *pi*, 槍 = *ch'ei*^{n}, 謬 = *liao*.

On account of these many points of difference from the Pekingese dialect, this idiom becomes very difficult to comprehend for a Pekingese. It may happen in conversation that out of half a dozen phrases he does not understand a single one.

SHENSI.

Whereas the idiom spoken at *Hsi-an-fu* is very much the same as the P'u-chou dialect, especially as far as initials are concerned, the dialect of *Lin-tung-hsien*, about 50 Li eastward, and of *Lan-tien-hsien* about 100 Li distant from the capital, differ no more from the Mandarin than does for instance the dialect of *Shun-tê-fu* in the south of the province of Chili. According to Dr. Edkins' account of the Kansu dialect (China Review, Vol. xvii, 1888/89, page 173) the same is true of that dialect. At *Lan-chou-fu* we remark the singular initial changes peculiar to *Ping-yang*, and in its vicinity at *Ho-chou* the Pekingese sounds are preserved. That initial *ju*, *shu* and *chu* are older than their correlatives *wu*, *fu* and *pfu* is evident from the fact that, first, they are common to the majority of Chinese dialects; secondly, that the initials *j*, *sh* and *ch* exist before all other vowels except *u*, in Puchou also. It would be difficult to understand why they should have been wanting before this vowel from the beginning. Moreover, the transformations as explained above are in accordance with the general law of the degeneracy of sound which is at work in every language. How are we to account for the transition of sounds as easy of pronunciation as *w*, *f* and *pf*, into others which it requires much greater effort to articulate? Therefore I hold that the modern dialect of *Lin-tung* and not that of *Hsi-an* proper is to be regarded as the offspring of the former court dialect spoken during many centuries at the old capital of the Chou, Han, and Sui dynasties.

The main points of departure from the actual Mandarin are the following:—

(1.) *j* preceding *u* remains *j* or changes to *z*. At *Lan-tien* this last is the rule.

The sound of 如 = *jj* or *zz* is not *jï* or *zï* but a single consonant vibrating a short while without being followed by a vowel.

瑞 becomes *sui* in Lan-tien.

(2.) Initial *sh* and *ch* often turn into *s* and *ts*, as a rule when standing before *u*.

In *Lan-tien*, but not in *Lin-tung*, initial *ti* frequently becomes *chi*. Conversely at *Lan-tien* the termination *an* and *ang* are pure, at Lin-tung nasalized.

Very singular is the pronounciation of 日 at both places namely *êrh*.

非 has in *Lan-tien* the sound *fi*, 賢 = *hsuan*, 出 = *tsë*, 奴, 粗, and 士 are *nou*, *tsou* and *t'ou*, 鑽 and 攢 are *tsan* and *t'san*, 窘 and 窮 = *chiüng* and *ch'iüng*.

HONAN.

From *Tung-kuan* eastward, the Honan dialect is still under the influence of the *P'u-chou* pronunciation, which, however, ceases completely at *Shên-chou*. The dialect of *Honanfu* is still nearer the Pekingese than that of *Lin-tung*. The initial consonants *sh* and *ch* have lost less ground to *s* and *ts* than is the case at Tientsin. In some instances a tendency to pronounce

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final *ai* as *ei* may be observed. The sounds of 德, 得, 則, 册 *täi, t'äi tsäi t'säi* seem to be further developments of the forms *tei, t'ei, tsei, t'sei* occurring in other dialects, 得 = *tei* even in Peking. The forms *t'sin* = 親 and *t'sing* = 清 prove that in former times a difference between *ki* and *ts* was made.

I regret that, on account of the excessive curiosity of the people, which did not always bear a very friendly character, I could take no notes on the dialect of *K'ai fêng-fu*. As far as I can judge from conversations I had with natives, it must be almost identical with the Pekingese. Both at *Honanfu* and *K'ai-fêng-fu* a Pekingese can converse with the same facility as in Peking. The Chinese themselves are conscious of this similarity, for in P'u-chou I heard people say that I spoke just like a Honan man.

SHANTUNG.

I.—It is only in words terminating in *an*, *ang* and *ien* which undergo the common change to *ä^{n}*, *ang* and *ie^{n}*, and in the final *ai* which often becomes *ei*, that the idiom of *Chi-nan-fu* does not agree with the Pekingese. As stated above, there is no elimination of initial *ch* and *sh* to be noticed.

Single instances of irregular pronunciation are: 龍 = *liung* and 鳥 = *mio*.

II.—The dialect of *Têng-chou-fu* distinguishes between initial *'h* and *s*, *k* and *ts*, and changes initial *j* to *y*. Besides it possesses a sibilant of its own *sh*, a sound lying midway between *sh* and *hs*, which frequently takes the place of initial *sh*.

In some few cases *sh* and *ch* are substituted for initial *s* and *ts*: 色 森 所 = *shê, shên, sho*, 譭 册 = *ch êu, ch'ê*, but never but never does the reversed case take place.

我 and 五 have a pure vowel sound without a prefixed *w* = *o* and *u*.

With reference to finals, the following changes occur occasionally.

(1.) *an* and *nan* become *ên* and *nên*; 然 = *yên*, 欄 = *lên*, 盤 = *p'ên*, 單 = *tên*, 談 = *t'ên*, 鑽 = *tsuên* 攢 = *ts'uên*, 傳 = *chuên*, 窄 = *ch'uên*. In 短 = *tên* and 團 = *t ên* the inner vowel *u* is dropped besides.

Other words like: 反, 汗, 換, 官 etc. are pronounced as in Peking.

(2.) Final *un* = *ên*: 倫, 孫, 尊, 村, = *lên, sên, tsên, ts'ên*, whereas 混, 棍, 順, 鈍 etc. are all regular.

(3.) Final *uei* = *ei*: 雖, 罪, 催, 對, 退 = *sei, tsei, ts'ei, tei, te'i* but 回, 歸, 虧, 水, 追, 吹 have preserved the *u*.

The sounds of 身 and 眞 = *shin* and *chin* are probably old ones as they occur in the Hakka dialect, and in Korea and Japan which, as far as finals go, seem to have departed less from the old language.

ANHUI.

In the dialect of Ho-fei-hsien (*Lü-chou-fu*) the changes affecting initials and finals are very numerous. It is to be noted that:

(1.) Initial *nn* becomes *j* and sometimes *w*: 阿 = *wo*, 鵝 = *wu*. Initial *j* remains unchanged, only when preceding an *u* it changes in some instances to *w* or *y*: 如 = *wu*, 戎 = *yung*.

(2.) Before all vowels except *i* and *ü*, initial *n* turns into *l*; when followed by *i* or *ü* it becomes intensified by the addition of the dental *d*, e.g. 娘 = *ndiang*, 虐 = *ndüe*, 女 = *ndü*.

(3.) Words commencing with *li* or *lü* also substitute *nd* for *l*: 兩 = *ndiang*, 略 = *ndüe*.

(4.) By a similar process initial *mi* changes to *mbi*, *b* being the sonant of the labial series to which *m* belongs. By analogy 抹 and 木 also are both pronounced *mboh*.

In 里 = *ndzi* and 米 = *mbzz* a soft *z* is still inserted after *d* and *b*, in 米 moreover the vowel sound is lost altogether and the *z* vibrated, which I designate by a double *z*. Analogous forms are: 比 = *pzz*, 批 = *p'zz*, 底 = *tzz* and 提 = *t'zi*.

(5.) *Ch* before *i* and *ü* has a more hissing sound than in Peking; I therefore write *chsi* and *chsü*.

Quite irregular are: 二 = *ga* and 羽 =

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gsü. In finals the following regular changes take place:

(1.) *ao* is pronounced like a very deep and flat *â*.

(2.) *ou* sounds like a deep *ô*.

(3.) *ung* changes to *ong*.

(4.) *ing* is shortened to *in*.

(5.) *ien* becomes *īn*, that is to say the diphthong *ie* is contracted into a long *ī*. Of *n* there is generally only a feeble nasal sound left.

(6.) *uan* becomes *ue*^{n}. The accent which in Peking lies on the vowel *a* falls on the *u*. The nasal sometimes is distinct, sometimes almost inaudible. 軟 sounds like *jŏn*, with a long *o* than *jüen*.

As occasional changes, there are to be mentioned:

(1.) *ai* as a rule becomes the German *ä* e.g. 海=*hä*, 乖=*kuä*, very seldom *ei*: 來=*lei*, 耐=*lei*.

(2.) *uei* often changes to *ei*.

(3.) *uo* to *ú*, a vowel savouring a good deal of *o*. e.g. 豁=*hú*, 鍋=*kú*.

(4.) *an* and *ang* are in many cases nasalized, *an* is in some instances transformed into *on*: 盤=*p'o*^{n}, 沾=*chou*, 完=*wo*^{n}.

(5.) *êng* frequently turns into *ên*.

(6.) *un* appears sometimes in its fuller form *uen*, the accent falling on the second vowel e.g. 棍=*kuen*, 順=*shuen*, sometime *uen* is contracted to *ên*: 倫=*'ên*, 孫=*sên*, 尊=*tsên*, 吞=*t'ên*.

NANKING.

The Nankingese is richer in sounds than the Pekingese, in so far as it distinguishes between words beginning with the initials *hsi* and *si*, *chi* and *tsi*. The sound *ch* before *i* and *ü* is a little more guttural than at Peking, but much less than in *Ch'i-chou* and *Têng-chou-fu*, and it would be incorrect to transliterate it with *k*. *Hs* has the same sound as in Peking.

Instead of initial *n* we very often find *l*, or perhaps we had better say that this consonant partakes of both *n* and *l* so that it is impossible to determine its true character according to a foreign alphabet. The change of initial *l* to *n* is less frequently met with. This *n* has likewise a strong admixture of *l*.

Initial *s* may stand for *sh* and *ts* for *ch*, but very seldom. The omission of initial *w* is to be noticed in some instances: 五, 我, 翁=*u*, *o*, *ong*.

As regards finals it is to be observed that along with the forms *chie* and *'hie* run *chiai* and *'hiai*, which are lost in the Peking dialect, e.g. 結=解=*chiai*, 歇=*'hieh*, 鞋=*'hiai*, 日=*yuai* seems to be formed by analogy.

Final *no* is severally contracted to *o* which might be written *ú* as well, being as much akin to *u* as to *o*, e.g. 鍋=*kú*, 說=*shóh*.

Some final changes are due to the entering tone, that is to say the vowels of originally entering tone words have become fuller in Pekingese by distraction. Thus we have 佛=*fuh* and *fo*, 白=*peh*, and *pai*, 北=*pöh* and *pei*, 學=*hsioh* and *hsi o* or *hsüe*. In words like 削 and 月 *h üeh* and *yüeh* the accent falls on the short *e*, whereas in Peking it lies on the long *ü*. which in the Nankingese is very short. The same rule holds good for the termination *ie* bearing the entering tone. Here the *i* is so short that it becomes almost inaudible, while the final vowel *e* is broadened by the accent to *ei*: 列=*lieih*, 滅=*mieih*, 別=*pieih* 碟=*tieih* etc.

By nasalizing the final syllables, *an*, *ên*, *in* change to *ang*, *êng*, *ing*, *uang*. Contrariwise *uan un* remains unchanged, *ün* becomes *üin*. As *ung* sounds very much like *ong* I write it *úng*.

TONES.

A comparison of the tones of various dialects presents no small difficulties. Differences in pronunciation can be transliterated with a fair accuracy by means of our alphabet, but how are we to describe the tones in an unmistakable way? The theoretical names of the 4 Pekingese tones: upper-even, lower-even, rising, and departing, do not teach us much about their nature and are to a certain extent even misleading. It can hardly be said that the pitch of the lower-even is less elevated than that of the upper-

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even, on the contrary, nor are both even tones even, but they resemble very much the departing and rising tones. Dr. Edkins in his Shanghai Grammar (page 11) characterises the 上平 *upper-even* tone as upper, even or upper, quick, falling, the 上聲 *rising* as lower, quick, rising, the 去聲 *departing* tone as lower, quick, falling, and the 下平 *lower-even* as lower, quick, rising. This classification does not throw much light on the differences of these 4 tones. In my opinion there is no such distinction as an upper and lower series in Pekingese, nor can I consider 上 and 去聲 as *quickly* rising and *quickly* falling.

The only means to set forth the characteristics of each tone is to give its corresponding notes. Tones are not musical notes, but so to say notes stripped of their peculiar *timbre*, skeletons of notes. Like these they differ as to their pitch and time and according whether their pitch remains even, rises or falls. Accordingly we have single notes and combinations of two or three slurred notes. I confess that I do not quite understand the objections of the writer on Chinese tones (Chinese Repository, Vol. VI, page 581) who regards the representation of the *rising* and *departing* tones by slurred notes as a misconception, stating that in enouncing these tones the voice ascends and descends in a sliding manner but not in a *diastematic* or musical way. Even if this be the case, that the voice does not pass with one step one note to the other, but slides over those lying between, yet these two or three notes can serve us as mark posts showing the point of departure and the end, and informing us whether the way was ascending, descending, or circumflex. That is all we want to characterize the tone.

A musical notation of the Chinese tones has been attempted by several scholars. Endlicher in his Anfangsgründe der Chinesischen Grammatik (page 125) asserts, I do not know on whose authority, that the *upper-even* lies one octave higher than the *lower-even* and that in the *rising* and the *departing* tones the voice rises and falls 4 notes. This may be true of some Chinese dialects, of the Peking and the Nanking idiom it is not. Whether there is any part of China where, as Kircher supposes, the 5 tones just happen to be the first 5 notes of an octave seems to me very doubtful. As the views of other writers on this subject are unknown to me, their work not being at my disposal, I shall venture to fix the value of the 4 Pekingese tones as they appear to my ear.

I. 上平. When enouncing the *upper-even* tone the voice remains for a certain time at the pitch of the note *G* and then abruptly falls to *C*. *G* is a three-sixteenth note, *C* a semi-quaver.

II. 下平. The so called *lower-even* is a quickly rising tone. From the semi-quaver *G* the voice ascends to the quaver *B*. This tone is by one semi-quaver shorter than the others.

III. 上聲. In the *rising tone* the voice rises slowly from the three-sixteenth note *C* to the semi-quaver *F*.

IV. 去聲. The voice when uttering the *departing* tone descends slowly from the three-sixteenth note *E* to the semi-quaver *C*.

The time given for the slurred notes is only approximate, the proportion of the duration of the two slurred notes indicating the manner in which the voice rises or falls, whether quickly or slowly. The time is much shortened when a tone has not the accent.

Hence we can designate the 4 tones as follows:—

I. GC=

II. GB=

III. CF=

IV. EC=

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Notes written with small letters are semi-quavers.

(1) In *Tientsin* the first, second and fourth tones are the same with the above and it is only the third which differs. It is both higher and less drawling than the Pekingese third and may be represented by the quaver *E* slurred with the semi quaver *G*.

(2) The *Ch'i-chou* first and fourth tones are regular. Words pronounced in Peking with the third tone have at Ch'i-chou the second. On the other hand second tone words are in the Ch'i-chou idiom mostly uttered with the fourth tone, sometimes with the first e.g. 茶, 孩, 益 = *ts'a*^{1}, *hai*^{1}, *yi*^{1}, very seldom with the second e. g. 回 = *hui*^{2}. Thus the total number of tones actually spoken is reduced to three.

(3) Of the tones used in *Honan-fu* I can only speak with some reserve, my examples gathered there being too scarce to allow of any categorical statement. From those I have collected I infer that many words pronounced with the first tone at Peking are at *Honan-fu* in the second, that the fourth tone stands often for the second, the second and fourth for the third, and the second for the fourth. A characteristic instance for the change of tones in this idiom is the compound word 買賣 spoken *mei*^{4}-*mai*^{2}. It is not impossible that this dialect has but two tones: the second and the fourth. The third tone seems to be quite ignored. When I enounced some words in the third tone to point out the difference, I was told by a Honan scholar that those words ought to be pronounced as I did, but that the Honanese could not.

(4) A peculiar intonation is given in *Chinan-fu* to many of those words which in Peking have the first tone e.g. to 江, 身, 貓, 村, 屋, 燒. It rises from the quaver *F* to the quaver *G*.

The words which preserve the first tone seem, however, to be in the majority. In like manner second tone words have at Chinan partly the second partly the fourth tone. Instead of the third tone we always find the second, the fourth is regular.

(5) For a percentage of words in the first tone at Peking e.g. 娼, 齊, 千, 批, 收, 通, 温 the *Têng-chou-fu* idiom has a very singular circumflese tone. From the quaver *A* the voice descends the to semi-quaver *F* and then rises again to the semi-quaver *G*. We use this tone very seldom in conversation. In German it serves to express mirth and astonishment. Supposing some persons sitting together in a room, when suddenly a mouse makes its appearance; he who first sees it will perhaps draw his companion's attention on this unusual visitor ejaculating in a circumflex tone: "(ne) Maŭs." It is also a tone of endearment though of seldom occurrence. A mother talking to her baby may show him a dog, an object of the greatest interest to an infantile mind, saying with an insinuating accent: "Sieh' mal, ein Hŭnd." *AFG* =

The second, third and fourth tones are the same as in Peking. The total number of tones in this dialect thus amounts to five.

(6) In the *Tai-yuan-fu* dialect the first and the third tone have run together. The voice rises from the quaver *D* to the semi-quaver *F*-*DF* =

The second tone is an even tone corresponding to the crotchet *G* =

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The fourth tone is much higher than the Peking fourth: from the high *C* being a three-sixteenth note, the voice descends to the lower *C*, semi-quaver *CC*=

As stated above this idiom has preserved the entering tone in some instances; words with the entering tone are only pronounced sherter and more abruptly than those having one of the three other long tones, like these they correspond to the three notes *DF*, *G* dnd *CC*: 德 and 得=tieh 2, 木=moh 4, 不=poh 4, 速=soh 4, 讀=toh 1 (3), t=chieh 4.

(7) The dialect of *Ho-fei-hsien* accords with the Pekingese in the fourth tone only. The first is the same as the first and third at *Tai-yuan* viz. *DF*.

The second is even and may be represented by the crotchet *A*=

A combination of the quaver *F* slurred with the semi-quaver *A* gives the third tone. *FA*=

(8) Apart from the entering tone, the first 4 Nanking tones are identical with those heard at Tientsin, the third tone is *EG* not *CF* as in Peking. The entering tone may be considered as an upper entering, for its corresponding note would be a short *G*.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF TONES.

Nominal Tones.		Chili. Peking.	Chili. Tien-tsin.	Shantung. Ch'i-chou.	Shantung. Chi-nan.	Shantung. Têng-chou.	Shansi. Tai-yuan.	An-hui. Ho-fei.	Kiang-su. Nan-king.	Honan. Honan.
1.	上平聲	*GC*	*GC*	*GC*	*GC, FG*	*GC, AFG*	*DF*	*DF*	*GC*	*GB*
2.	下平聲	*GB*	*GB*	*EC, GC, GB*	*GB, EC*	*GB*	*G*	*A*	*GB*	*EC*
3.	上聲	*CF*	*EG*	*GB*	*GB*	*CF*	*DF*	*FA*	*EG*	*GB, EC*
4.	去聲	*EC*	*EC*	*EC*	*EC*	*EC*	*CC*	*EC*	*EC*	*GB*
5.	入聲	—	—	—	—	—	*DF, G, GC*	—	*G*	—
Number of tones:		4	4	3	4	5	4	4	5	2 (?)

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	Chili.			*Shansi.*			*Shensi.*	*Honan.*	*Shantung.*		*Anhui.*	*Kiang-su.*
	Peking.	*Ch'i-chou.*	*Tientsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
阿	a, ga	—	nga	nga	nga	nga	nga	nga	nga	—	wo	—
哀	ai, gai	ngai	ngai	ngai	ngai	ngai	ngai	ngai	ngai	—	jä	—
安	an, gan	ngän	ngan	ngä	ngan	ngä^{n}	ngä^{n}	ngan	ngän	—	jə^{n}	ang
昂	ang, gang	ngang	ngang	ngâ	ngang	ngâng	ngang	ngang	ngang	—	jang	—
熬	ao, gao	ngao	ngao	ngao	ngao	ngao	ngao	ngao	ngao	—	jâ	—
乍	cha	tsa	tsa	tsa	cho	tsa	tsa	tsa	—	—	—	—
义	ch'a	ts'a	ts'a	—	—	ts'a	ts'a	ts'a	—	—	—	—
窄	chai	tsai	tsai	tsai	—	tsai	tsai	tsai	—	ché	tsê	tsai
差	ch'ai	ts'ai	ts'ai	—	—	ts'ai	ts'ai	ts'ai	—	—	ch'ä	—
沾	chan	chäu	tsan	chä	—	chä^{n}	chä^{n}	—	—	chên	chou	chang
產	ch'an	ch'än	ts'an	ch'ä	—	ts'ä^{n}	ts'ä^{n}	ts'an	—	ch'ên	—	ch'ang
章	chang	—	—	châ	—	châng	—	—	chang	—	chang	—
長	ch'ang	—	—	ch'â	—	ch'âng	—	—	ch'ang	—	ch'ang	—
找	chao	—	tsao	—	—	tsao	—	tsao	—	—	châ	—
抄	ch'ao	—	—	—	—	ts'ao	—	ts'ao	—	—	ch'â	—
這	chê	chêe	—	—	—	—	—	chêe	—	—	—	—
車	ch'ê	ch'êe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
眞	chên	—	—	chêng	—	chei^{n}	—	—	—	chin	—	chêng
沈	ch'ên	—	—	ch'êng	—	ch'ei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	—
正	chêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	chên	—
呈	ch'êng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ch'ên	—
奇	chi	kyi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyi	chsi	—
七	ch'i	ts'i	—	chie	—	—	—	—	—	ts'i	ch'si	ts'ih
知	chī	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
尺	chī	—	—	ch'ê	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
家	chia	kya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kya	chsia	—
恰	ch'ia	k'ya	—	ch'ie	—	—	—	—	—	k'ya	ch'süa	ch'iah
江	chiang	kyang	—	chiâ	—	chiâng	—	—	chiang	kyang	chsiang	—
槍	ch'iang	ts'iang	—	ch'iâ	—	ch'ei^{n}	—	—	ch'iang	ts'iang	ch'siang	ts'iang
叫	chiao	kyao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyao	chsiâ	—
巧	ch'ao	k'yao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'ao	ch'siâ	—
借	chie	tsie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsie	tsei	tsei
且	ch'ie	ts'ie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ie	chsi	ts'ieh
見	chien	kyen	—	chie	—	chie^{n}	—	—	chio^{n}	kyen	chsīn	—
千	ch'ien	ts'ien	—	ch'ie	—	ch ie^{n}	—	—	ch'ie^{n}	ts'ien	ch'sīn	—

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	Chili.			*Shansi.*			*Shensi.*	*Honan.*	*Shantung.*		*Anhui.*	*Kiang-su.*
	Peking.	*Ch'i-chou.*	*Tientsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Teng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
今	chin	kyin	—	ching	—	chi^{n}	—	—	—	kyin	chsin	ching
親	ch'in	ts'iu	—	ch'ing	—	ch'i^{n}	—	ts'in	—	ts'iu	ch'sin	ts'ing
京	ching	kying	—	--	—	—	—	—	—	kying	chsin	—
清	ch'ing	ts'ing	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ing	—	ts'ing	ch'siu	ts'ing
角	chio chiao chüo chüe	kyao	—	chüe	—	—	—	—	chia	kyo	chsüe	koh chiao
確	ch'io ch'üo ch'üe	k'yüe	—	ch'üe	—	—	—	—	—	k'yo	ch'süe	ch'ioh ch'iao
九	chiu	kyu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyu	chsiu	—
秋	ch'iu	ts'iu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'iu	ch'siu	ts'iu
窮	chiung	kyung	—	—	—	chiün	—	—	—	kyung	chsün	—
窮	ch'iung	k'yung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'yung	ch'siong	—
棹	cho	tso	tso	—	—	pto	—	—	—	—	chuo	choh
鐲	ch'o ch'uo	ts'o	—	—	—	pf'o	—	—	—	—	tsuo	ch'oh
州	chou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
臭	ch'ou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hsiu	—
句	chü	kyü	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyü	chsü	—
去	ch'ü	k'yü	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'yü	ch'sü	—
絶	chüe	tsüe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsüe	chsüe	tsüeh
缺	ch'üe	k'yüe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'yüe	ch'süe	ch'üeh
卷	chüan	kyüän	—	chüä	—	chüä^{n}	chuä^{n}	—	—	kyüen	chsüi^{n}	—
全	ch'üan	ts'üän	—	ch'üä	—	ch'üä^{n}	ts'uä^{n}	ts'üan	—	ts'üen	ch'süi^{n}	ts'üan
君	chün	kyün	—	chiung	—	chüe^{n}	—	—	—	kyün	chsün	chüin
羣	ch'ün	k'yün	—	ch'iung	—	ch'üe^{n}	—	ts'üu	—	k'yün	ch'sün	ch'üin
竹	chu	tsu	tsu	cho	—	tsou	tsou	—	—	chü	chsü	chuh
出	ch'u	ch'ü	—	ch'o	—	pf'u	—	—	—	ch'ü	ch'sü	ch'uh
抓	chua	tsuâ	tsua	—	—	pfa	tsua	—	—	—	—	—
欻	ch'ua	ts'uâ	ts'ua	—	—	pf'a	ts'ua	—	—	—	—	—
拽	chuai	tsuai	tsuai	—	—	pfai	tsuai	—	—	—	chüa	—
揣	ch'uai	ts'uai	ts'uai	—	—	pf'ai	ts'uai	—	—	—	ch'üa	—
傳	chuan	tsuan	—	chuä	—	pfa^{n}	tsuä^{n}	—	—	chuên	chue^{n}	—
穿	ch'uan	ts'uan	—	ch'uä	—	pf'a^{n}	ts'uä^{n}	—	—	ch'uên	ch'ue^{n}	—

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		Peking.	*Ch'i-chou*	*Tientsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
壯		chuang	tsuang	—	chuô	—	pfâng	tsang	—	chuang	—	chuang	chuan
窗		ch'uang	ts'uang	ts'uang	ch'uô	—	pf'äng	ts'ang	—	ch'uang	—	ch'uang	ch'uan
追		chuei chui	tsui	tsui	—	—	pfei	tsui	—	—	—	—	—
吹		ch'uei ch'ui	ts'ui	ts'ui	—	—	pf'ei	ts'ui	—	—	—	—	—
准		chun	tsun	—	chung	—	pfei^{n}	tsun	—	—	—	—	—
春		ch'un	ts'un	—	ch'ung	—	pf'ei^{n}	ts'un	—	—	—	—	—
中		chung	tsung	tsung	—	—	pfêng	tsung	—	—	—	chong	chúng
虫		ch'ung	ts'ung	ts'ung	—	ch'un	pf'êng	ts'ung	—	—	—	ch'ong	ch'úng
恩		ên gên	ngên	ngên	ngêng	ngên	ngei^{n}	ngên	ngên	ngên	—	jên	êng
二		êrh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ga	—
罰		fa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	fâh
反		fan	fän	—	fä	—	fä^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	fang
方		fang	—	—	fô	—	fâng	—	—	—	—	fang	—
非		fei	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
分		fên	—	—	fêng	—	fei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	fêng
風		fêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
佛		fo	—	—	fei	fu	—	—	fu	—	—	—	fuh
否		fou	—	—	—	fu	fu	fu	fu	—	—	fô	—
夫		fu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
哈		ha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
海		hai	—	—	—	—	hei	hei	—	—	—	hä	—
汗		han	hän	—	hä	—	hä^{n}	hä^{n}	hä^{n}	—	—	ha^{n}	hang
行		hang	—	—	hâ	—	hâng	—	—	hang	—	hang	—
好		hao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hâ	—
黑		hei	—	—	hê	—	—	—	—	—	—	hê	hêh
恨		hên	—	—	hêng	—	hei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	hêng
哼		hêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hên	—
合		ho	—	—	hâ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hoh
後		hou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hô	—
互		hu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
話		hua	huâ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
懷		huai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	huä	—
換		huan	huän	—	huä	—	huä^{n}	huä^{n}	—	—	—	hue^{n}	—

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		Peking.	*Ch'i chou.*	*Tien-tsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
號	huang	—	—	huŏ	—	huâng	—	—	huang	—	huang	huan
同	huei / bui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
混	hun	—	—	hung	hwun	huei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	—
烘	hung	—	—	—	—	hwung	—	—	—	—	hong	—
豁	huo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hu	hoh
西	hsi	si	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	si	—	si
瞎	hsia	'hia	—	—	ha, hsia	ha'	—	—	—	'hia	—	—
相	hsiang	siang	—	hsiâ	—	hsiâng	—	—	hsiang	siang	hsiang	siang
削	hsiao	siao	hsiu	—	hsio	—	—	—	—	sio	hsio	süeh
歇	hsie	'hie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	'hie	—	hsieh
先	hsien	sien	—	hsie	—	hsie^{n}	—	—	hsie^{n}	sien	hsi^{n}	sien
心	hsin	sin	—	hsing	—	hsi^{n}	—	—	—	sin	—	sing
星	hsing	sing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sing	hsin	sing
學	hsio / hsiao / hsüe / hsüo	'hiao	—	hsie	—	—	—	—	—	'hio	hsüe	hsioh
休	hsiu	'hiu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	'hiu	—	—
兄	hsiung	'hiung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	'hiung	—	—
虛	hsü	'hü	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	'hü	—	—
靴	hsüe	'hüe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	'hüe	hsü	—
宣	hsüen / hsüan	süa^{n}	—	hsüä	—	hsüä^{n}	—	—	—	süan	hsüe^{n}	—
熏	hsün	'hün	—	hsiung	—	hsüe^{n}	—	—	—	'hün	—	hsüin
一	yi, i	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ih
然	jan	yän	—	jä	—	jä^{n}	—	—	—	yên	—	jing
嚷	jang	yang	—	jà	—	jâng	—	—	—	yang	jang	—
饒	jao	yao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yao	jâ	—
惹	jê	no	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yĕ	jê, gâ	—
人	jên	yin	—	jêng	—	jei^{n}	—	—	—	yên	—	jêng
扔	jêng	ying	—	—	—	—	—	—	lêng	lêng	jên	—
若	jo	yao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yo	—	joh
肉	jou	you	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	you	jô	—
如	ju	yü	—	—	wu	wu	jj, zz	—	—	yü	wu	—
軟	juan	yuän	—	juä	wan	wä^{n}	jan, zan	—	—	yuên	jōn	—

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	Peking.	*Ch'i-chou.*	*Tientsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng chou.*	*Ho fei.*	*Nanking.*
瑞	juei, jui	lui	—	—	wei	fei	jui, zui	shui, jui	—	shui	shui	—
閏	jun	lun	lin	jung	wên	wei^{n}	jên, zên	—	—	yün	jên	—
毬	jung	yung	—	—	wêng	wêng	zêng	—	—	yung	yung	—
日	jï	yï	—	jê	—	—	êrh	—	—	yï	jê	jih
嘎	ka	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	chia	—
該	kai	—	—	—	—	kei	—	kei	—	—	kä	—
開	k'ai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'ä	—
乾	kan	kän	—	kä	—	kä^{n}	kä^{n}	—	—	—	—	kang
刊	k'an	k'än	—	k ä	—	k'ä^{n}	k'ä^{n}	—	—	—	k'o	k'ang
剛	kang	—	—	kâ	—	kâng	—	—	kang	—	kang	—
康	k'ang	—	—	k'â	—	k'âng	—	—	k'ang	—	k'ang	—
高	kao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kâ	—
烤	k'ao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'â	—
給	kei	käi	—	—	—	chi	—	—	—	kyi	—	—
根	kên	—	—	kêng	—	kei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	kêng
肯	k'ên	—	—	k'êng	—	k'ei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	k'eng
更	kêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kên	—
坑	k'êng	k'ang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'ang	k'ang	—
哥	ko, kê	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
科	kou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
鈎	k'o, k'è	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kô	—
口	k'ou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'ô	—
姑	ku	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
哭	k'u	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'uh
瓜	kua	kuâ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
誇	k'ua	k'uâ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
乖	kuai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kuä	—
擺	k'uai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'uä	—
官	kuan	kuän	—	kuä	—	kuä^{n}	—	—	—	—	kuen	—
寬	k'uan	k'uän	—	k'uä	—	k'uä^{n}	—	—	—	—	k'uen	—
光	kuang	—	—	kuô	—	kuâng	—	—	kuang	—	kuang	kuan
匡	k'uang	—	—	k'uô	—	k'uâng	—	—	k'uang	—	k'uang	k'uan
歸	kuei, kui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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虧	k'uei, k'ui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
棍	kun	—	—	kwung	kwun	kuei^{n}	—	kwun	—	—	kuen	—
昆	k'un	—	—	k'wung	—	k'uei^{n}	—	k'wun	—	—	k'uen	—
工	kung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kong	—
空	k'ung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'ong	—
鍋	kuo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kú	kó
闊	k'uo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	k'o	—	k'uoh
拉	la	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
來	lai	läi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lei	—
攔	lan	län	—	lä	—	lä^{n}	lä^{n}	—	—	lên	—	lang
狼	lang	—	—	lâ	—	lâng	—	—	lang	—	—	—
老	lao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lâ	—
勒	lê	—	—	—	—	lei	lei	lei	—	—	—	lêh
雷	lei	lui	—	—	—	—	—	lui	—	—	—	lui
冷	lêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lên	nêng
里	li	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndzi	—
兩	liang	—	—	liâ	—	liâng	—	—	liang	—	ndiang	niang
了	liao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndiâ	—
列	lie	—	—	—	—	—	—	lei, lie	—	—	ndie	lieih
連	lien	—	—	lie	lian	lie^{n}	—	—	lie^{n}	—	ndi^{n}	nien
林	lin	—	—	ling	—	li^{n}	—	—	—	—	ndiu	ling
伶	ling	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndin	—
略	lio, liao, lüe, lüo	—	—	—	—	lo	lo	—	—	—	ndüe	lou
六	liu	—	—	—	lü	—	—	lu	—	liu, lu	lu	luh
羅	lo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lu	—
樓	lou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lô	—
綠	lü	—	—	lo	lou	lou	lou	lu	—	lu	lö	luh
路	lu	—	—	lou	lou	lou	lou	—	—	—	—	—
亂	luan	—	lan, luan	luä	—	yüä^{n}	—	—	—	lan	lue^{n}	—
倫	lun	—	—	liung	lün	yüe^{n}	lün	lün	—	lên	lên	—
龍	lung	—	—	—	lêng	lêng	—	liung	liung	—	lêng	—
馬	ma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
買	mai	—	—	—	—	—	—	mei	mei	mei	mei	—

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滿	man	män	—	mä	—	mä^{n}	mä^{n}	—	—	—	mo	mang
忙	mang	—	—	mâ	—	mâng	—	—	mang	—	mang	—
毛	mao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mâ	—
每	mei	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mäi
門	mên	—	—	mêng	—	mei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	mêng
夢	mêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
米	mi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mbzz	—
苗	miao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mbiâ	—
滅	mie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mbie	meih
棉	mien	—	—	mie	—	mie^{n}	—	—	mie^{n}	—	mbi^{n}	—
民	min	—	—	—	—	mi^{n}	—	—	—	—	mbin	ming
明	ming	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mbin	—
謬	miu niu	miao	—	—	—	liao	—	—	—	—	ndiu	miao
抹	mo	—	—	—	—	mei	—	—	—	—	mboh	mah
某	mou	mu	mou mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	—	mu	—	—
木	mu	—	—	moh	—	—	—	—	—	—	mboh	muh
拿	na	—	—	—	—	la	—	—	—	—	la	la
耐	nai	—	—	—	—	lai	—	—	nei	—	lei	lai
難	nan	nän	—	nä	—	lä^{n}	nä^{n}	—	nän	—	lan	lang
囊	naug	—	—	nâ	—	lâng	—	—	nang	—	lang	lang
腦	nao	—	—	—	—	lao	—	—	—	—	lâ	lao
內	nei	—	—	—	—	lui	lui	nui	—	—	lei	lui
嫩	nên nun	lun	—	nêng	—	lei^{n}	—	lun	lên	lên	lên	lun
能	nêng	—	—	—	—	lêng	—	—	—	—	lên	—
你	ni	—	—	—	nyi	—	—	—	nyi	—	ndi	—
娘	niang	—	—	niâ	—	niâng	—	—	niang	—	ndiang	—
鳥	niao	—	—	—	—	nyao	—	nyao	mio	—	ndiâ	—
捏	nie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndie	leih
年	nien	nie^{n}	—	nie	—	nie^{n}	—	—	nie^{n}	—	ndīn	—
您	nin	—	—	ning	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndīn	—
寧	ning	—	—	—	—	nying	—	nying	—	—	ndin	lin
虐	nio, nüe nüo	yüe	—	yüe	yŏ	hsüe	—	yo	—	yo	ndüe	nüoh loh

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牛	niu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ndiu	liu
挪	no	—	—	—	—	lo	—	—	—	na	lo	lo
耨	nou	—	—	—	—	lou	—	—	—	lu	lô	—
女	nü	—	—	nyü	nyü	nyü	—	—	nyü	—	ndü	lü
奴	nu	—	—	nou	nou	lou	—	—	—	—	lu	lu
暖	nuan	nuän	nan / nuan	nuä	nan	luä^{n}	luä^{n}	—	—	nan	luen	luan
弄	nung	—	—	—	lung	wo	lung	—	—	lung	long	lung
鵝	o, go	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	—	wu	—
偶	ou, gou	ngou	ngou	ngou	ngou	ngou	ngou	ngou	ngou	—	jô	—
八	pa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pah
怕	p'a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
白	pai	—	—	—	pŏ	—	pei	pei	pei	po	po	peh
派	p'ai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
板	pan	pä^{n}	—	pä	—	pä^{n}	pä^{n}	—	—	—	—	pang
盤	p'an	p'ä^{n}	—	p'ä	—	p'ä^{n}	p'ä^{n}	—	—	p'ên	p'o^{n}	p'ang
帮	pang	—	—	pâ	—	pâng	—	—	pang	—	pang	—
旁	p'ang	—	—	p'â	—	p'âng	—	—	p'ang	—	p'ang	—
保	pao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pâ	—
炮	p'ao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p'â	—
北	pei	—	—	päi	—	—	—	—	—	pöh	poh	pöh
賠	p'ei	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
本	pên	—	—	pêng	—	pei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	pêng
盆	p'ên	—	—	p'êng	—	p'ei^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	p'êng
迸	pêng	—	—	—	ping	ping	—	ping	—	ping	pin	—
朋	p'êng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
比	pi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pzz	—
批	p'i	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p'zz	—
表	piao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	piâ	—
票	p'iao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p'iâ	—
別	pie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	peih
撇	p'ie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	p'eih
邊	pien	—	—	pie	—	pie^{n}	—	—	pie^{n}	—	pi^{n}	—
翩	p'ien	—	—	p'ie	—	p'ie^{n}	—	—	p'ie^{n}	—	p'i^{n}	—
賓	pin	—	—	ping	—	pi^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	ping
品	p'in	—	—	p'ing	—	p'i^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	p'ing

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兵平波破剖不舖洒塞三喪掃色森僧所搜速賀雖孫送四沙晒山上少射身生收書	ping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	p'ing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	po	—	—	—	—	—	pi	—	—	—	—	—	—
	p'o	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	pou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	pô	—
	pu	—	—	poh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	peh	puh
	p'u	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	sa	—	—	—	sha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	sai	—	—	tsai	sê	—	tsai	—	—	—	—	sê, chä	—
	san	sä^{n}	—	sä	—	sä^{n}	sä^{n}	—	—	—	—	sä^{n}	sang
	sang	—	—	sâ	—	sâng	—	—	sang	—	—	sang	—
	sao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sâ	—
	sê, shai	sai	—	sa	shê	—	sei	—	shai	shê	—	sêh	
	sêu	—	—	sêng	shên	sei^{n}	—	—	—	shên	—	sêng	
	sêng	shêng	—	tsêng	—	tsêng	tsêng	—	—	—	—	sên	—
	so	—	so, sho	—	sho	sou	—	sho	—	sho	—	—	—
	sou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sô	—
	su	—	—	soh	sou	sou	—	—	—	—	—	—	suh
	suan	suän	—	suä	—	hsüä^{n}	suä^{n}	—	—	—	—	sue^{n}	—
	suei, sui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sei	sei
	sun	—	—	sung	swun	hsüe^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	sên	sên
	sung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	song	—
	ssï	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	sha	sa	sa	sa	—	sa	sa	sa	—	—	—	—	—
	shai	sai	sai	sai	—	—	sai	sai	—	—	—	—	—
	shan	sä^{n}	sau	shä	—	hsi	san	sau	—	—	—	—	shang
	shang	—	—	shâ	—	shâng	—	—	—	shang	shang	shâ	—
	shao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	shao	shâ	—	—
	shê, shï	sie	—	—	—	hsie	—	—	shi	shêe	shei	—	—
	shên	—	—	shêng	—	shei^{n}	—	—	—	shin	—	shêng	
	shêng	—	sêng	sêng	sêng, shêng	sêng	sêng	sêng	—	shêng	sên	sêng	
	shou	—	—	—	—	—	sou	—	—	shiu	shô	—	
	shu	shü	—	—	fu	fu	ssě	shě	—	shü	—	—	

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刷	shua	sua	sua	—	fa	fa	sua	—	—	—	—	shuah
拴	shuai	suai	suai	suo	fai	fai	suai	—	—	—	suä	—
雙	shuan	suän	suan	shuä	fan	fa^{n}	suä^{n}	—	—	—	chüi^{n}	—
水	shuang	suang	suang	shuô	fang	fâng	suang	—	shuang	—	shuang	shuan
順	shuei / shui	sui	sui	—	fu	fei	sui	—	—	—	—	—
說	shun	sun	—	shwung	fên	fei^{n}	sun	shuen	—	—	shuen	—
十	shuo / shue	—	—	—	fo	fo, hsüe	suo	—	—	shüo	—	shoh
大	shī	—	—	shê	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	shih
他	ta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
代	t'a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'a, t'o	—	—
太	tai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tä	—
單	t'ai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'ä	—
談	tan	tän	—	tä	—	tä^{n}	ta^{n}	—	—	tên	—	tang
當	t'an	t'än	—	t'ä	—	t'ä^{n}	t'ä^{n}	—	—	t'ên	—	t'ang
堂	tang	—	—	tâ	—	tâng	—	—	tang	—	tang	—
刀	t'ang	—	—	t'â	—	t'âng	—	—	t'ang	—	t'ang	—
逃	tao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tâ	—
德	t'ao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'â	—
特	tê	tei	—	tieh	tei	tei	tei	täi	—	—	—	têh
等	t'ê	t'ei	—	—	—	t'ei	t'ei	t'äi	—	—	—	t'êh
疼	têng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tên	—
底	t'êng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'ên	—
提	ti	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tzz	—
刁	t'i	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'zi	—
條	tiao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tiâ	—
碟	t'iao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'iâ	—
鐵	tie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	teih
點	t'ie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'eih
添	tien	—	—	tio	—	tie^{n}	—	—	tie^{n}	—	tīu	—
丁	t'ien	—	—	t'ie	—	t'ie^{n}	—	—	t'ie^{n}	—	t'īu	—
聽	ting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tin	—
丟	t'ing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'in	—
多	tiu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	to	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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托	t'o	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	to'h
豆	tou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tô	—
頭	t'ou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'ô	—
雜	tsa	cha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsah
揩	ts'a	ch'a	—	—	ch'a	—	—	—	—	—	ch'a	ts'ah
在	tsai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsä	—
才	ts'ai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ä	—
讚	tsan	—	—	tsä	—	$ts\ddot{a}^{n}$	$ts\ddot{a}^{n}$	—	—	—	—	tsang
趲	ts'an	—	—	chä	—	$ts'\ddot{a}^{n}$	$ts'\ddot{a}^{n}$	—	—	ch'ên	—	ts'ang
葬	tsang	chang	—	sâ	—	$ts\hat{a}ng$	—	—	tsang	—	tsang	tsan
倉	ts'ang	ch'ang	—	ts'â	—	$ts'\hat{a}ng$	—	—	ts'ang	—	ts'ang	ts'an
早	tsao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsâ	—
草	ts'ao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'â	—
則	tsê	tsei	—	$ts^{\hat{a}}$	—	tsei	tsei	tsäi	—	—	—	tsêh
册	ts'ê	—	—	$ts'^{\hat{a}}$	—	—	ts'a	ts'äi	—	ch'ê	—	ts'êh
賊	tsei	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsê	tseh / tsui
怎	tsên	chên	—	tsai	—	$tsei^{n}$	—	—	—	—	—	tsĕng
參	ts'ên	shên	—	ts'êng	—	$ts'ei^{n}$	—	—	—	—	—	ts'êng
曾	tsêng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsên	—
層	ts'êng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ên	—
昨	tso	tsa	—	tsâ	—	tsa	—	—	—	—	—	—
錯	ts'o	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
走	tsou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsô	—
湊	ts'ou	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ô	—
租	tsu	—	—	—	tsou	tsou	tsou	—	chu	—	—	—
粗	ts'u	—	—	—	ts'ou	ts'ou	ts'ou	—	—	—	—	—
鑽	tsuan	tsau	—	tsuä	—	$tsu\ddot{a}^{n}$	$tsu\ddot{a}^{n}$	—	—	tsuên	tsuen	tsang
攢	ts'uan	—	—	ts'uä	—	$ts'u\ddot{a}^{n}$	$ts'u\ddot{a}^{n}$	—	—	ts'uên	ts'uen	—
罪	tsuei / tsui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsei	—	—
催	ts'uei / ts'ui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ei	ts'ei	—
尊	tsun	—	—	tsung	—	$tsui^{n}$	—	—	—	tsên	tsên	—
村	ts'un	—	—	ts'ung	—	$ts'ui^{n}$	—	—	—	ts'ên	ts'ên	—
總	tsung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tsong	tsung

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	Chili.			*Shansi.*			*Shensi.*	*Honan.*	*Shantung.*		*Anhui.*	*Kiang-su.*
	Peking.	*Ch'i chou.*	*Tien-tsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
從	ts'ung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ts'ong	ts'ung
子	tsë	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
此	ts'ë	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
都	tu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
土	t'u	—	—	—	—	—	t'ou	—	—	—	—	—
短	tuan	tuän	—	tuä	—	tua^{n}	tuä^{n}	—	—	tên	tue^{n}	—
團	t'uan	t'uän	—	t'uä	—	t'ua^{n}	t'uä^{n}	—	—	t'ên	t'ue^{n}	—
對	tuei tui	—	—	—	--	—	—	—	--	tei	tei	—
退	t'uei t'ui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'ei	t'ei	—
鈍	tun	—	—	tung	—	tuei^{n}	—	—	—	—	tên	—
吞	t'un	—	—	t'ong	—	t'uei^{n}	—	—	—	—	t'ên	—
東	tung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tong	tung
同	t'ung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	t'ong	t'ung
翁	wêng	—	—	kung	kung	—	—	—	—	wung	—	ong
凹	wa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
外	wai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wä	—
完	wan	wän	—	wä	—	wä^{n}	wä^{n}	—	—	wên	wo^{n}	—
王	waug	—	—	wô	—	wâng	—	—	wang	wong	wang	—
未	wei	—	—	—	—	—	wi	—	—	—	—	—
問	wên	—	—	wêng	—	wei^{n}	—	wan	—	—	—	wêng
我	wo	ngo	—	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngo	—	—	o	wu	o
五	wu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	u	—	u
牙	ya	—	—	—	nya	uya	—	—	—	—	—	—
涯	yai	—	—	—	ya	nya	—	yei	—	yei	ya	ya
羊	yang	—	—	yâ	—	yâng	—	—	yang	—	yang	—
要	yao	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
也	ye	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
言	yên	—	—	ye	—	yei^{n}	—	—	ye^{n}	—	yi^{n}	—
益	yi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--	—	—
引	yin	—	—	ying	—	yi^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	ying
應	ying	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yin	—
約	yo, yao yüe	—	—	ye	—	—	—	—	—	—	yüe	yoh
羽	yü	—	—	—	—	--	—	—	—	—	gsü	—

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	Chili.			*Shansi.*			*Shensi.*	*Honan.*	*Shantung.*		*Anhui.*	*Kiang-su.*
	Peking.	*Chi-chou.*	*Tientsin.*	*Taiyuan.*	*Ping-yang.*	*P'u-chou.*	*Lin-tung.*	*Honan.*	*Chinan.*	*Têng-chou.*	*Ho-fei.*	*Nanking.*
月	yüe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yüeh
源	yuan	yuän	—	yüe	—	yuä^{n}	—	yue^{n}	—	—	yüin	—
允	yün	—	—	yung	—	yüe^{n}	—	—	—	—	—	yüin
由	yu	—	—	—	—	—	—	yo	—	—	—	yo
用	yung	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yong	yung

DR. A. FORKE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

THE MANDARIN A MODERN FORM OF SPEECH. — Mr. Parker denies that the old Chinese language had a system of sonants, surds, tones, medials and aspirates, different from the present Chinese.* This obliges him to regard the Ningpo dialect as degenerate and the Wenchow dialect as somewhat less so. In this theory he comes into collision with my views which have been before the public ever since I published my Mandarin Grammar thirty-six years ago. There is no doubt that the preface, tables and syllable spelling of Kang-hi teach that the Mandarin pronunciation is to be regarded as new and not needing to be registered at all in an Imperial dictionary of the book language. The language of books is the language of scholars and there is not an example of Mandarin pronunciation given to the reader in Kang-hi. For that the foreign student had to go to Mandarin dictionaries.

Mr. Parker's collection of valuable facts would be much more useful if his peculiar theory did not obscure the whole subject to those who use the book. *What he calls degeneracy is in fact antiquity.* After all that can be said, the Kang-hi spelling means that Canton and Amoy preserve the ancient finals, and Shanghai, Ningpo and Wenchow preserve the ancient initials, and therefore the dialects of these five ports represent in the particulars mentioned the pronunciation of the whole empire in ancient times.

If it were not so—if this reasoning were at all inconsequent, why is it that no book in Mandarin dates earlier than the Sung dynasty? The Mandarin pronunciation grew up with the Mandarin literature and cannot be older than that literature.

The scholars of the country do not undertake to write anything in colloquial Mandarin. They are, however, influenced unconsciously by local pronunciation in reading. But we foreigners, as scholars, cannot follow them in such local modern pronunciation. We have to follow the Imperial dictionaries which were made before Mandarin began its course, that is, about seven or eight centuries ago. Kang-

* Philological Essay, page 17, prefixed to Giles' excellent Dictionary.

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hi borrowed his spelling from these dictionaries.

This view allows of a clear explanation of the peculiarities of the Corean, the Japanese and the Cochin-Chinese transcriptions, all of which I examined for the elucidation of the problem of the old language of China previous to the publication of any Mandarin grammar. In regard to the Corean, I may say that the reason why it does not represent the old initials is that they were lost in Chili before the beginning of the Ming dynasty. But it is a curious fact that old Corean had the sonant initials in native words when the native script was invented. This I only learned quite lately. They are lost from the Corean of to-day. I was aided in reaching this discovery by Mr. James Scott's second edition of his grammatical work on Corean.

The Sanscrit pronunciation of Buddhist words transcribed in Chinese agrees in all cases with Kang-hi's spelling. The translators resided at Lo-yang, Chang-an, Nanking, Canton, and other places and their work reveals the existence of no Mandarin pronunciation wherever they resided. There could then have been no Mandarin pronunciation as it is now understood in Honan or Shen-si. Mandarin doubtless sprang up in the north-east of China first, for Chang-an a favourite city for translators was in Shen-si; while the Corean transcription proves that Chili had in the dynasty lost the sonant initials.

When these facts are known, there is no room left for Mr. Parker's theory which seems to me to require each city to have kept its own dialect, as it is at present, from the first unchanged. Yet he can scarcely mean this. Will he not give us a fuller statement of his view on this point?

J. EDKINS.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN CHINA.—In my review of Professor de Groot's book on the Brahmajâlasûtra (China Review, Vol. XXI No. 2), on page 67, I put in a note of interrogation when mentioning the Sanscrit manuscript, which is kept on the T'ien-t'ai-shan, because I felt some doubt as to the genuineness of this document. On a visit to the T'ien-t'ai-shan, which I recently undertook at the instance of Dr. Edkins, I have learned that there *is*, in the monastery of Kao-ming-ssï, a Sanscrit manuscript, which is written on palm-leaves in the nothern Devanâgarî, and which, comparatively speaking, is doubtless of high antiquity. Further details of it I shall give later on.

O. FRANKE.

QUERY.

A STANGE COIN OR MEDAL.—I beg leave to ask, through your columns, for information respecting the coin or medal of which I subjoin fac-simile drawings, showing the obverse and reverse. I have consulted all the books on coins and medals to which I have access including the K'in-tung Ts'ien-luh (欽定錢錄), the Ts'ien-che-sin pien (錢志新編), Kih-kin-so-kion-luh (吉金所見錄) and the Ku-ts'uen-hwui (古泉滙), but can find no reference to it. It differs in several important points from the very ancient coins of the same general shape, and also from those of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-20), to which it seems to be somewhat akin. The aperture at the top is unusual in shape and was evidently made at the time of casting. The inscription on the obverse which reads Kwan Ts'uen Wu Poh (官泉五百) "Official Coin five hundred," is in the simpler form of seal character used in the Han period and subsequently. The dragons on the reverse are unusual, and seem more appropriate to a charm or medal than to a genuine coin.

Any information or suggestion as to the date, use or significance, of this specimen would be gratefully received.

NUMISMA.

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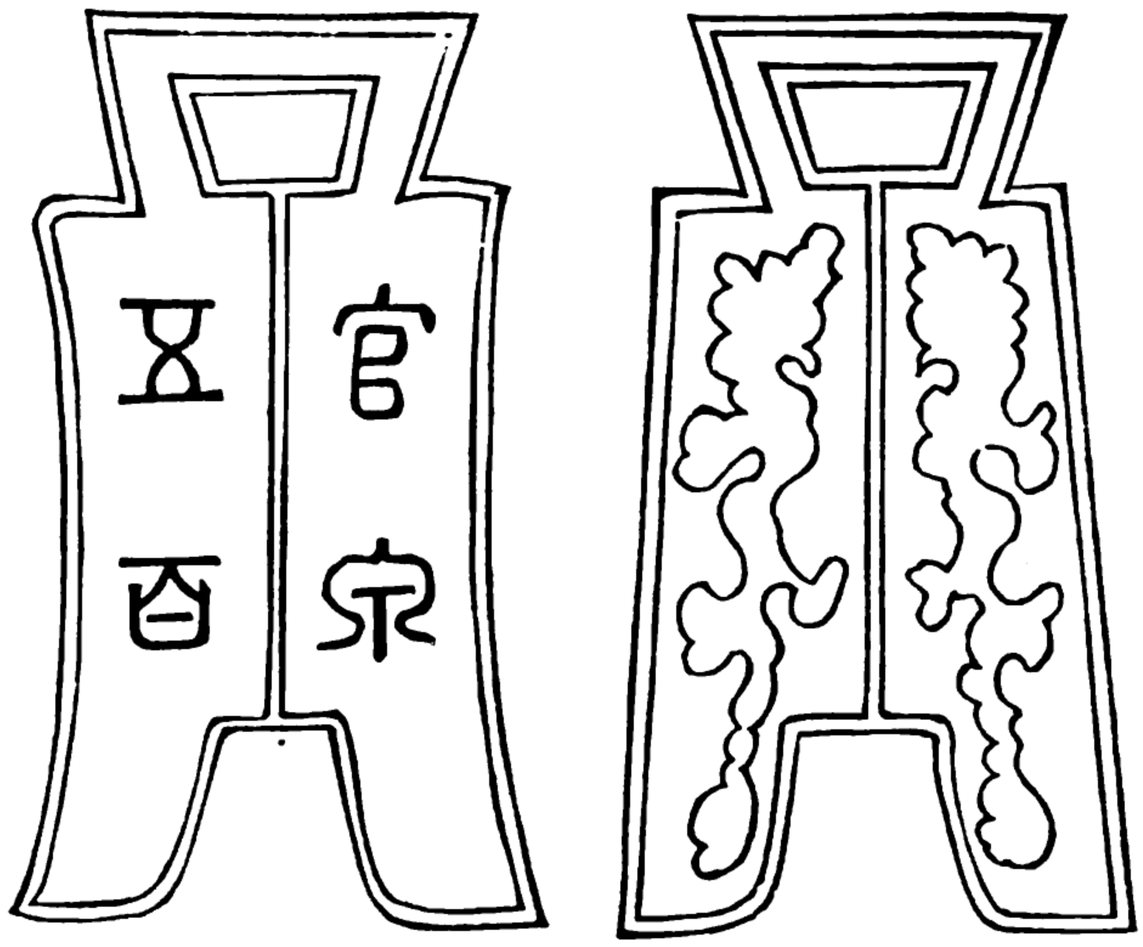

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A Manual of Chinese Quotations, by J. Stewart Lockhart. Kelly, Walsh & Co., (Ltd.)

Mr J. Stewart Lockhart had already drawn favourable attention to himself as an agreeable writer in the *China Review* before he finally decided to cast the gauntlet to his enemies and write a book of his own. His literary venture certainly deserves very high praise as an educational work; and, besides being of very great utility to the rising generation of students, leaves, it must be confessed, very little scope for the captious critic's display of wisdom: this being so, the present writer might very well hesitate to pronounce an opinion upon Mr Lockhart's merits as a translator, had he not himself been one of the few fortunate ones who reaped in bygone days the benefit of the late Mr Ou-yang Hsiu's admirable tuition, —the same Mr Ou-yang Hsiu that Mr Lockhart introduces to the public in his preface,—and had he not actually himself published anonymously a translation—far inferior, it must be owned, to Mr Lockhart's —of the identical Chinese school-book which forms the basis of the work under review. We can say what few critics will be prepared to say, that we have been through every line of the book we are examining: we can therefore conscientiously state that the work is painstaking and good: in most cases original authorities are cited, and in nearly every instance an intelligent explanation of the quaint original is given. No one who has not himself gone through the experience of hammering out the circuitous meanings of Chinese metaphors can form an idea of the immense labour and patience required for the production of such a volume as Mr Lockhart sets before us. Mr Lockhart has been wise in using the Pekingese to transliteration of Chinese character sounds; for, however superior the

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more academically correct Cantonese may be from the purist's point of view, it is undeniable that political considerations condemn it to local and secondary, if not vulgar rank; whilst Pekingese, which is philologically a bastard Tartar-corrupted lingo, like the jargons of the Levant, takes the first place in the estimation of both native and sinological mankind of modern times, and is the most widely known to European students of the day. The printing of the book is excellent: the general get-up is neat, and the misprints are comparatively few, whether in English or Chinese, whilst the purity and good taste of the English style is unexceptionable, Mr Lockhart having nowhere descended to flippancy. After reading these words of praise, Mr Lockhart will be the better able to support the indispensable *aliquid amari* which is to follow. The chief defect in the book, which gratitude to Mr Lockhart will not allow of our ignoring, is the large number of cases in which the Pekingese pronunciation is given wrongly. Before being published, the book should have been submitted to a competent Pekingese student, well-versed in the practical northern colloquial. Without any attempt having been made to search for such blunders, the number which have quite casually caught our eye *en passant* reaches about 100, which is an average of one for every four pages. Amongst the most prominent may be instanced *Han* for *K'an*, Page 57; *Ch'iu* for *Ch'ou*, Page 58; *Ch'ao* for *Cho*, Page 100; *Lun* for *Lin*, Page 113; *Ying* for *Ning*, Page 140; *Kuo* for *Ch'üo*, Page 126; *Ng* for *Wu*, Page 180; *Wén* for *Min*, Page 235; *An* for *Yen*, and *Shung* for *Ch'ung*, Page 261; *Sun* for *Chün*, Page 263; *Yao* for *Niu*, Page 370; and *Chieh* for *Chia*, Page 421. It is evident from this that, however perfect Mr Lockhart's knowledge of Pekingese may be now, at the time when he published his book it was decidedly open to revision, and that Cantonese is the language nearest to his heart.

The first chapter, on Ouranology, may be allowed to pass with the remark that on Page 9, examples 2 and 3, the inverted commas are misplaced or omitted. 'Accidental,' on Page 12, should be 'suited to each other.' In the second chapter on Geography, Page 17, *Féng-i* should be *P'ing-i* in both Pekingese and Cantonese. Page 21, the River *Ching* and the River *Wei* not only do not rise in but they never enter Shan Si at all: the Emperor Kien-lung once sent a viceroy to trace them both from their sources which are in the wilds of Kun Suh and Mongolia. In the third Chapter on The Seasons, Page 37, No. 1, *Ch'ou-hsi* and *Nang-ché* are two entirely different expressions, which, besides mutilating, Mr Lockhart runs into a single impossible one. In the short chapter four on The Court, three Pekingese sounds are given wrong, and no such person as *Shên-hung* ever existed. The ancient *fu-yin* and his 2,000 piculs of rice, Chapter 5, Page 51, has nothing specially to do with the modern governor of Peking, and the 'chief custodian' immediately following should be 'the prefect.' Here, parenthetically, another defect may be mentioned: in such words as *yüeh*, *chüeh*, Mr Lockhart throughout the book as often as not writes *yueh*, *chueh*, which would not be of much importance if he had invented a spelling of his own, but which becomes a blemish when he professes to adhere to Sir Thomas Wade's system. In like manner most of his *ju*, *jang*, *jwan* are erroneously given in the Cantonese-tainted forms *yu* or *yü*, and *yang*, *yüan*. In Chapter six, page 60, 'Bactria' is a mistake, being about 2,000 miles wtong: the *Hia* in question has nothing whatever to do with Bactria, but is that part of *Ho-si* (or *Kan Suh* and parts of the Ordos and Mongolian Desert) which at two distinct epochs 800 years apart formed a powerful semi-independent Tangut state. Page 64, 'captives' should be 'freebooters' or 'Tartars.' Page 65, 'small willow' is the name of a place in Shen Si well-known in

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Chinese history. In Chapter 71, page 72, 贏 *ying* is a mistake or misprint for 嬴 *lo*. In Chapter 8, Page 85, No. 1, 箕 should be 其. In Chapter 9, Page 94, *Ch'i Chueh* of *Ch'i* should be *Ch'üeh Ch'üeh* of *Chi*. All three words are wrong. In Chapter 10, Page 103, *Chung-ch'éng* should be *Chung-ying*. In Chapter 11, Page 107, 'creeper' should be 'clover,' and the character 過 has been omitted from sentence No. 3. Page 108, 'is thankful to' should be 'yields to' or 'gives way to.' In Chapter 12, Page 114, *Ch'ing* should be *Chang*. In Chapter 13, Page 129, 標 should be 摽, and on Page 130 it was the princess that pointed to the man and not the man that pointed to the princess. In Chapter 14, Page 142, 'Allah' is a gross mistake: Allah had never been heard of at that time even by name, in any part of the world, and in any case 祆 never referred to the Mussulman religion even if it were not an anachronism itself belonging to inferior editions. On Page 149 of Chapter 15, 忝 and 遵 are mistakes for 忝 and 導, and it is a question if the whole of sentence No. 1 is not mistranslated. In Chapter 16, Page 151, 'for any purpose' should be 'in emergency.' In Chapter 17, Page 171, 'make his bow to' should be 'appoint,' —a very common official term—and on page 173 the characters 首鼠 are transposed. On Page 170 the characters (and again on Page 221) 鄉 is mispriuted for 卿 In Chapter 18, Page 186, 'front palace' is a mistranslation, and on Page 189 the characters 禮稱 are transposed. On page 193 龍 is a mistake for 龕. In chapter 19, page 196, the characters 松使 are transposed, and on page 199 'flute' should be 'lyre.' In chapter 20, page 217, *Ts'ao Ts'ao* should be *Ts'ao P'i* 丕. In chapter 21, page 229, 'borrowing' should be 'taking advantage of.' On page 236 晉 should be 胡: it was the Tartars who salted their Emperor and the Chinese who styled him 'salted monarch,' in imitation of the sheeps' carcases sold by the Tartars which to this day the Mongols bring down to Peking. On page 241 'Sz-ch'uan' should be 'Kuei Chou.' On page 244 'city' should be 'wall,' and 'geese' should be 'swans.' On pages 248-9 there are several mistakes, and the characters 湯德 are transposed. On page 255 *Shang* should be *Ch'ang*, and the same may be said of the transliterations of 常 and 嘗 in many other places. In the explanation of example No. 1, page 255, a whole sentence is left untranslated. In chapter 22, page 259, 'collars' should be 'lapels.' In chapter 23, page 271, 'going down to the deep' should be 'standing near a pond;' on page 272 'a son of gluttony' should be 'a gluttonous fellow;' on page 273 'returning thanks' should be 'apologising,' and 元 should be 阮. In chapter 24, page 279, 'Ch'in' should be 'Syria,' and on page 282 'the man 賈胡' should be 'a Tartar (or Syriac) merchant.' In chapter 25, page 292 'border temple' should be 'suburban temple,' and on page 293 'Shu-sun' should be *Sun-shuh* In Chapter 26, page 300, the 'rebel of the T'ang' should be 'Emperor of the Liang,' and 泊 should be 洎. In Chapter 27, Page 320, 'pluck' should be 'hold on to,' and on page 321 大 should be 太. In Chapter 28 'lenten fair' should be 'Buddhistic fare,' and on Page 327 茶 should be 荼. On Page 333, 傅 should be 傅. On Page 333 'spirits' should be 'sprites.' In Chapter 29, Page 339, 'chess' should be 'draughts.' In Chapter 30, Page 346, 扭 should be 杻, and on Page 347 'glass' is an anachronism for 'mirror.' Chapter 31, Pages 354-5 'Shung' (as elsewhere) is an impossibility in Pekingese. In the long Chapter 22 there are about a dozen minor mistakes, of which it will suffice to cite *Li Pu* and *Chi Pu* on Page 392. In the last Chapter there are also a number of minor errors especially in the transliterations.

E. H. P.

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The '*Bokhara*' Typhoon. By the Rev. S. Chevalier, S.J. Shanghai, *N.-C. Herald Office.*

In view of the exceptional interest taken during 1893 at Hongkong in the typhoon question, we may as well call attention to the above valuable publication. Mr Doberck's conclusions do not all meet with the approval of Father Chevalier, who is supported also by the very painstaking Father Saderra of Manila. As we are not competent to pass an opinion upon the question ourselves, perhaps the best thing we can do is to quote Father Chevalier's conclusions *verbatim* :—

1st.—No area of high barometric pressure can be asserted to exist within 600 to 1,000 miles from the centre, either all around it, or ahead of it.

2nd.—Save the inner spirals, which appear to be circular or almost so, the whirlwinds have a decided tendency towards the centre of the typhoon. This tendency of the wind towards the centre of the typhoon is well ascertained not only outside the limits of the typhoon, but within these limits, in the very body of the cyclone. Therefore an uprush of air must exist, either in the inner or the outer spirals. Not to carry this conclusion beyond its logical limits, we have abstained from denying a descending current of air in the inner and circular spirals.

3rd.—Typhoons as well as tornadoes are subject to dipping and rising of their lower part, with the difference, however, that in tornadoes the lower part rises up entirely, while in typhoons only the inner spirals do so, the outer ones continuing to touch the ground.

From a practical standpoint: 1st. We have endeavoured to warn marine officers, that in lower latitudes careful attention must be paid to Cirrus and Cirro-Stratus as the best sign of a still distant typhoon. According to the remarks originally made by Rev. F. Saderra; the bearing of the centre of a typhoon and its direction are shown by the point on the horizon from which the Cirrus appear to be *radiating* and the motion of this point.

2nd. We seem to have established the fact notwithstanding various contradictions that the rule given many years ago by Rev. E. Dechevrens must be retained: The centre of the typhoon bears, generally speaking, 10 to 12 points from the direction of the wind. Therefore, under ordinary circumstances, with your back to windward you will have the centre on your left 2 or 4 points in front. But to prevent fatal errors which might ensue from accepting too confidently this estimation as an invariable one, we have insisted on its roughness, and settled the circumstances according to which the angle between the direction of the wind and the radius vector is changed. These circumstances, according to our observations, are the distance to the centre, the position ahead or in rear of it, and mainly the direction of the monsoon relatively to the bearing in respect of the centre.

3rd. We have seen that after the monsoon is settled along the coast of China the presence of a typhoon in the South, will always bring on a full North-East gale in the whole Channel.

4th. From the ordinary trajectories of typhoons in October we have concluded that a ship which is bound to the South and on reaching the North of Formosa Channel finds signs of a typhoon in the South, will act prudently by heaving to and keeping as much as possible the North of the Channel.

5th. We have called to mind, and urged the true rule of heaving to, viz., where you have signs of a typhoon, heave to for the purpose of fixing the bearing and the trajectory of the typhoon, and of taking subsequently the best appropriate course for bringing the ship away from the centre. In the circumstances under consideration, it is evident that a tendency of the wind to veer from North-East to East would show that the typhoon is crossing the Channel

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travelling Westward; while a tendency to back would show that it has recurved near the South point of Formosa.

E. H. P.

Typhons de 1892. Par Le R. P. S. Chevalier, S.J. Shanghai, *N.-C. Herald* Office.

This invaluable work, unlike the other to which we have called attention in a separate column, is published in French, and is a thorough *raisonné* study of the most searching kind. As the majority of shipmasters in the East are ignorant of French, we would suggest the desirability of a translation into English. The pamphlet contains numerous plates and tables, and is in every way an invaluable contribution to our meteorological lore. As we have had occasion to say before, every thing turned out from the Siccawei establishment is of the best quality, and, subject to the errors inseparable from human things, may justly claim the highest public confidence.

E. H. P.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 4. *La Canal Imperial.* By Rev. D. Gandar, S.J. Shanghai, Catholic Mission Press.

It gives us great pleasure to call attention to another number of this extremely valuable series of careful studies emanating from the celebrated Jesuit establishment at Shanghai, which is rapidly assuming the rôle of the leading general educational society in the Far East. The distinguishing feature of all these *Variété* papers is the scrupulous fidelity and patience with which pure, unadulterated facts are collected, dealt with and kept clear of all speculative opinion. The great fault of our sinologists, amateur and otherwise, has hitherto been a regrettable readiness to rush into theory on the basis of the slenderest stock of fact, the result of which is that an inquiring outsider is often puzzled to know 'which are the fishes' eyes and which are the pearls.' Persian cosmogony, Lunar Asterisms, Accadian affinities, Babylonian chronology, Sanskrit poems in the disguise of Chinese *Shï*, ancient Chinese sounds, and such like creatures of the imagination have been showered upon us with such persistency and in such profusion during the past 20 years that it is quite a relief to get to something which treats of plain sober fact, and which is susceptible, on the face of it, and without extraneous aid, of commonplace criticism.

Father Gandar takes up the subject of the Imperial Canal in a purely business-like and historical spirit, and what is still more to the point, furnishes us with periodical maps so that it may be seen at a glance what appearance this celebrated artery of communication presented at any given date. The popular idea, in a rough and general sort of way, is that the Grand Canal was entirely the work of Kublai Khan, just as the Great Wall was the work of *Ts'in Shï hwang* and his lieutenant *Méng T'ien*. The supposition is in each case equally inexact and even untrue. Let us hope that one or the other of the Reverend Fathers of Siccawei will soon take up the Great Wall question in a similar spirit to that here shewn. Meanwhile let us turn to the Grand Canal. It appears from the *Ch'un-ts'iu*, a work of undoubted historical value, that the first attempt at canalization in the *Hwai* region was made in Confucius' time, when the ruler of *Lu* state (about B.C. 486) built the city of *Han* (the modern *Yang-chou*) and connected the River *Hwai* with the Yangtsze. From the *Ch'un-ts'iu* map published three years ago by the Jesuits and noticed at length in these columns, it appears that this salt and watery part of modern *Kiang Su* was politically a sort of no-man's land until the ruler of *Lu* thus appropriated it. Like the Suez Canal, this short canal of Confucius' time was simply a series of joints connecting together and with the two rivers three already existing lakes. At that time the

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level of the Yang-tsze, unlike what is now the case, was higher than that of the *Hwai*, and the former river alone fed the new canal. Neither the *Ts'in* nor the *Han* dynasties had time or saw the necessity for further canalization enterprise, (they had enough to do to keep the Yellow River from doing mischief), but in the Three State period, beginning about 225 A.D., the Southern Empire of *Wu* dug out what is called the 'Salt Transport Canal,' joining the sea, laterally, by way of *Hai-mén T'ing*, *Ju-kao*, and *Tai-chou*, with the Grand Canal at a point a few miles from *Yang-chou*. Its object was to facilitate the conveyance of salt from the salt and watery regions above referred to. In those times the Salt Transport Canal was also fed by the Yang-tsze, *viâ* the Grand Canal; but now it is the *Hwai* and the lake system that feed it, subject to the control of locks or sluices. Whilst the Emperor of *Wu* in the south was thus looking after his salt interests, the Emperor of *Wei* in the north was repairing the Grain Transport (or Grand) Canal, which had after its 730 years of life become blocked up in certain parts. It was found necessary to abandon one of the lakes and to carry the canal further west through two other lakes better supplied with water. It is useless to name these lakes here, as no one can possibly know anything about them or even guess at their position without examining the series of maps supplied by Father Gandar. The *Tsin* dynasty, which absorbed the Three Empires, made further modifications by carrying the canal round one of the new lakes instead of through it.

We do not think that Father Gandar is quite right in ranking the short-lived but great dynasty of *Sui* with the four southern dynasties of *Sung*, *Ts'i*, *Liang*, and *Ch'ên*, so as to form '*cinq petites dynasties*.' Whilst these four Chinese dynasties were reigning in the south, the three successive Toba Tartar dynasties of *Wei* and their Tartar kinsmen of Northern *Ts'i* and *Chou* were ruling in the north. The *Sui* dynasty replaced both north and south, and during its 40 years of existence displayed immense industrial, military, and diplomatic activity from Siam, Loochoo, Japan, and Corea to the Turks and the *T'u-Kuh-hun* Tartars of the desert, besides undertaking immense public works of every description. Although the aforesaid Tartars of the north and the petty Chinese dynasties of the south did nothing for the canal, Father Gandar has omitted to notice a piece of vandalism on the part of *Wu Ti* of the *Liang* dynasty, who banked up the River *Hwai* to the height of 200 feet, with the object of drowning the Tartar armies: one fine day it burst, and 100,000 men were swept into the sea. In the year A.D. 595 (Father Gandar tells us) the first *Sui* Emperor employed 100,000 men in digging out a second canal, joining the *Hwai* with the Yang-tsze and running parallel to and eastwards of the original one: this was to relieve the congestion of traffic. It was a great success, but too expensive to keep up very long. Father Gandar does not tell us precisely how long it functioned, but as the second *Sui* Emperor, *Yang Ti*, put the original canal into thorough working order, and the maps of the *Sung* dynasty still shew the new one, it may be assumed that the eastern canal was not allowed to go to ruin for many hundred years. We may here incidentally mention another gigantic work undertaken in the first year (605) of this madman's reign. Seven million people of both sexes were set to work to dig out a short canal between the Yellow River and *Loh-yang*, so that the grain boats might come into the very palace precincts. It was the same restless *Yang Ti* who first put into execution (if he did not first conceive) the idea of continuing the Canal southwards *viâ* Soochow to Hangchow. This was a comparatively easy work and it has never given serious trouble.

It must be mentioned that, during the *Tsin* dynasty, the upper or southernmost

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end of the canal between the Yang-tsze and modern Yangchow got blocked, and continued so for several centuries : the junction was some considerable distance further west, and during the *T'ang* and *Sung* dynasties this one point of junction gradually became three, forming a sort of delta between Yangchow and the Yang-tsze.

Here ends the history of the First Grand Canal known as the *Yün Ho* or *Yün-liang Ho*, which measured 1,200 *li* from *Ts'ing-kiang P u* to Hangchow, and gave comparatively little trouble.

Meanwhile the waters of the *Hwai* had gradually attained a higher level than those of the Yang-tsze ; and here Father Gandar lucidly explains a point which has always puzzled us. The Lower 'River' 下河 and Upper 'River' 上河 are not rivers at all ; the former is the low-lying territory or 'polder' which is below the level of the Canal and reaches from the Eastern or original banks of the Grand Canal Eastwards towards the sea ; whilst the latter is the higher land above the level of the Canal to the West of the same Canal. It is of importance to keep this fact well in mind, or the Chinese learning on the subject becomes totally unintelligible. During the *T'ang* and *Sung* dynasties further dykes were built with the view of protecting the inhabitants of this polder from the ocean as well as from the overflowings of the *Hwai* and the lake system. They were gradually extended in length and carried Eastward until, under the name of Duke *Fan's* dyke, they ran the whole way from *T'ung-chou* to (modern) *Hwai-an-Fu.* Occasionally an exceptionally high tide would sweep over the Lower River polder, as happened in fact but a dozen years ago, but such disasters are now comparatively rare. East of this dyke are the numerous salt flats, and east of these again, almost on the sea-coast, is a fine road called the *Ma-lu.* Running alongside of Duke *Fan's* dyke, and to the east of it, is a second Salt Transport Canal, running north and south, and joining the one dug out by the *Wu* dynasty, but Father Gandar does not give us the date of its construction. During all these centuries the Canal was an almost unmixed blessing to the people, and it is only from A.D. 1071, when the Yellow River suddenly turned southwards and took possession of the north and south *T sing Ho* beds, that the era of floods and disasters causing 'China's Sorrow' begins. The *Hung-tsêh* Lake from modest dimensions now grew into a gigantic and menacing reservoir : the *Hwai* River was driven into the Yang-tsze, and a fresh system of lakes West of the Canal in the 'Upper River' region received the irregular surplus waters of the Yellow River. A new relieving lake had already been opened in 1,004 and kept in by a strong causeway ; such causeways, being found useful, were now greatly multiplied, and by 1,191 the Grand Canal could boast of double dykes on each side all the way from Yangchow to *Hwai-an*, a distance of 360 *li* : the regularisation of the *I-chêng* and *Kwo Chou* canals dates from this epoch.

In 1194 the Estuary of the *Ts'ing* River silted up, and the Yellow River was thrown back on the *Hwai* : to relieve this overpressure of freshet waters a number of sluices and dams were made in the Eastern dykes. When the Mongols had gained possession of both the *Kin* Tartar (i.e. early Manchu) and the *Sung* Empires,—i.e. both Cathay and Manzi,—and had established themselves in modern Peking (Cambalu), Kublai Khan soon found that it was absolutely necessary to feed his large court with regular supplies from the south, and in three years he finished the *Yü Ho*, or Imperial Canal, 1,800 *li* in length, and running from the then Yellow River at or near *Ts'ing Kiang P'u* to *Tu'ng Chou* 30 *li* from Peking. It is throughout its whole length, however, usually known by the old name of *Yüng Ho.* Father Gandar here points out an error of the socialist geographer, Reclus (who gets scant shrift

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at Siccawei), who has misunderstood the loose but not inaccurate statements of Marco Polo and made a statement to the effect that Kublai did nothing more than join river to river by a number of unimportant cuttings. As the Mongols had not made their canal broad enough, the *Ming* Emperor *Yung-loh* turned the river *Wên* 汶 into it at a point some distance south of the then Yellow River bed in *Yen-chou Fu*. Hence the curious result that, at and from this dividing point, the current of the canal flows north and south. The sea-route for grain conveyance was entirely abandoned, and the celebrated dam called the *T'ien-fei Chah* 天妃閘 was constructed in order to facilitate the dangerous passage of the Yellow River. To judge from Father Gandar's maps on Pages 12 and 29, the easternmost of the two parallel canals between *Hwai-an* and Yangchow—that constructed by the *Sui* dynasty—seems to have been the only one used since the latter part of the *Sung* dynasty, but this point is not made quite clear; and we must here point out a rather serious defect running throughout the book, which is that a great many important names mentioned in the text do not appear upon any of the maps, so that the reader, uninformed even as to the elements of the subject as he is pretty certain to be, will have a difficulty in following as he ought to do the thread of the subject step by step. At intervals throughout the *Ming* dynasty dreadful inundations took place. This was a tentative or transition period.

The Emperor *K'ang-hi* of the present Manchu dynasty made desperate efforts to cope with the terrible evil, visiting the scene himself on several occasions, and personally superintending both the drawing-up of plans and estimates and the completion of the works sanctioned. In 1677 things were so bad that a new canal bed had to be constructed, and an elaborate system of dams, sluices, and such like works was worked into the eastern causeway of the *Hung-tsêh* Lake and the eastern dyke of the Canal, so as to facilitate, according to the warnings given by certain indicators or marks, the draining off of surplus waters to the sea. But the same effect always followed the same cause; that is to say, the mud-charged waters of the Yellow River after a few years always ended by silting up the drainage channels, and the wretched polder people saw their crops and homesteads destroyed with wearisome regularity every two or three years. Father Gandar's description of the various superstitious devices to which the people had recourse in order to keep off their enemy is quaint and interesting as shewing the weakest side of Chinese character, but it adds nothing to the scentific history of the Canal. *K'ang-hi's* ultimate decision was to divide the waters of the *Hung-tsêh* Lake at the time of each flood, carrying half into the *Hwai* and the Yellow Rivers, and half through the lower lakes into the Grand Canal. Gigantic works were successfully carried out with this object on the eastern causeway of the Lake, and duly paid for by his son *Yung-chêng*. During *Kien-lung's* reign of 60 years there were 16 years of inundation to contend with, and the 6,000,000 English acres of rich paddy land contained in the polder of *Hia Ho* were turned into a raging sea every three or four years; but, when the Yellow River in 1850 once more resumed its old northerly course, things became better, and inundations were comparatively rare. The last of Father Gandar's plates, shewing the *Yün Ho* as it is now between *Hwai-an* and the Yang-tsze, gives a very good idea of both the Canal and the modern system of drainage. In consequence of the retirement north of the Yellow River, the waters of the *Hwai*, instead of going in part to swell the Yellow River, all run into the Grand Canal by two channels, one the North-east mouth of the Lake and the other at *T'ien-fei Chah*—a place as we have said not marked upon any

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of Father Gandar's maps. The Yangchow people were not sorry to get rid of their unwelcome guest the Yellow River, but it was a more serious matter for the Emperor, for 10,000 of his largest junks found themselves stranded high and dry in the north without the means of getting back: consequently the comparatively small amount of grain now taken to Peking by canal has to be conveyed in hired junks of much smaller size than the abandoned imperial junks at the rate of 800 cash a picul, besides liberty to trade free of duty. One very practical suggestion made by some long-headed man was to keep two Yellow River beds going, and to allow the troublesome monster to run in and silt up each alternately whilst the other was being deepened; but '*les mauvaises langues*' say that such a genuine arrangement would not suit the crowd of hungry mandarins forming the staffs of the two River and Canal 'Viceroys.' The late *Tsêng-kwoh-fan* arranged an amended system of draining according to warning marks which is still theoretically in vogue, but, as the polder people, occupying the lowest level, must always be the first to suffer for the general benefit, they naturally raise an outcry, and as a rule the right moment is allowed to go by. But the Grand Canal is by no means moribund: it is still the high road to Peking for those who do not care for the sea, and from *Ts'ing-kiang P'u* to Peking the traveller can either go by cart for Tls. 20, *nourriture compris*, or by luxurious travelling boat; the latter route affords the pleasurable excitement of jumping the various sluices, bars, rapids, &c. If he is a poor man he can travel by *diligence* boat at the rate of one cash the *li* or about a farthing a mile. Father Gandar winds up his pamphlet with a remark which seems to require further explanation. After having had a severe fling at the evil effects of opium, (touching which, by the way, a *Variété* embracing the experiences of all the Jesuit Missionaries would be valuable), he says:—'Already the Lord of Heaven is worshipped in the numerous temples along the Imperial Canal.'

The following important places amongst others essential to understanding the subject do not appear to be in any of the maps given. *Si Pa*, p. 53; *T'sing-shwei T'an* and *Ting-tse K'ou*, p. 30; *Shih-êrh-wei* and *Lah-hao K'ou*, page 10; *Yang-wa*, p. 26. It is not until the reader gets to the end that he discovers *Ts'ing-kiang P'u* to be the same as *Ts'ing-ho*, and even then it is not quite certain. There are also a few misprints: *K'oang* for *Koang*, p. 48; 貽 for 貽 page 38; 路 for 羅 p. 35; 1,443 for 1,643, map 10; *T'ai-ku* for *Taku*, p. 26; 奄 for 淹, p. 18; *Tsai* for *Ts'ai*, p. 11; *Tching* for *Tchén*, p. 3. In several other places the aspirate is either omitted or misplaced. These, however, are only minor defects. We would suggest that a fresh map be bound up with future issues, giving every single name used in the text, for it is a well-known fact that 'the general' become impatient of even superficially studying a technical question unless the charts, marks, and diagrams illustrating it are so drawn up as to save the trouble of frequent references, and Father Gandar's work is too important and too valuable to run the risk of unmerited neglect on this score; for it is undoubtedly the standard work on the Great Canal in any European language, if not the only one with any pretensions to scientific accuracy.

E. H. P.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE TRIAD SOCIETY, OR HEAVEN AND EARTH ASSOCIATION.

(Continued from page 181, *Vol. XXI.)*

THE TRIAD SOCIETY OUTSIDE OF CHINA.

It might reasonably be supposed that a society instituted like the Triad, for the purpose of overthrowing the Manchu rule in China and re-establishing the Ming dynasty, would find little scope for its influence amongst the three million Chinese outside the empire, and that if it did exist in other countries, its propagandists would avoid giving trouble or acting inimically to the Governments under which they reside. But such is not the case, for it is found that nearly all Chinese who leave their country join the society, and, although its adherents have not actually openly rebelled against or attempted to overthrow other Governments, they have, by their covert influence, often caused serious riots, which have sometimes resulted in loss of life; and they have also, through their insidious way of operating on the minds of the people, constantly interfered with the proper course of justice. This has been remarked ever since emigrants from China commenced to propagate the principles of the society in other lands. But, while in China the chief aim put forward by the society is the overthrow of the Manchu power, in other countries, although initiations are still carried on under the same ritual, the combination for mutual benefit in time of poverty, sickness, and death, is made the main object. And the benefits to be derived do not cease even at death, for, when there is no near relation to attend to a dead member, the brotherhood sees the burial rites performed, continues the sacrifice to his soul, and in due course forwards his bones to China, there to find a last resting place and moulder and mix with the dust of his beloved flowery land. These attentions make membership so desirable that most Chinese emigrants join the Society.

Early in this century the brotherhood was accused of fostering crime and aiding criminals to escape from justice in India and in the settlements in the Indian Archipelago to which Chinese had already flocked from Fokien and Kwangtung, the birthplace and the cradle of the society, and the Governments of those settlements were impotent to cope with it. It not only caused trouble by committing crime and screening offenders from justice, but, in consequence of the members of various lodges disagreeing with each other, riots between members of different lodges became frequent. In the Straits Settlements some of these riots were only suppressed after much bloodshed. One remarkable feature of these fights, however, is that the rioters have seldom, if ever, dis-

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played a rebellious spirit towards the Government, nor even offered resistance to the police who have interposed to suppress them. On the other hand when Great Britain was at war with China in 1841 all the Triad lodges in Singapore cordially co-operated with the British in their operations, in hopes that the Manchus would be overthrown and the Mings set up again.

One of the objections raised against the society in the Straits Settlements was that when the chiefs of the lodges were unscrupulous characters they terrorized over the people and levied blackmail on them through a set of blackguards they were always able to command, and who readily obeyed all their behests, no matter how unlawful they were. To remedy this and other evils, the Government made it obligatory for members of all lodges to register themselves. By this means the members were placed to a certain extent under surveillance, and the Government knew who were the headmen whom they could hold responsible for any illegal acts of the members of their respective lodges. This plan appears to have worked advantageously for several years. But recently the Government has gone much further. It has now undertaken the task of suppressing the society altogether, and that, in a Colony holding jurisdiction over several hundred thousand Chinese, of whom not less than nine-tenths are Triad members. It will now have to deal with the same class of members working more secretly and with hostile feeling towards it. The Government officials will have to act against a people greatly differing from them in language and customs, and amongst themselves so much in language that those from different parts of China cannot understand each other's talk. When it is known how few of those responsible for the suppression are acquainted to any useful extent with even one of the Chinese dialects, and consequently how likely they are to be misled by designing persons, their difficulty becomes apparent.

The society appears to have made itself just as obnoxious to the Government in the Dutch settlements of the Archipelago, as in the British, and in a similar manner. In Siam, too, it appears to be very powerful, and some great riots in that country have been attributed to it, while on some occasions it has stood up against the oppression of unjust officials. It has made its evil influence felt in Australia, and numerous complaints have been made against it there. In California, where it is known to the Americans by the name of the High Binders, it has made itself notorious in consequence of the numerous daring murders and other criminal offences, especially that of levying blackmail, imputed to it. The perpetrators of most of these crimes have escaped from justice through the secret influence and connivance of the brotherhood.

The history of the society in Hongkong dates from the founding of the Colony, and the brotherhood appears to have begun early to counteract good government. For in 1845 there was an ordinance passed against it, by which membership was made felony punishable with three years' imprisonment, with branding on the cheek and deportation at the expiration of the sentence. This ordinance was, however, disallowed by the Home Government and another was substituted in the same year, in which only persons participating in an unlawful act arising out of their connexion with the society could be held guilty of an offence. Moreover branding was to be imposed only at the discretion of the judge, and inflicted on the arm instead of on the cheek. Deportation was abolished. But the provisions of this ordinance do not appear to have been very strictly enforced, and it remained pretty much a dead letter, while the society continued to flourish; without, however, giving the Government trouble by any open acts of hostility. In 1857, when England was again at war with China and preparations were being made in Hongkong to attack Canton, a peculiarly

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constructed commissariat force of eight hundred coolies, known as the 'Bamboo Corps,' was formed. Most of the men of this force were Hakkas and probably all were Triad men. During the operations at Canton they worked faithfully and fearlessly, and in all situations of danger showed a remarkable disregard for life. And when a few months later the great viceroy Yeh was being taken as a prisoner on board an English man-of-war, nothing annoyed him so much as the jeers of the coolies of this corps, who, on meeting him on his way to the jetty, dropped their loads and saluted him with roars of laughter, which so angered him that he gnashed his teeth with rage. While this war was in progress some of the Triad leaders proposed to co-operate with the British forces in driving the Manchus from the empire.

It is not always easy to ascertain what deeds can rightly be imputed to the society, as it is not an uncommon occurrence for persons unconnected with it to throw on it the blame of their own misdeeds. Something like this happened in 1884, when the cargo boatmen, acting under the influence of Chinese officials, brought to bear on them through influential Chinese residents in the colony, struck from working on French ships; France being then at war with China. Perhaps such patriotism is little deserving of blame. But the strike unfortunately led to rioting and an attack on foreigners; and blood was shed before tranquillity was restored. The really guilty parties threw the blame of this affair on the Triad men, who were probably entirely innocent, and several heads of the society, (amongst whom was one venerable-looking white-bearded old man, who had been in the colony ever since the British occupation and had never been guilty of any offence against the laws, except perhaps that of being a Triad member), were banished, under an ordinance made after the riot.

There was a horrible crime committed on the fifth of November 1884, in the little village of Tsat-tsze-mui, which there is little doubt was rightly laid at the door of the society. On the day in question a Hakka man was discovered committing adultery with a Hakka woman, in a house in the village. The woman was caught at once, but the man ran off followed by several other men shouting thief. An Indian watchman stopped the man and, believing he had really stolen something, handed him over to his pursuers. These took him back to the village, where he and the woman were tried by a Triad tribunal and in accordance with its decree put to death and dismembered. It is not unlikely the dismemberment was commenced first and caused death. The pieces of the bodies of the wretched murdered couple were weighted and thrown into the sea; but in two days some of them began to float and became silent evidence that a horrible crime had been committed. For several days various parts of the bodies were found, some floating in the sea and others left by the tide on the shore, and in the meantime the Police had discovered who the murdered persons were; but not until the principal perpetrators of the crime, including the husband of the murdered woman, had escaped from the Colony. Every adult in the village must have been cognizant of the crime, and most of them must have participated in it, but the influence of the society is so great that all were silent, and although over a score of persons were arrested, it was impossible to bring the crime home to them. And it would have been just as difficult to have secured a conviction against the husband and the other principals in the crime who escaped, if they had been captured.

About a year later a Hakka employed on the Taitam reservoir suddenly disappeared, and his friends obtained information which satisfied them that he had been murdered for committing adultery with a brother Triad-man's wife. Several men who were regarded as his murderers left the colony as soon as the Police began to institute in-

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quiries into the affair. On this occasion it was rumoured that the murdered man's body was cut into pieces and put in a cement barrel, which was sunk in Taitam Bay.

In 1886 the Society brought itself into prominence on account of quarrels and fights amongst members of different lodges, respecting the levying of squeezes on those engaged in the coolie emigration trade. The principal lodges concerned in these disturbances were the Man On, the Fuk I Hing and the Hoi Luk. The chief of the Man On lodge was a Chinese detective, and there were Government servants connected with the others. The detective was arrested and committed for trial at the Supreme Court on a charge of committing unlawful acts in connection with the Society. He was allowed out on bail, and, although his chances of conviction were extremely doubtful, he absconded to his native place in the Kwaishin district. The Chinese authorities obtained information of his whereabouts and a party of soldiers was despatched to arrest him. He resisted the soldiers with firearms, in consequence of which they shot and speared him in several places, and he survived capture only a short time. Since then there have been frequent fights on a small scale, in which lethal weapons have been used and serious wounds inflicted, between the Man On and the Fuk I Hing men. Several men on each side have been imprisoned and some have been banished for taking part in these disturbances.

In 1887 there was an Ordinance passed against this and other similar secret Societies. Under this Ordinance office bearers in the Society were liable to a fine of $1,000 and imprisonment, and members were liable to a fine of $500 and imprisonment. The Ordinance also prohibits the holding of meetings. But notwithstanding the prohibition there are from twenty to thirty houses in the Colony which the Police have good cause to believe to be Triad lodges, although they have not the means of proving them to be such. These houses are generally furnished like ordinary guild meeting places. The walls are adorned with gaudy scrolls and flags, and lists of members contributing to charitable purposes in connection with the Society. The flags, besides adorning the lodges on ordinary occasions, are sometimes carried about the streets in processions. All lodges have shrines to Kwanti, the God of War, whom the members seem to regard as their tutelar deity. They honour him by keeping the birthday of his son, Kwan Ping, on the 13th day of the 5th month, and the anniversary of his own ascension to heaven, on the 24th day of the 6th month, with feasting and rejoicing; and many hundreds of them assemble in the restaurants of the Colony for this purpose on these days; but especially on the first of them. But the Kwanti shrine is not peculiar to Triad lodges, consequently there is nothing on ordinary occasions, and very little even when initiations are held now, to denote their real character.

In some lodges the members are chiefly Puntis, and, as a rule, these are the most lawless. They combine to commit crime and screen their brother evil-doers both in and out of the Colony. Some of them are especially active in making predatory excursions and armed attacks on defenceless villages on the numerous creeks of the Canton River. They also, by using threats of attack and arson, succeed in extorting blackmail from the villages, which the latter pay without daring to complain. The members of both the Man On and the Fuk I Hing lodges are Hoklos, and these, like the Fokienese and others speaking a similar dialect, combine principally for mutual assistance in sickness and distress, or in their quarrels. Some of the Hakkas combine to commit unlawful acts such as piracy, armed robberies and blackmailing, but most of them seem to carry out the precepts handed down and keep the aim in view for which the Society was founded, in a manner superior to the others. It is estimated that about a third of the

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male population of the Colony and many females are more or less active members. The difficulty of suppressing such an organisation, as well as the facilities it affords criminals for escaping from justice, will readily be seen.

Of the members many no doubt join because of the benefits they expect to derive in sickness and distress and for mutual protection; others join to secure to themselves an immunity from oppression by the brotherhood, which, they suppose, they might otherwise have to endure; others join through mere curiosity; and others doubtless join in a patriotic spirit with the hope of some day restoring a Chinese dynasty to their country. But on the whole there is far too much selfishness for patriotism to flourish in. The leading members seek profit and aggrandisement for themselves rather than to benefit the Society or their country. This selfishness, with its disintegrating effect, deprives the Society of the power to act dangerously towards the Governments of countries other than China and to start successful rebellion in the latter country. But the Society contains a dangerous element in the great number of persons bound together by the same oaths and imbued with the same hatred of the Manchu power. And should a man arise from amongst them with the ability to bring all those who have sworn fidelity to the Society's cause to act in unity, and in accordance with their oaths, and to instil a feeling of enthusiasm into their bosoms, they would constitute a force before whom the miserable soldiery of the south of China, many of whom are Triad men already, would melt away like snow in the sunshine, and the doom of the Manchu rulers would probably be sealed.

THE TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY'S ORIGIN.

In order to obtain an understanding of the ritual of the Triad Society it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the legendary and traditional account of the Society's origin, that is received, believed in, and transmitted from age to age by its members. Without this knowledge many references in the ritual to things, places, and persons, and their acts, appear meaningless. And it is only fair to observe that, though this account teems with what is miraculous and absurd, equally as great absurdities are believed in by nine-tenths of the Chinese of the present day.

According to the tradition, in former times there existed, embowered amidst trees, in a secluded and romantic spot, amongst the Chiu-lien hills.(1) in the Putien district(2) of the Fuchiu prefecture,(3) in the Fokien province, a Budhist monastery, known as the Shao-lin-tsze,(4) which was said to have been built by a priest named Tah-tsun-ye-ye,(5) in the time of the Tang dynasty. It had consequently stood nearly a thousand years, at the time in the seventeenth century, when the occurrences to be described are said to have taken place. The monks of this monastery, although doubtless as devout as others were, instead of devoting all their time to religious duties, spent most of it in studying military tactics and strategy, fencing and other warlike arts, in all of which they had become so expert, in an age when personal prowess still played an important part in warfare, as to be celebrated throughout the empire. And they did not confine their teaching to the priesthood, consequently numbers who desired to excel in arms flocked to them from all parts, until the place resembled a military seminary rather than a monastery.

It happened in the reign of Kanghi, or as some say Yung-cheng, that the Prince of Silu(6), a tributary State, placed by some on the western frontiers, by others near Annam, and by others in Formosa, threw off his allegiance, invaded China, and defeated

(1) 九連山. (2) 浦田縣.
(3) 福洲府. (4) 少林寺.
(5) 達尊爺爺. (6) 西魯.

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with great loss every army sent against him. In consequence of these continual defeats the emperor called a Council of State, at which it was decided to post proclamations throughout the empire offering great rewards to all persons, whether noble or mean, males or females, or Buddhist or Taoist priests, who would come forward and subdue the terrible Silu State, and free China from her foe. It happened that Cheng Kiun-tah,(7) a man who had studied and taken high honours at the Shao-lin monastery, saw the proclamation, and hurried off to hold a consultation with the one hundred and twenty-eight monks who then dwelt in the monastery. They decided to offer their services to the emperor, and went in a body and tore down the proclamation, which was a sign that they undertook the matter referred to. The imperial guard in charge of the proclamation took them to court, where they had an interview with the emperor, who inquired whence they came and what their abilities were. Having satisfied his majesty on these points, he accepted their service with pleasure, raised them all to the rank of general, and offered them whatever assistance in men and money they required. They told him they required horses and provisions; but they did not require a single soldier. Their modest requirements were soon supplied. The emperor then conferred plenary power upon them and gave them a sword and a triangular iron seal with the characters 家后日山 *Chia hau jih shan* engraved on it. Finally a lucky day was selected and the militant monks marched off to fight, and Cheng Kiun-tah went with them in charge of the commissariat. These heroes cut their way through hills, bridged rivers, and in a short time reached Silu, where they encamped and built a strong stockade. Before long the Silu army arrived on the scene and commenced the attack. The monks did not remain long on the defensive. In their first engagement they rode through the barbarian army, hacking and slashing the soldiers as easily as if they were splitting bamboos. And so they fought battle after battle until the Silu prince, seeing the utter futility of attempting to conquer such warriors, sued for peace, which was granted on his binding himself by treaty to send yearly tribute to China as before. In less than three months the Silu State was subdued, apparently without loss of life on the priestly side, and the victorious little army returned amidst triumphal songs to the capital. As one quatrain says:

'The army of our country came,
The conquerors of the Silu land,
Throughout the State was spread their fame,
As marched through songs our gallant band.'

On the return of the victors the emperor was so delighted at their success, that he offered them whatever offices they desired; but these monks were no office-seekers, and, after consulting together on the offer, they begged to be allowed to retire, to live in seclusion, in their monastery. Cheng Kiun-tah, however, had no such priestly scruples, and he accepted the office of commandant of Ti-chen. Besides giving the monks money and costly silks, and entertaining them at a feast, which lasted three days, his majesty gave them a large tablet with the inscription 御澤恩重 'Imperial favour, kindness, and honour,' engraved on it; and three pairs of antithetical scrolls, on one of which were the lines 英雄居第一, 豪傑定無雙 'First in bravery, matchless heroes;' on another 不用文章朝聖主, 全憑武藝見君皇, 'It was not by learning that they got to court, through warlike skill they saw the emperor;' and on the other 出門朝見君皇面, 入寺方知古佛心 'Going out to court, the Prince's face is seen; entering the temple, Buddha's mind is known.' When they took their departure, his majesty personally saw them out of the place. On their return to the Shaolintsze, the monks arranged their presents for the

(7) 鄭君達.

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inspection of the country people who had turned out in great numbers to welcome them home.

It happened that before many years the calm sea was ruffled, and there was a thunder-clap heard in a serene and cloudless sky. At this time there were two traitors high in office at court, named respectively Ch'en Wan-yaû and Chang Chin-tsiú, who, except for the difficulty of bribing or defeating in arms the brave monks of Shao-lin-tse, looked on the empire as well within their grasp. In order to remove the monks, these officers drew up a memorial to the emperor accusing them of treacherous designs, and setting forth how easy it would be for those who had without difficulty conquered the Silu army, which appeared invincible to his soldiers, to conquer China. They showed him how the fate of the country rested with the monks, who could overthrow his dynasty as easily as they could turn their heads around. The emperor became alarmed and asked, as they were unable to conquer them, what they could do. They applied for three or four hundred of his guards in order to destroy the monks. But his majesty ridiculed the notion of sending such a small force against such warriors, until they informed him that they intended to set the monastery on fire and blow it up with gunpowder. He then placed several hundred imperial guards at their command and they set out with them for Fokien. The monastery was in such a secluded spot that on arriving at the Chiu-lien hills they could not readily find it. But it happened that while they were inquiring as to its whereabouts, they came across a priest named Ma I-fuh.(8) This man had ranked the seventh in military skill amongst the Shaolin monks, but he was a votary of Venus as well as of Mars and Buddha and, because of his too fervid passion and amorous attention towards Kuo Siu-ying(9) and Cheng Yü-lan,(10) the wife and sister respectively of Cheng Kiun-tah, he had been flogged and expelled from the monastery. And it was while still enraged at the treatment meted out to him, and consuming with hatred towards his former associates, that he was met by those intent on destroying the monastery and its occupants, and they found in him a ready and willing tool for assisting in their horrible work. On their agreeing to make him an officer he conducted them at night to the monastery. The soldiers, after placing gunpowder in several places, surrounded the monastery with inflammable material, to which they set their lighted torches, and the building was speedily all ablaze. As the flames mounted heavenwards, Tah-tsun-ye, the founder and natural guardian of the monastery, who had long become immortal and an inhabitant of Heaven, saw what was taking place, and sent Chu Kai(11) and Chu Kwang,(12) two other immortals, to the rescue. They pushed outward the back wall, over which eighteen monks, who retained possession of the triangular seal, escaped into a court-yard, and thence passing though a dogs'-hole got clear of the burning edifice. Then, guided by Chu Kai and Chu Kwang, who had transformed themselves one into a yellow and the other into a black fog, they got some distance away, when Ma I-fuh saw them and called the soldiers to pursue them; but the fogs made themselves so dense as to baffle pursuit, and the fugitives reached Sha-wan-keú.(13) and thence proceeded to Hwang-chün village,(14) where thirteen of the little party died from burns and deprivation. The members say; 'They died on the Hwang-chün road, and though a myriad years pass, they shall be avenged!' Tsai Teh-chung,(15) Fang Ta-hung,(15) Ma Chao-hing,(15) Hu Teh-ti and Li Seh-kai,(15) the survivors, are styled

(8) 馬儀福. (9) 郭秀英.
(10) 鄭玉蘭.

(11) 朱開. (12) 朱光.
(13) 沙灣口. (14) 黃泉村.
(15) 蔡德忠, 方大洪, 馬超興, 胡德帝, 李色開.

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the Former Five Patriarchs of the society. Before long Ma I-fuh met a traitor's fate. He was killed by friends of those whom he had betrayed. And, because of his having ranked seventh amongst the monks, the word seven is tabooed by the society and the word *kat*, good luck, substituted for it.

The surviving monks, having burned the bodies and concluded the funeral obsequies of their late comrades, concealed themselves under a bridge, where Sie Pang-hang and Wu Ting-kwei(16) found them, and took them into their boat. They remained in the boat a day, planning how to avenge their wrongs, and on leaving their kind preservers, gave them certain secret signs, for the future recognition of themselves or their friends.

They had no sooner left Hwang-chün than a party of soldiers arrived in search of them. Fortunately, however, they had already told the sad story of their wrongs to Wu Tien-yu,(17) Fang Hwui-ching,(17) Chang Ching-chao,(17) Yang Chang-tso and Lin Ta-chiang,(17) five daring rascals, who rushed to their defence and stayed the pursuit of the soldiers until they had got safely away. The monks continued their flight to Chang-sha-wan-keú,(18) in Hwui-cheu-fu,(19) where like the Israelites in their flight from Egypt, they found water in front and an army in rear of them. The immortal Tuh-tsun-ye again saw their danger, and again sent Chu Kai and Chu Kwang to the rescue. These first took the shape of clouds which afterwards changed into two planks, one of copper and the other of iron, which came low down and formed a bridge, over which the monks passed to the Pao-chu(20) monastery, where they remained a night and then proceeded to the Kao-chi temple,(21) at Wu-lung Kang,(22) in the Shih-ching district (23) At that place their guardian angels supplied them with food and other necessaries. But nevertheless, three of them were in great distress, and it was only after much persuasion they were induced to accompany their companions in their journey eastward. As it was, they only travelled a short time before they turned back, to find, however, to their great astonishment, that the temple had vanished and everything in the neighbourhood undergone a change. They perceived that they could not remain there, so they again set off and travelled eastward. Before long they learnt that the soldiers were still in pursuit, and to avoid them crossed into Hu-kwang and obtained lodgings for two weeks with Hwang Chang-ching,(24) the righteous keeper of the Yen Wang temple,(25) and his wife, surnamed Chung.(26) On leaving this place they travelled on to Kang-wei,(27) near Mount Ting.(28) There they met Cheng Tao-teh and Cheng Tao-fang,(29) two sons of their old companion in arms, Cheng Kiun-tah and Kuo Sin-ying, his wife, and Cheng Yü-lan, his sister. This little party were engaged in worshipping at Cheng Kiun-tah's grave, and from them the monks learnt that their old friend had been atrociously strangled with red silk by the traitor Chen Wan-yao.(30) The monks joined in worshipping at the tomb and in lamenting over the sad occurrences that had befallen their friends, when a party of soldiers appeared. The little party were in a sad plight indeed. Apparently they had no way of escape and no means of offering effective resistance. But at this critical moment the precious

(16) 謝邦恒, 吳廷貫.
(17) 吳天祐, 方患成, 張敬照, 楊杖佐, 林大江.
(18) 長沙灣口 (19) 惠州府.
(20) 寶珠. (21) 高溪廟.
(22) 烏龍崗. (23) 石城縣.
(24) 黃昌成. (25) 閻王廟.
(26) 鍾氏. (27) 港尾.
(28) 丁山.
(29) 鄭道德, 鄭道芳.
(30) 陳文耀.

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peach-wood sword of justice suddenly shot out of the head of Cheng Kiun-tah's grave, and was grasped by Kuo Siu-ying. Carved on the hilt of this miraculous sword were two dragons struggling for a pearl, typical of two emperors contending for empire, and near the point the characters *Fan Tsing, Fuh Ming*;(31) subvert Tsing restore Ming. Kuo Siu-ying had only to shake this wonderful sword at a soldier and his head fell off like ripe fruit from a tree. After this remarkable deliverance the parties separated. But before long, a rumour about the wonderful sword reached their enemy Chang Chiu-tsiu,(32) and he sent a party of soldiers to search Kuo Siu-ying's house for it. But she obtained information of the intended search, and gave the sword to her sons, who fled with it, and she and Cheng Yü-lan hastened off and drowned themselves in the San-ho river. Their bodies floated to Kang-wei, where they were found and recognized by Sie Pang-hang. He buried them in the hills above the river and erected tombstones over their graves.

The monks having heard of Chang Chin-tsiu's latest outrage determined to punish him. With this object in view they concealed themselves in a wood and waited for his return from Cheng Kiun-tah's house. When he and his escort of soldiers reached the place where the monks were secreted, they rushed on him, and before his soldiers could intervene to save him, cut him into two parts. The soldiers enraged at this followed the fleeing monks, who were saved from their fury by the interposition of Wu Tien-ch'ing,(33) Hung Tai-sui,(33) T'ao Pih-tah,(33) Li Shih-ti and Lin Yung-chao.(33) These are now known to the society as the After Five Patriachs, and are sometimes called the tiger generals. The monks next sought to return to the Kao-chi temple, and got so far as the Pao-chu monastery at Yün Siao-yü(34) and remained there for a few days. At this time they were in the utmost distress and on the verge of despair. They had no place in which to rest, and only desired life that they might gratify their craving for revenge. They even longed for death to come and wash out all their troubles.

Soon after leaving the Pao-chu monastery they met Ch'en Chin-nan,(35) the founder of the society. This man had been a member of the Han-lin academy and had held the office of President of the Censorate. When the emperor decided to have the Siao-lin monastery burnt Ch'en Chin-nan remonstrated with him, and thus brought on himself the resentment of the traitors Ch'en Wai-yao and Chang Chin-tsiu, who accused him of belonging to the monks' party and compelled him to resign his offices. He said 'since I am punished for being of their party I will join them.' In this frame of mind he left the capital and returned to his home in Hu-kwang, where, in the Pai-hao-tung,(36) White Stork Grotto, he devoted himself for a while to the study of Taoism, and the occult sciences usually found combined with it. He was then travelling in the guise of a fortune-teller, with the object of assisting the monks and revenging his own injuries. After conversing with the monks he learnt the desperate condition they were in, that they were without food, money and homes, and he had compassion for them and took them to his home and supplied all their wants. So now when one brother meets another and asks whence he comes, the reply is 'from the White Stork Grotto.'

(31) 反汨復汨.
(32) 張近秋.
(33) 吳天成, 洪太歲, 桃必達, 李式地, 林永招.
(34) 雲霄玉.
(35) 陳近南.
(36) 白鶴洞.

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After residing with Ch'en Chin-nan half a month he said to them, 'This place is too small to practise warfare in, but near here, at the rear of the Hsia-pu(37) convent, there is an extensive building called the Hung-hua-ting,(38) Red Flower Pavilion; we can use that. There, gentlemen, if you have no objection, we can reside together and scheme to avenge our wrongs.' They agreed to his proposal, and all removed into the Red Flower Pavilion, which they found to be large, airy, clean, and well lighted, and they were delighted with it.

One day the monks went for a stroll, and, while sauntering along the banks of the Kungwei river, they saw something floating along and drifting with the tide. They approached and examined it and found it was a large stone tripod incense vessel with two ears. They were amazed and shouted 'how wonderful.' On further examining it they found on its bottom the characters *Fan Tsing Fuh Ming*, subvert Tsing restore Ming, and a row of smaller characters said its weight was 52 catties 13 taels. It was of granite and of the same shape as the pewter tripods now in use. But this one was subsequently lost at Keng-i,(39) in Hung-chou.(40) The monks carried the incense vessel to a large stone that served as an altar, on which they placed it for the purpose of worshipping; but, owing to not having the necessary objects. they substituted guava twigs and grass for candles and incense sticks, and, having poured from a basin water instead of wine, they began to pray that the injury done at Shao-lin might be avenged by a Ming ruler. And they were no priests of Baal, for, to their astonishment, the twigs and grass burst into flame and began to burn. They afterwards threw the divining blocks three times, and prayed for a sign that their prayers would be answered, and three times in succession the blocks turned favourably.

After these auspicious signs the monks returned to the Red Flower Pavilion, and told Ch'eu Chin-nan what had happened. He said, 'It is the will of Heaven that the Tsing dynasty should be overthrown and the Ming dynasty reinstated; undoubtedly the time for vengeance is fixed.' The same day he raised the Ming standard, and issued proclamations calling for soldiers to fight in the Ming cause. Only one hundred and eight men, all of whom had previously assisted the monks, responded to the call. But, at the same time, there appeared on the scene a remarkable youth, not much more than ten years of age, with a fair complexion and red lips, and, like the famous Liú Pei, his arms reached below his knees and his ears drooped to his shoulders. The men seeing his superior mien and manners inquired who he was and why he had come amongst them. He replied, 'I am Chu Hung-chu,(41) a grandson of the emperor Tsung-cheng,(42) by his consort the Lady Li.(43) The empire of my ancestors was invaded and usurped by barbarians, and learning so many gentlemen are in arms in our cause, I have come purposely to take part with you, if you will permit me.' After deliberation the little army unanimously chose him as their ruler. The next day being a lucky one they selected it for sacrificing to their standard and commencing the great undertaking. Others now flocked to their standard, and Ch'eu Chin-nan proposed that a lucky day should be selected, on which all in arms should mix their blood and swear brotherhood by tasting it. Those already in arms were to be styled elder brothers, and those who joined their cause later younger brothers.

(37) 下普巷.
(38) 紅花亭.
(39) 坑尾. (40) 杭州.
(41) 朱洪竹.
(42) 崇禎.
(43) 李妃.

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This was agreed to. The twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the Chia-yin(44) year was selected by the hsiang-chu,(45) or grandmaster, Ch'eu Chin-nan for the purpose, and he appointed the Red Flower Pavilion as the place in which the oath of brotherhood was to be taken. The members of the brotherhood still all look on the above date as their birthday, and call themselves the Great Association of the Hung family. On this night they were astonished and pleased to see the southern sky open and brilliant stars form the characters 天廷國式 *tien ting kuo sheh*, Heaven's manifestation to the country. And Ch'eu Chin-nan, in obedience to the will of Heaven, adopted these four characters for the generalissimo's banner. The same night they saw a brilliant red light in the eastern sky and in consequence adopted the word hung, of the same sound as the word for red, but made up of 3, 8, 20, and 1, for a general surname of all the brethren. There is a verse on the character Hung, which says.

'The third month sees the peach-tree blossoming;
The eight immortals came to fix the date,
The twentieth day we go to fight with Tsing;
By one word, through all time, is known our fate.'

Cheu Chin-nan was the life and soul of the movement, and it was he who planned, contrived, and made all arrangements and appointments. He appointed Su Hung leader of the vanguard; the five monks to be generals in the centre; Wu, Hung, T'ao, Li and Lin to be generals; and sent off Wu, Fang, Chang, Yang, and Lin to Lung-hu-shan to recruit men and horses. Having made all necessary arrangements, Ch'eu Chin-nan issued an order informing the little army that they were going to march against the Tsing army the following day. It happened however that the Tsing army was much stronger than he expected to find it, and consequently, after a short fight, the Hung army was driven back to the hills. Chen Chin-nan then called a council of war and, in accordance with its decision, the little army retreated towards the Wan-yün mountain. In their retreat they happened to pass the Wan-yün monastery(46), the abbot of which was known by the name of Wan Yün-lung or Tah-tsung.(47) This man was a native of Tai-chang fu(48) in Che-kiang and his real name was Hu Te-chi.(49) He was of gigantic stature and immense strength, and he had joined the priesthood to atone for a murder which he had committed in early life. His attention was drawn, by the noise they were making, to the retreating soldiers, and on looking out he was surprised to behold priests amongst the fugitives. He inquired what it all meant; and, on being informed of what had happened he was very angry. He said, 'So the barbarian dogs act thus contrary to justice and reason do they? As sure as Buddha has power a Ming emperor shall again be happy in ruling this country. Let us gather heroes to our cause, and next month do our utmost to exterminate the Tsing barbarians and wipe out the injuries done to our young emperor and to you gentlemen. I will be the great brother to lead you to battle for revenge. Where is the difficulty?' The fugitives replied 'If you, Sir, exert yourself in our cause we shall prosper and enjoy the fortunes of three lives in this.' Chen Chin-nan finding Wan Yün-lung so strongly in their favour, introduced him to the young emperor and appointed him their greatest brother. He mixed his blood with that of the others of the party, and, in the presence of Heaven,

(44) 甲寅.
(45) 香主.
(46) 萬雲寺.
(47) 萬雲龍 or 達宗.
(48) 太昌府. (49) 胡得起.

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drank with them the mixture and swore to exterminate the Tsing and reinstate the Ming Dynasty.

The twentieth day of the eighth month was the day selected for recommencing active hostilities. On that day and daily for over ten days Wan Yün-lung, armed with two large clubs, performed prodigious feats of valour, and slew vast numbers of the Tsing soldiers; but unfortunately on the ninth day of the ninth month he was struck by an arrow and slain. This happened below a precipice on Mount Tsan. The rest of the army lost heart and fled in confusion on seeing their great brother killed. The five monks concealed themselves near, and when the Tsing army withdrew from the battle-field they returned, burnt Wan Yün-lung's body, gathered up the ashes of their hero in a red silk cloth, conveyed them to the foot of the Ting mountain, and buried them in a place where Chen Chin-nan found the geomantic signs were good; there being a stream with nine windings in front, a mountain with thirteen peaks in rear, a fir tree on the right and a cedar tree on the left of the grave. Chen Chin-nan enobled Wan Yün-lung as Duke Tah-tsung, and he and the remaining brothers set up a triangular ten thousand ages memorial stone, on which they engraved sixteen characters, all having the water radical. They also erected a miniature nine-storied pagoda.

These ceremonies having been concluded a search was made in every direction for the young emperor; but nothing more was ever seen of him. The leaders then held a consultation at which Chen Chin-nan, addressing his companions said, 'Since our late defeat I have made a prognostication with my bent fingers and found that Heaven's time for the destruction of the Tsing dynasty has not yet arrived; but before long the Tsing rulers will be extirpated and Ming rulers be reinstated to reign for a prosperous era. We are now vanquished, and it is useless to attempt anything further in this matter. I advise you all to disperse. Some of you can take to the fields and moors, and the rest can go afloat on the rivers and lakes. All ought to conceal themselves, nourish their health and strength, and practise to become able and virtuous. All should transmit from mouth to mouth and do his best to promulgate throughout the empire our aims, and secret signs and words, and try to join all in our cause, so that in a future attempt we may be successful in our meritorious undertaking. Gentlemen, I now bid you all farewell and go forth to wander, it may be on foot, across hills and dales, or it may be by vessel over rivers and lakes. Once more, I assure you, the destined time for the successful assembling of the Hung family is fixed and must come. Farewell!' He then bowed to all and left. After this parting Chen Chin-nan returned to his village home, and the others went off in all directions with the secret signs and words of the society. After deliberation the five monks, who, since the burning of the Shaolin monastery had shared so many hardships with so much fortitude, also agreed to separate and set out in different directions to induce able men to join the brotherhood, in order that their wrongs might be avenged. Before parting these Five Patriarchs of the Hung Brotherhood composed the following verse, which was handed down and has ever since been used as a memorial and sign of membership:—

> At parting, five a verse composed,
> Which heroes carry undisclosed;
> But when their brothers this do see
> They know the sign of unity.

This is the verse written in the octagonal diagram of the certificate of membership that members carry in their purses.

Since the separation after Wan Yün-lung's death many years had passed, during which the brotherhood had been busy recruiting adherents in several provinces; and the members had been keeping up a correspondence with each other. At last the time for action came again and a large

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army assembled at the Kao-chi temple in Huei-chou-fu. But Su Hang-kuang, the only one of their old leaders left, happened to die, and there was no man of ability to lead them left at this critical time. They were relieved from their difficulty however and a leader supplied in a wonderful and thoroughly Chinese manner.

In order to explain who this leader was and whence he came it is necessary to go back to the Ming emperor Tsung-cheng's death in 1628. Soon after the rebel chief Li Tzu-cheng captured Peking, this emperor ended his life and the Ming dynasty by hanging himself on a solitary stunted tree on Prospect Hill. His faithful, favourite eunuch Wang Cheng-en,(50) in expectation of being buried with him in the celebrated necropolis of the Mings, also committed suicide. The emperor had appropriated the only tree at hand, and Wang Cheng-en, either because there was no unoccupied branch left and he feared to trespass, by utilizing the same one his imperial master had, or because he did not dare to aspire to so high a position, tied his majesty's feet together and hanged himself from them. By this foolish act he frustrated the end he had in view. For, when the bodies were found, instead of being regarded as a faithful servant, he was looked on as a traitor who had tied the emperor's feet together, to prevent him from escaping; and, while the emperor's body was decreed imperial burial in the family tombs, his was cast out to lie unburied, and his ghost was left without a home or habitation. It happened, however, that about the time that the Triad army was assembling at the Kao-chi Temple, Saint Tah-mo, the Chinese Bodhidharma, in answer to the poor ghost's continual supplications, had decided to oblige him, and, with this object in view, had secured the ghost, or the three rational and seven animal spirits that constituted it, in a gourd, in a similar manner to that in which Solomon put the wicked genius, in the vase found by the fisherman, as related by the imaginative Scheherazadè, and in this way conveyed it to occupy the body of Su Hang Kuang,(51) which Su Hang Kuang's ghost had vacated, which in consequence became revivified. This animated corpse, which now took the name of Tien Yu Hung,(52) or Heaven protect Hung, lost no time in trying to atone for Wang Cheng-en's former blunder of hanging himself in the manner described. Being naturally zealous in the Ming cause, he, in the form of Su Hang Kuang, assumed the command of the Triad men then in arms. For a while success attended his generalship, and the Triad men conquered in battle after battle, until seven provinces were brought under their sway. Then misfortunes came again and stayed. While fighting in Szechwan Su Hang Kuang's body was struck down and gave up Wang Cheng-en's ghost, in consequence of which Tien Yu Hung died and the Triad army was defeated and dispersed. In a short time the conquered provinces were retaken by the Tsing army and every remnant of the rebellion was destroyed.

From this account it will be seen that the Triad Society claims to have been brought into existence through the incomplete carrying out of as flagrant and cowardly an act of treachery and sacrilege as it is possible to conceive. And, if true, it is not to be wondered at that the war cry of those who escaped from the burning monastery should have been 'Down with the Tsings, up with the Mings;' or that they should have toiled unremittingly and patiently to found a society to wreak vengeance on the dynasty that had so perfidiously and cruelly injured those whom in honor it was bound to protect. Nor is it surprising, considering the patriotic and semi-religious character of the Society, that it should obtain a strong hold

(50) 黃丞恩.

(51) 蘇洪光.

(52) 天祐洪.

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amongst a people averse to being governed by a foreign tribe which they despised. That there was a Shao-lin monastery; that it was set on fire by officers of this dynasty; and that a great many monks were burnt to death, while others escaped to found the Triad Society, is looked on as a matter of history by the people of the south-eastern part of China. That the story has been embellished with the wonderful in passing from mouth to mouth, in its traditional descent for so many generations, is not surprising. The frequent allusions to the story in the ritual will be seen in the following pages.

WILLIAM STANTON.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANCIENT COINAGE OF CHINA.

The Ancient Coinage of China presents a field for antiquarian research of much interest and even fascination. The student finds himself confronted with a mass of materials in the shape of curious oblong coins and tokens, and an array of authorities which convey him at once into the misty dawn of prehistoric times, where truth and surmise, fact and fable, are so interwoven, that it is difficult to know what to accept and what to reject. The two thousand years embraced in Chinese chronology before the period of authentic history begins, should not, however, be at once summarily relegated to the unknown past of myth and legend, into which it is wholly profitless to inquire. Whilst freely admitting the untrustworthiness of the records which deal with these most ancient times, (and the same may be said of many later periods), they give us a picture, though very vague in its outlines it is true, of those dim centuries, in which the Chinese race had its origin, and furnish us with many facts, coloured and distorted though they be, by tradition and fanciful interpretation, yet still of deepest interest in the hints they give us in regard to the local, political, moral, and religious life of the sturdy ancestors of the multitudinous people, whose real history in the subsequent two thousand years is the wonder of all nations.

Many articles of assured genuineness have come down from these ancient times, such as bells, tripods, sacrificial cups, and coins and tokens of various shapes, illustrating, in a measure, the life, habits and occupations, of the people.

The reverence which the Chinese have for antiquity is proverbial, and extends not only to their sages, and their semi-fabulous and wholly mythical emperors, but to all forms of relics bequeathed by past ages. Their taste for and systematic pursuit of antiquarian research dates from before the time of the Great Confucius. Their interest in the coins of preceding ages is only one phase of the general bent of their minds.

The systematic collection of ancient coins, with the careful study of their dates, localities, forms and values, had begun before the sixth century A.D., the annals of the Sui dynasty, A.D. 581-618, containing reference to such collections. The literature of this subject is abundant. The books that have been published since the first treatise was issued, more than thirteen hundred years ago, would form a library of several hundred volumes. Many of these have long been lost to the world and are known only by references made to them in later treatises.

The earliest work to which a definite date can be assigned is the Ku-shi Ts'ien-p'u,(1) published in the time of the Sui dynasty,

(1) 顧氏錢譜.

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A.D. 581-618. In this a previous publication, the Liu-shi Ts'ien-chi,(2) is freely quoted. Two works appeared in the time of the T'ang dynasty A.D. 618-905. A dozen or more were published in the time of the Sung Dynasty A.D. 960-1278, and as many more in the time of the Ming dynasty A.D. 1368-1628; while the present dynasty has added its quota of works on this subject. These are regarded as the best authorities available on the Coinage of China. Of the books most frequently quoted with approval by writers on Chinese Coins, the Lu-shi,(3) by Lo-pi(4) of the Sung period, is one of the most prominent. It is constantly referred to by all subsequent writers on numismatics, and its authority is accepted by most of them as final as to the dates of the most ancient coins. This work is in forty-seven books or chapters. It is a history of the earliest period of the Chinese race. It begins with the remotest mythical era and extends down to the close of the Hia dynasty about the end of the eighteenth century B.C. One section entitled 'Pao-pei Su,'(5) which treats of the ancient coins issued by the mythical emperors and their successors, has been reprinted with numerous additions, in an anonymous form, under the title of Ts'ien-pei-k'ao.(6) This work is studiously followed by later writers and its statements accepted without question. The Lu-shi gives the most ancient dates possible to the coins described, assigning them to the time of Fuh-hi(7) B.C. 2852, of Shän-nung(8) B.C. 2737, of Hwang-ti(9) B.C. 2697, of Yao(10) B.C. 2356, of Shun(11) B.C. 2255, and of Ta-yü(12) B.C. 2205.

The oldest work now extant in Chinese numismatics is the Ts'uen-chi(13) by Hung-tsun, of the Sung period. He was the second of three celebrated brothers known in history as the 'Three Hungs,' sons of the former statesman, Hung Hao.(14) This work is in fifteen books or chapters. It is very complete in its enumeration, description, and illustration of the coins, medals, and charms, of China and adjoining countries, giving both the legitimate coins, and those of usurpers and rebels. It begins from the earliest times and comes down to the end of the tenth century. Several supplements have since been added supplying omissions and giving additional lists, down to the end of the Ming dynasty. The Ts'üen-chi(15) is everywhere quoted as the leading authority on coins of the ante-Sung period. The Ts'üen-chi(16) follows the Lu-shi(17) in assigning very early dates to the ancient oblong or Pao(18) coins. The original work is now very difficult to obtain. It is, however, so abundantly quoted in all the later treatises, that the student finds the greater part of the work placed before him in detached portions, and thus obtains as much information of its contents as the possession of the book itself would give.

The Kin-ting Ts'ien-luh(19) or Imperial Catalogue of Coins was published by imperial order in the 15th year of K'ien-lung A.D. 1850. It is in sixteen books or chapters, usually bound in two volumes. It gives illustrations and descriptions of all the coins and medals in the numismatic cabinet in the imperial palace. It is disappointing because of the paucity of specimens described, compared with the number figured in other treatises. Twenty-six specimens of the ancient Pao(20) or Pei(21) coins are given, all of which are as-

(2) 劉氏錢志.
(3) 路史. (4) 羅泌.
(5) 布幣溯. (6) 錢幣考.
(7) 伏羲. (8) 神農.
(9) 黃帝. (10) 堯.
(11) 舜. (12) 大禹.
(13) 洪遵泉志.
(14) 洪浩. (15) 泉志.
(16) 泉志. (17) 路史.
(18) 布. (19) 欽定錢錄.
(20) 布. (21) 幣.

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signed to the times of various rulers from Fuh-hi(22) B.C. 2852, to Ching-t'ang(23) B.C. 1766. Only seventy specimens in all, belonging to periods B.C. are given, while the list of those in the centuries A.D. is very meagre. The Ts'ien-chi Sin-pien(24) 'Chronicles of Coins' was published in the sixth year of Tao-kwong, A.D. 1826. It is one of the best known of modern works on numismatics, having been translated by C. B. Hillier, Esq., in 1842. This translation has been reproduced almost in full, in Doolittle's Vocabulary and Hand Book, Part II. This work is published in twenty books or chapters usually bound in two volumes. It gives illustrations and descriptions of coins from ancient times down to the close of the Ming Dynasty. The illustrative work is beautifully done. A list of ten earlier treatises consulted in its compilation is given, beginning with Liu's(25) 'Chronicles' referred to in the annals of Sui and ending with Hung-tsun's(26) 'Chronicles' in the time of the Sungs. Twenty-eight specimens of the ancient 'Pao'(27) coins are figured, all of which are assigned to periods anterior to the beginning of the Chen dynasty, B.C. 1122.

The Kih-kin-su Kien-luh(28) or 'Record of Coins seen' was published in the twenty-third year of Kia-king, A.D. 1819. It is in eighteen books or chapters, bound in four volumes, and treats of coins and medals from the earliest date to the close of the Ming dynasty, giving very full lists of legitimate coins and those issued by various usurpers, insurgents and rebels, including Chinese, Tartars, and the various pretenders following the close of the great dynasties. Many coins of outside patrons, Japan, Corea, Annam, &c., are given. There is also a very full list of medals, charms, and other peculiar forms.

This work differs from nearly all its predecessors and contemporaries in the position it takes in regard to the ancient Pao(29) coins, of which over one hundred different varieties are figured. These are all assigned to the period of the Chen Lieh Kwok(30) B.C. 722-220. The book begins with several elaborate introductions by distinguished friends of the author. It contains an excellent glossary or explanatory list of the characters found on the ancient coins. The coins of the various dynasties are given in chronological order. The literary style is good and the illustrations excellent. This work is easily obtained.

The latest and most complete work on Chinese numismatics is the Ku-ts'üen-hwui(31) 'Ancient Coin Exchange,' by Li Shéh-ts'üen.(32) This work as originally issued was composed of sixty-two books or chapters, bound in nineteen volumes, and was published in the third year of T'ung-chi, A.D. 1864. Two supplements have since been added containing sixteen additional books or chapters, bound in five volumes. The whole work as now issued is in seventy-eight books or chapters, usually bound in twenty-four volumes. The number of coins &c. figured is about six thousand. Of these twelve hundred and eighty-five, are different varieties of the ancient Pao(33) or Pei.(34) Over eight hundred different specimens of knife coins Tao-pao(35) are figured.

This work, as its name implies, is exhaustive in its treatment of the subject, combining the best material of all previous treatises and adding much that is new and important. The author is non-committal as

(22) 伏羲. (23) 成湯.
(24) 錢志新編.
(25) 劉氏錢志.
(26) 洪遵泉志.
(27) 布.
(28) 吉金所見錄.
(29) 古布. (30) 周列國.
(31) 古泉匯. (32) 李石泉.
(33) 布. (34) 幣.
(35) 刀布.

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to the dates of many of the ancient Pao(36) coins, quoting the various authorities from the Lu-shi(37) down to the 'Record of Coins.'(38) It contains the most complete list of Asiatic coins ever published. It does not treat of the coinage of the present dynasty at all, the latest Chinese coins figured being those of the various 'pretenders,' who followed on the destruction of the Ming's. Lists of later coins from Annam and elsewhere are given. The work is well executed. The illustrations in the original issue are good, but those in the supplements are very inferior. The statements and conclusions, bearing on special or disputed points, are reasonable. It is justly entitled to be considered the most complete and trustworthy work in existence on the subject of Chinese numismatics. The author, in quoting various writers on the vexed questions of ancient coinage, gives the highest place to the 'Record of Coins,'(38) but adds that this work will not escape severe criticism because of its position in regard to the date of the ancient Pao(39) coins. He accepts the deductions of that work in regard to many of these coins, but considers it probable that some, which can readily he distinguished by their shape and inscriptions, should be assigned to earlier dates.

All the lists of coins, given in the scores of treatises quoted, are unsatisfactory, because, in each, it is only the specimens in some particular collection that are described, or only the coins that have come under the direct inspection of the author. This prevailing defect renders the study of Chinese Coinage in its entirety very difficult. Most of the treatises are merely descriptive catalogues of collections in the possession of certain individuals or families. Others describe only what they have themselves seen and handled. Even the Ku-ts'üen-hwui(40), with its ample lists, suffers from this defect. No list, not even the latest and fullest, professes to be complete. Every collector has felt a sense of disappointment when some fine specimen has come into his hands and he fails to find it figured or described in any of the approved treatises on coins. In the absence of any official or authoritative record of the date, the number, the value, and the special peculiarities of the various issues, it is impossible to determine, with any satisfactory degree of certainty, the status of every specimen. There are many genuine specimens constantly turning up, which are not figured in any of the books. On the other hand, there are many specimens which answer in every detail to the fac-simile representations of certain coins, which, as many a collector has found to his sorrow, are merely clever imitations.

With these preliminary observations we come to the first main division of the subject before us:—

The Ancient Pao Coins.(41)

The earliest of these coins are distinguished by their peculiar shape, being oblong in form, the lower half divided and ending in square, pointed, or rounded feet; having also a head or handle projecting above, and also possessing square or rounded shoulders. Most of the specimens now extant have holes pierced in the top or handle. These holes, in most cases, are evidently the work of later hands, being made for convenience in carrying them. There are a few exceptions in which these apertures appear to have been made at the time of casting, and these exceptions may readily be determined by the form of the apertures, which bear the marks of the moulds in which the coins were cast.

The designations of these coins are various and somewhat puzzling. The general term under which they are included in nearly all the treatises is *Ku-pao*, literally 'ancient

(36) 古布. (37) 路史.
(38) 吉金所見錄.
(39) 古布.
(40) 古泉匯. (41) 古布.

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cloth.' The term *pao*, however, when so used, has the distinctive meaning of 'money' or 'coin,' and at the present day is frequently used in reference to the current coin of the latest issues.

A comparison of references in ancient records shews that Tai Hoa,(42) B.C. 2852, coined money which was called *kin*(43) 'metal,' indicating the material of which it was made. Yiu Hiung(44) B.C. 2697, and Kao-sin(45) B.C. 2435, called the coins used in their time *hwo*(46) literally 'goods,' indicating their use for purposes of trade. In the time of T'ao-T'ang(47) B.C. 2356, they were called *ts'üen*(48). Two reasons are given for the use of this word. The first is that as *ts'üen*(48) means a fountain whence streams of water issue, so 'money' (*ts'üen*)(48) has its fountain in the State treasury, whence it flows out through the channels of trade and commerce among the people. The second and more probable reason is found in the shape of the coins which resemble the seal form of the character *ts'üen* 泉(48).

In the time of the Shang(49) and Cheu(50) dynasties these coins were called *pao*(51) 'cloth,' referring to their commercial value and use in trade. Later forms in use in the Ts'e(52) kingdom and elsewhere are called *tao*,(53) 'knives,' indicating both their shape and commercial uses.

According to the Kwan-tsze(54), in ancient times these coins were all included in the general term *pei*(55). This term occurs frequently in the classics and other ancient writings and is almost invariably translated, 'rolls of silk.' That this is often an incomplete rendering is evident from the fact that *ts'üen-pei*(56), *pao-pei*(57), and *pei*(58) alone, are constantly used as terms for money in the shape of coins. The use of the term *pei*(58) is analogous to the use of the term *pao*(59), the commercial value of these coins being reckoned by the amount of 'cloth' or 'rolls of silk' they represented. Thus we have them called *pao pei*,(57) and *pao-ts'üen*(60); the *pao*(59) and *pei*(58) referring to their commercial value, and the *ts'üen*(61) to their shape.

In the Cheu-li(62) reference is made to officers whose duty it was to superintend the issue and collection of the money of the various States.(63) In explanation of the terms used, it is said that *ts'üen*(61) refers to the money held in deposit, and *pao*(59) to the money in circulation.

Some of the treatises on ancient coins quote a passage from the Book of Odes(64) as referring to coins of this description. Dr. Legge translates the lines:—

'A simple looking lad you were,
Carrying *cloth* to exchange for silk.'

Notwithstanding the fact that so high an authority as Chu-fu-tsze(65) interprets *pao*(66) in this passage to mean 'cloth,' many writers on numismatics and modern scholars whose attention has been specially called to it, consider that *pao*(66) in this instance at least, undoubtedly means 'coins' or money, which the lad could have conveniently carried for purposes of trade, while the bulky 'rolls of cloth' implied in the other interpretation would have rather interfered with his movements in wooing

(42) 太昊.
(43) 金.
(44) 有熊.
(45) 高辛.
(46) 貨.
(47) 陶唐.
(48) 泉.
(49) 商.
(50) 周.
(51) 布.
(52) 齊.
(53) 刀.
(54) 管子.
(55) 幣.
(56) 泉幣.
(57) 布幣.
(58) 幣.
(59) 布.
(60) 布泉.
(61) 泉.
(62) 周禮.
(63) 掌邦布之出入.
(64) 氓之蚩蚩抱布貿絲.
(65) 朱夫子.
(66) 布.

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the coy maiden whose sad plaint of misplaced affection is poured forth in this ode.

The Cheu-li(67) states that *pao*, money, was given in order to gain freedom of entrance to the outer apartments of the palace.

It may be accepted as a general explanation of the terms used for ancient coins, that *ts'üen*(68) refers to the shape, *kin*,(69) 'metal,' to the material of which they were made, while *pao*(66), 'cloth,' *pei*(70), 'roll of silk' and *tao*(71), 'knife,' refer to their use and commerical value. Round coins were introduced at the beginning of the Cheu dynasty and according to the Kwan-tsze(72), were at first called *pao*(73).

According to the Kwoh-yü(74), Cheu King Wang(75), B.C. 544, first introduced the term *ts'ien*(76), the one now universally used for coins or money. According to the Lu-shi,(77) the Ch'un-ts'iu(78), and the Han(79) books, the *pei*(80) or coins of Cheu, Ts'i, Tsin, Ch'u, Ts'un, and Chao(81) were all called *ts'ien*.(76)

One authority(82) on the origin and history of coined money, states that Tai Hao(83), B.C. 2852, made the *kih-pei*(84) or 'thorn coins.' In the 'Imperial Catalogue of Coins,'(85) the first specimen figured is put down as one of these. Shän-nung(86), B.C. 2737, divided the kingdom into districts and sent officers throughout the realm to collect revenue, literally 'goods and silk.' Hwang-ti(87), B.C. 2699, moulded metal for trade and formed metal into 'knives' or knife-shaped coins. He established the 'nine thorns,'(88) coins of graduated values, and the 'five *pei*,'(89) or legal coins, that commercial exchange might be properly regulated. Another account says, he 'invented money for trade.'(90) The Great Yü(91), B.C. 2205, is said to have 'cast or coined money for the redemption of the people.'(92) This specific form of money will be referred to later on. Again Ching T'ang(93), B.C. 1766, is said to have 'cast coined money to distribute alms to the people.'(94) Another authority(95) states that in the time of Yü, Hia, Shang and Cheu(96), B.C. 2255-1120, there were three grades of money of which gold was the highest(97) and copper the lowest(98).

According to the Kwan-tsze(99), the Great Yü(91), B.C. 2205, used in his coinage metal from Lih-shan(100), a hill thirty li (ten miles) south of P'u-cheu(101), the present Ping-yang-fu(102), in Shan-si, the place where Shun(103) is said to have ploughed.

T'ang(104), 1766 B.C., used metal from Chwang-shan(105) in casting coins.

The Kwoh-yü(106) states that the prince of Chao(107) presented Chang-i with gifts of chariots, horses, and metal coins(108). From the Cheu-li(109) we learn that under the direction of an official called the 'Ti

(67) 周禮. (68) 泉. (87) 黃帝. (88) 九棘.
(69) 金. (70) 幣. (89) 五幣. (90) 作幣貨.
(71) 刀. (72) 管子. (91) 大禹. (92) 鑄幣贖民.
(73) 布. (74) 國語. (93) 成湯. (94) 鑄幣賑民.
(75) 周景王. (76) 錢. (95) 周語. (96) 虞,夏,商,周.
(77) 路史. (78) 春秋. (97) 上幣. (98) 下幣.
(79) 漢書. (80) 幣. (99) 管子. (100) 歷山.
(81) 周,齊,晉,楚,秦,趙. (101) 蒲州. (102) 平陽府.
(82) 錢幣之始史. (103) 舜. (104) 湯.
(83) 太昊. (84) 棘幣. (105) 莊山. (106) 國語.
(85) 欽定錢錄. (86) 神農. (107) 趙王. (108) 車馬金錢.
(109) 周禮.

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Kwan'(110), every householder was required to have in readiness his *Li-pao*(111) or 'mile coin,' probably some special tax. Mention is also made of six other kinds of *pao*(112) coins used for specific purposes, and the appointment of special officers for the collection of the taxes or dues to be paid in the form of these coins, which were deposited in the public treasury. There were also 'grain coins'(113), or tokens given in exchange for grain. These were probably issued before the harvest as tokens, or advance payment, the amount of grain required of each husbandman being fixed by the value of the coin or token issued.

In reference to the distinction between *ts'üen*(114) and *ts'ien*(115), it may be said in general that *ts'üen*(114) is the earlier term and includes coins of all forms except the 'knife' shaped. The term *ts'üen*(114) includes all the *ts'ien*(115), but it cannot be said that *ts'ien*(115) includes all the *ts'üen*(116). Hence Hung Tsun(117) entitles his book 'the Ts'üen-chi'(118), and Li Shih-ts'üen(119) adopts for his the name 'Ku-ts üen-hwui'(120), as all inclusive. In describing a coin, *mien*(121) and *pei*(122) mean respectively the 'obverse' and 'reverse.' *Chen-kwoh*(123), means the raised rim or border around the outer edge. *Hao*(124), means the aperture in the centre of round coins, and in the top of oblong or knife shaped ones: *hoa-kwoh*(125) means the raised rim or border around this aperture, and '*juh*'(126) means the body or general surface of the coin.

In determining the dates of different specimens three things must be considered, the shape, the material, and the style of writing in the inscription. Great stress is laid upon this last consideration especially in the case of very ancient coins.

The ancient Pao(127) are divided into four principal classes, according to peculiar differences in shape, which are called respectively 'the square-footed Pao'(128), 'the pointed-footed Pao'(129), 'the round-footed Pao'(130), and the 'spade-shaped'(131), or 'hollow-headed Pao.'(132)

The 'square-footed' coins are subdivided into several minor groups according to further peculiarities of outline. Those which are usually considered to be the oldest have square feet and round shoulders, the space between the feet being parabolic in shape, while the projecting head or handle, tapers slightly wedge fashion, toward the shoulders. Others have square feet and shoulders, with a curved space between the feet. The larger number, however, have square feet, square shoulders, square heads, and square spaces between the feet.

In the series of fac-simile illustrations of coins given below, the writer is following the course he so strongly deprecates in Chinese treatises, in giving only those in his own collection. These, however, have all been submitted to Chinese connoisseurs and pronounced unquestionably genuine. The only question in regard to them which cannot be definitely or satisfactorily settled, is that of the date to which they should be assigned. In representing them, the arrangement given in the Ku-ts'üen-hwui(133), has in the main been followed, preference being

(110) 地官. (111) 里布.

(112) 夫布, 歛布, 泉布, 質布, 罰布, 廛布.

(113) 穀幣. (114) 泉.

(115) 錢. (116) 泉.

(117) 洪遵. (118) 泉志.

(119) 李石泉. (120) 古泉匯.

(121) 面. (122) 背.

(123) 週郭. (124) 好.

(125) 好郭.

(126) 肉. (127) 古布.

(128) 方足布. (129) 尖足布.

(130) 圓足布 (131) 錢幣.

(132) 空首布. (133) 古泉匯.

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given to the deductions of the Kih Kin Su Kien Luh(134) which assigns the latest date given by any Chinese writer, rather than to the theories of those who would place most, if not all the Ku-pao, 'Ancient Coins,' to the legendary or semi-mythical periods of the earlier dynasties.

No. 1. Yü Yih Kin Hwa(135), 'Yü's commercial coin, value one.' The inscription is written in inverted form, and should be read as it stands, from left to right. The first character *yü* is for Yü Shun Ti(136), B.C. 2255. The last character *hwa*(137), is a contracted form for *hwo*(138). The two intermediate characters, *yih kin*,(139) give the value of the coin as equivalent to one of that particular denomination. Both the obverse and the reverse have a distinct rim or raised border around the edges. It differs decidedly in form, and style of inscription from most, of the 'square-footed' coins of the Lieh Kwoh(140) period. It is accepted by nearly all authorities as one of Yü Shun Ti's(136) coins. While bearing his name, it may have been cast by some of his descendants.

No. 2. Yü Yih Kin Hwa(135), 'Yü's commercial coin, value one.' The same as the preceding, except that the obverse has no rim or border. The rim on the reverse is quite distinct. There is also a difference in the formation of the first character *yü*(141). The inverted inscription, shape, and value, are all the same.

No. 3. Yü Kin Hwa,(142) 'Yü's commercial coin.' The inscription is written in inverted form, and should be read as it stands, from right to left, being in this distinguished from the two preceding, from which it also differs in the fact that the character *yih*, 'one,' and half the character *Yü*, are wanting. The reverse has a raised border around the edges, while the obverse is entirely without this mark. It belongs to the same period and evidently had the same value as the two preceding.

No. 4. Yü Hwa Pan Kin(143), 'Yü's commercial half-coin.' The inscription is written in inverted form and should be read, as it stands, from right to left, just as No. 3. Both the obverse and the reverse have distinctly raised borders around the edges. It is much smaller, and, as the inscription indicates, its value is one half of the preceding ones.

These four belong to a distinct group.

The six following form another group. They belong to a special class called 'Shuh-kin'(144), 'redemption or commutation money.' These appeared first in the time of the Great Yü(145), B.C. 2205, who is said to have 'cast money to redeem the people'(146), that is, for the commutation of crimes on the payment of money in this form. Such coins were also issued by Ch'ing T'ang(147), B.C. 1766.

No. 5. Shing Ching Shang Kin Shang Yuen(148). The inscription should be read in perpendicular lines from right to left. Both the obverse and the reverse are entirely without rim or border. The Kwan-tsze(149) states that there were *yü-kiah*(150), 'Yü's seeds,' *shing-ma*(151), 'Chariot horse,' and *ts'ing-wän*(152), 'Inquiry' coins(153). The Lu-shi(154) considers this

(134) 吉金所見錄.
(135) 虞一金貨.
(136) 虞舜帝. (137) 化.
(138) 貨. (139) 一金.
(140) 列國.
(141) 虞一金貨.
(142) 虞金貨.
(143) 虞貨半金.
(144) 贖金.
(145) 大禹. (146) 鑄幣贖民.
(147) 成湯.
(148) 乘正尙金尙爰.
(149) 管子. (150) 虞莢.
(151) 乘馬. (152) 問間.
(153) 幣. (154) 路史.

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specimen to belong to that class of coins, and all subsequent writers, with rare exceptions, follow this dictum. The 'Shuh Kin Shih Wen '(155), or 'Interpretation of Redemption Coins,' explains that *Shing*(156), the first character in the inscription, which is also the classifier for chariot, means 'four,' because each chariot had four horses. In the same way 'four arrows '(157), are called *Shing*(158) or 'chariot arrows,' and 'four jars '(159), a part of the equipment of a war chariot, into which the arrows were shot, are called *shing*(160) or 'chariot jars,' and so on. In this way the meaning 'four' is evolved from the character *Shing*(161), and the designation 'Ts'eh Shing Ma '(162) 'drawing four horses,' is applied to this particular class of coins. The character *Ching*(163), 'correct,' refers to the form of writing in the inscription, which is 'correct or upright,' not inverted. The first *Shang*(164), is explained to be the same *Shang*(165) as 'upper,' and refers to the superior value of the coin. The second *Shang*(166) is a contracted form of Tang(167), 'equivalent,' and refers to its corresponding value, for special uses. The last character *Yuen*(168), is a contraction for *Hwan*(169), an ancient ring or weight equal to 6⅔ taels. The inscription thus explained, means, 'a coin of four-fold value, with upright inscription, made of superior metal, equivalent to 6⅔ taels, to be used in the redemption or commutation of crimes.' It is assigned by most authorities to the time of Yü Shun-ti, B.C. 2255.

No. 6. Shing Ching Shang Kin Shang Yuen(170). The inscription is the same as the one preceding, and should be read perpendicularly from right to left. There is a slight d fference in the formation of the characters. Both the obverse and reverse have a rim or border around the edges.

No. 7. Shing Pan Shang Rh Kin Shang Yuen(171). A smaller variety of the 'chariot horse coin'(172), in value equal to one half of the larger coin. Both obverse and reverse have a distinct rim or border. The three middle characters, 'Shang Rh Kin'(173), mean the best of the second grade, or half-value coins. The inscription according to the explanation given under No. 5, means, 'half-coin of four-fold value, the best of the second grade, equivalent to 6⅔ taels, to be used in the redemption or commutation of crimes.'

No. 8. Shing Pan Shang Rh Kin Shang Yuen(174). The same as the preceding, with rims on the obverse and reverse. It is slightly larger, with the head or handle of a different shape. The first character *Shing*(175), and the third character *Shang*(176), are different in form from the preceding.

No. 9. Shing Pan Shang Rh Kin Shang Yuen(177). The inscription is the same, as on Nos. 7 and 8, and is read in the same way. Both obverse and reverse have good rims. The shape is similar to No. 8. There is some difference in the formation of the first and third characters. Its value is one half of the larger coin.

No. 10. Shing Ch'ung Hwa Kin Wu Rh Shih Shang Yuen(178). This is another

(155) 贖金釋文.
(156) 乘. (157) 四矢.
(158) 乘矢. (159) 四壺.
(160) 乘壺. (161) 乘.
(162) 策乘馬. (163) 正.
(164) 尚. (165) 上.
(166) 尚. (167) 當.
(168) 爰. (169) 鍰.
(170) 乘正尚金尚爰.
(171) 乘半尚二金尚爰.
(172) 乘馬幣. (173) 尚二金.
(174) 乘半尚二金尚爰.
(175) 乘.
(176) 尚.
(177) 乘半尚二金尚爰
(178) 乘充貨金五二十尚爰.

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variety of the 'chariot horse coin'(179). It is peculiar in having a rounded head as well as shoulders. Both obverse and reverse are without rim or raised border. The characters in the inscription jut out prominently, in rather heavy lines, from the surface of the coin. The second character Ch'ung(180), meaning 'for public or current use' is often found on the reverse of other coins. The numbers, Wu Rh Shih(181), 'five, two, ten,' are explained, as meaning, that one of these coins is equal to five ordinary ones, and two are equal to ten. The inscription read from right to left in perpendicular lines, means, 'a commercial coin of four-fold value for current use, one being equal to five and two to ten, to be used also for the redemption or commutation of crimes.' It belongs to the same period as the five immediately preceding.

The next three form a separate group, and are known as the 'Ngan-yih-kin'(182), 'the coins of the city of Ngan'(183) the capital of Yü-shun-ti(184), and the Great Yü(185), B.C. 2255 and 2205. In this group, of which nine varieties are figured in the 'Ancient Coin Exchange'(186), the inscription is sometimes inverted, sometimes one half only is inverted, but usually it is in the correct or upright form. Some have the character for Ngan(183), the name of the city, on the reverse, to which Ch'ung(187), the term for current or public use, is sometimes added. The 'Interpretation of Redemption Coins'(188), gives as a reason for this, that the ignorant people could not distinguish between the obverse inscriptions, or know whether they were written in inverted or upright form, or whether the coins were good or bad, hence these inscriptions on the reverse were added as a guide to them in their use. These coins were also used by the people for the redemption or commutation of crime.

No. 11. Ngan Yih Hwa Yih Kin(189). 'Commercial Coin of the city of Ngan, value one.'

The inscription is in upright form and should be read perpendicularly from right to left. The coin is more elongated than the preceeding ones, and the curved space between the feet is deeper. Both obverse and reverse are entirely without rim or raised border. This coin is assigned by most authorities to the time of the Great Yü, B.C. 2205.

No. 12. Ngan Yih Rh Kin(190). 'Commercial Coin of the city of Ngan, value two.' The inscription is written in inverted form, and should be read as it stands, from left to right and from bottom to top in three lines. Both obverse and reverse are entirely without rim or raised border. It belongs to the same place and period as the preceding; but is much larger and of double the value.

No. 13. Ngan Yin Rh(191). 'Coin of the *yin*(192) or north side of Ngan, value two.'

The locality of this coin is a question. The word *yin*(192), 'dark,' is supposed by some to be in antithesis to *yang*(193), 'light,' and to refer to the north, as distinguished from the south side, of the river on which the city of Ngan was situated. The inscription is written in upright form, and should be read from right to left. Both the obverse and reverse have a distinct rim or raised border. It evidently belongs to the same period as the two preceding ones.

The next five form another separate group. They are at once distinguished by their shape, having square shoulders as well

(179) 五馬幣. (180) 充.
(181) 正二十.
(182) 安邑金. (183) 安.
(184) 虞舜帝. (185) 大禹.
(186) 古泉匯. (187) 充.
(188) 贖金釋文.

(189) 安邑貨一金.
(190) 安邑貨二金.
(191) 安陰二. (192) 陰.
(193) 陽.

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as square feet, and rather small square heads or handles. Their appearance would indicate that they belong to the same period.

No. 14. P'u Fan Hwa Yih Kin(194). 'Commercial Coin of P'u-fan, value one.'

Both obverse and reverse are entirely without rims. The inscription is written in upright form and should be read from right to left. The first three characters are contractions for 'P'u-fan-hwo' (195). According to the 'topography of the Book of Odes'(196), P'u-fan was the capital of Shun, B.C. 2255. In the topography of the Han(197), P'u-fan is given as the name of a district, the ancient name having evidently been retained. The 'Record of Coins'(198) makes the name of the place to be Suh-ch'ing(199), and quotes the Tso-ch'wen(200) to show that it was a town in the principality of Tsin(201), B.C. 1106-356.

No. 15. Yung Yih Kin Hwa(202). 'Commercial Coin of Yung(203), value one.' Obverse and reverse are both rimless. The inscription is written in inverted form, and should be read, as it stands, from left to right. The first and last characters are contracted forms of *yung*(203) and *hwo*(204). The Tso-ch'wen(200) states that in the first year of Yin(205) the prince of Lu(206), B.C. 721, Yung(203) was enrolled as a city of the principality of Ching(207).

No. 16. Yung Pan Kin Hwa(208), 'Commercial Coin of Yung, value one half.' The inscription is written in inverted form and should be read, as it stands, from left to right. Both obverse and reverse are rimless. It is smaller than the preceding and, as the inscription indicates, but half its value.

No. 17. King Hwa Yih Kin(209), 'Commercial coin of King, value one.' The first character in the inscription is written in inverted form, while the other three are written in upright form, the whole, as it stands, to be read from right to left. The Tso Ch'wen(210) states that in the first year of Yin(211), prince of Lu(212), B.C. 721, the town of King(213) belonged to the principality of Ching(214).

No. 18. Tsin Yang Hwa Yih Kin(215). 'Commercial coin of Tsin Yang, value one.' The inscription is written in inverted form, and should be read, as it stands, from left to right. Both obverse and reverse are rimless. The second and third characters are contracted forms for *yang*(216) and *hwo*(217). Tsin Yang(218) belonged to the principality of Tsin(219), from B.C. 1106 to 402, and afterwards belonged to the principality of Chao(220) from 402-250 B.C.

No. 19. Shu Pao Tang Shih Hwa(221). 'Extraordinary coin of commercial value, equivalent to ten.' The inscription should be read in perpendicular lines from right to left. The inscription on the reverse reads Shih-hwo(222), 'Commercial value ten.'

This is the largest of all the *pao*(223) coins. It is an unusually fine piece of workmanship. Its general form, inscriptions and lines of distinction are specially well marked. The rims or raised borders

(194) 蒲坂貨一金.
(195) 蒲坂貨. (196) 詩地理考.
(197) 漢書地理志.
(198) 吉金所見錄.
(199) 涑城. (200) 左傳.
(201) 晉. (202) 穎一金貨.
(203) 穎. (204) 貨.
(205) 隱. (206) 魯.
(207) 鄭. (208) 穎半金貨.

(209) 京貨一金.
(210) 左傳. (211) 隱.
(212) 魯. (213) 京.
(214) 鄭.
(215) 晉陽貨一金.
(216) 陽. (217) 貨.
(218) 晉陽. (219) 晉.
(220) 趙
(221) 殊布當十貨.
(222) 十貨. (223) 布.

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on the obverse and reverse are prominent. The large aperture in the head was made at the time of casting, as the raised border around it shows. Both obverse and reverse are marked by a perpendicular line through the centre. There is great difference of opinion among the various authorities as to how the inscription should be read, and to what period the coin should be assigned. I have followed the interpretation given in the 'Ancient Coin Exchange'(224). According to this the first character *shu*(225) is not the name of any place, but is explained by the phrase Shu-yiü(226), 'extraordinary,' as showing its great difference from all other coins of similar shape. The second character is according to one authority a form of *pao*(223) in which the stakes are meant to represent the weaving of cloth.

The 'Record of Coins'(227) makes the obverse inscription to read Shu Chwang Shang Hwo(228), 'Commercial coin, different from those of Chwang'(229). The special meaning of *shu*(230) is then to distinguish these coins from those cast by Ching T'ang(231) from the metal of Mount Chwang(229), B.C. 1766. This authority also pronounces the inscription to be written in the *Chao-wen*(232), the form of seal character used in the time of the Chen Lieh Kwoh(233), and thus assigns it to a date subsequent to B.C. 722.

The 'Chronicle of Coins'(234) gives the inscription as Shang-pao-shih-fo(235); 'Shang coin, commercial value ten,' and assigns it without hesitation to the beginning of the Shang(236) dynasty B.C. 1766. Seven varieties of this large coin are figured in the different books, I have seen.

No. 20. The same as the preceding with a slight difference in the form of the characters on the obverse, and in the shape and position of the two characters *shih-hwo*(237) on the reverse.

No. 21. Sz Pao(238). 'The four coin.' The inscription on the reverse reads Tang-shih-hwo(239), 'Commercial value equivalent to ten.' This small coin evidently belongs to the same class as the two preceding large ones. The rims on the obverse and reverse, the dividing line down the centre, the style of writing in the inscription, all are similar. The probable interpretation of the inscription is that one of these coins was equivalent to four, just as one of the large kind was equivalent to ten. The 'Ancient Coin Exchange'(240) and 'Chronicles of Coins'(241) associate them as belonging to the same period and class of coins. In the former work several curious specimens are figured, being in pairs joined at the feet, having, it is evident, not been cut apart when taken out of the moulds.

No. 22. Kung(242), 'Public Coin.' This peculiar coin has its lines and special points of distinction strongly marked. The two straight and two diverging lines on the obverse, the projecting angle of the head, the small space between the feet in the shape of an angle, the triangular inscription of the single character 'Kung'(243), and the three perpendicular lines on the reverse are its special characteristics. It probably belongs to the same period as the three preced-

(224) 古泉匯. (225) 朱.
(226) 朱尤.
(227) 吉金所見錄.
(228) 朱莊商貨.
(229) 莊. (230) 朱.
(231) 成湯. (232) 籀文.
(233) 周列國.
(234) 錢志新編.
(235) 商布十貨.
(236) 商.
(237) 十貨.
(238) 四布.
(239) 當十貨.
(240) 古泉匯.
(241) 錢志新編. (242) 公.
(243) 公.

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ing ones. The 'Chronicles of Coins'(244) considers it to be one of Ch'ing T'ang's coins(245), B.C. 1766.

No. 23. Nieh Kin(246), 'The coin of Nieh.' The inscription should be read from left to right. This coin is finely moulded. It has distinct rims or raised borders, and a central dividing line on obverse and reverse alike. The head expands into an angular shape at the top. The reverse has two diverging lines, one on either side of the central line.

The 'Water Classic'(247) states that the town of Nieh Yang(248) was in the north-west, and to the east of Ki-kih Mountain(249). In the Ch'un-ts'iu(250) period, B.C. 721-429, it belonged to the small kingdom of Täng(251). In the time of the Contending States, B.C. 420-250, it belonged to the principality of Ts'in(252). The 'Chronicles of Coins'(244) makes inscriptions of this and others of the same form read T'ang-rh-kin(253), and assigns them to the time of Ch'ing T'ang(245), B.C. 1766. Smaller coins with the inscription *nieh*(254) are often found. The difference, however, in shape and appearance indicates that they belong to a different and probably a later period.

No. 24. The same as the preceding, but slightly smaller. It is also distinguished by a heavier rim and a perceptible difference in the shape of the head.

No. 25. Lu Hwa Nieh Kin(255), 'Lu's commercial coin of Nieh.' The inscription should be read from right to left, the first two characters being in a perpendicular line. According to the Tso-chu'en(256), in the seventeenth year of Ch'ing(257), prince of Lu(258), B.C. 572, Kao Yoh(259) placed Lu(260) among the towns of Ts'i(261). The character rendered *hwa*(262) or *hwo*(263) in the inscription resembles the old form of Shi(264). The Lu-shi(265) in the section which treats of the names of ancient States, gives the name of Lu-shi(266). In another history of minor States(267) this name is given to distinguish it from Si-yüh(268) or Western Yüh. It is a difficult matter to explain how the coin came to have the names of two localities in the inscription. There is no other coin of this particular kind. This, too, is very rare. The specimen which is figured in the 'Ancient Coin Exchange'(269) is in the collection of the author's friend, the Governor Liu Yen-ting(270). It is evidently a very ancient coin.

No. 26. The same as Nos. 23 and 24, but differing in the shape of the head and in a slight variation in the form of the characters in the inscription.

Immediately following the figures and notes on the 'Nieh coins'(271), the 'Ancient Coin Exchange'(269) gives figures of three small square-footed *pao*(272) with undecipherable inscriptions, also two of similar size, and four with the inscription Ch'a Yin(273), and two others with the inscription Yih-ch'ang(274). The latter is the name of a place which belonged to the princi-

(244) 錢志新編.
(245) 成湯.
(246) 涅金.
(247) 水經. (248) 涅陽.
(249) 岐棘山. (250) 春秋.
(251) 鄧國. (252) 秦.
(253) 湯二金. (254) 涅.
(255) 盧貨涅金.
(256) 左傳. (257) 成.
(258) 魯. (259) 高弱.
(260) 盧. (261) 齊.
(262) 化. (263) 貨.
(264) 氏. (265) 路史.
(266) 盧氏. (267) 郡國志.
(268) 西虢. (269) 古泉匯.
(270) 劉燕庭方伯.
(271) 涅金. (272) 布.
(273) 差陰. (274) 益昌.

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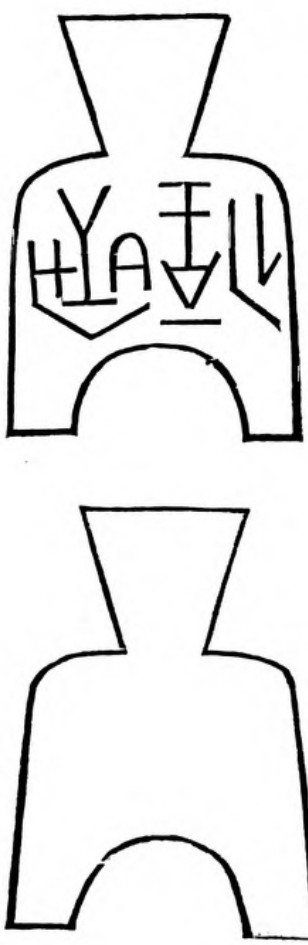
pality of Yen(275) of the time of the Ch'un-ts'iu(276), B.C. 721-402. The chapter closes with a list of five others which the author had not seen, four of which belonged to the 'round shouldered' group, bearing respectively the inscriptions, 'Hao-rh'(277), 'Tsze Wu Kin'(278), 'Tsok Hwo Yih kin'(279), 'Ping Yang Kin Hwan Fah Ching'(280), while the fifth, with square feet and shoulders, bears the inscription 'Mei-pah-hwo'(281). The coins figured in the foregoing list belong to the earliest periods to which the ancient *pao* can reasonably be assigned. The conclusion that seems to be warranted by the arguments adduced by the various authorities, is that most, if not all of them, can be fairly assigned to a period before the time of the Chen Lieh Kwoh, B.C. 720, and some at least may be referred to dates antecedent to the establishment of the Cheu dynasty, B.C. 1122.

(275) 燕. (276) 春秋.
(277) 昊二. (278) 子午金.
(279) 東貨一金.
(280) 平陽金鍰法正.
(281) 枚八貨.

NUMISMA.

(To be continued.)

No. 1. 虞一金化



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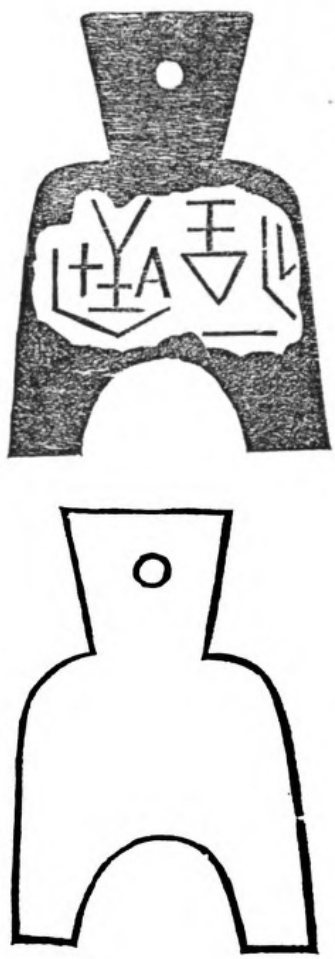

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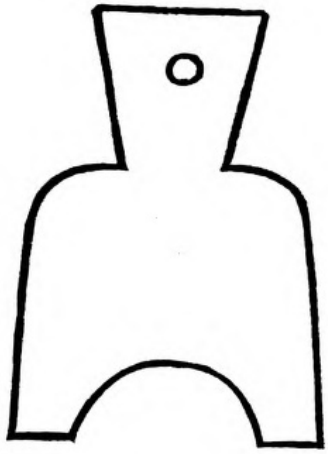
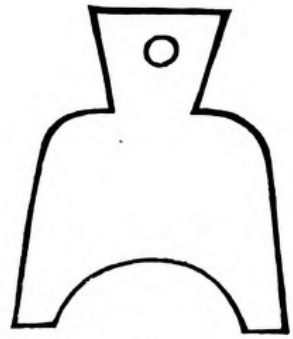
No. 3.

虞金化

No. 4.

虞化半金





No. 5.

乘正尙金尙爰

No. 5.

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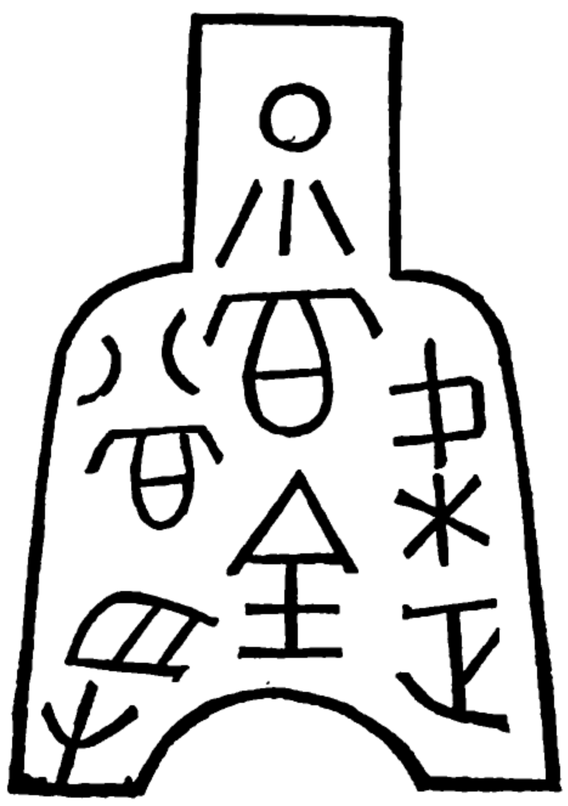
No. 6.

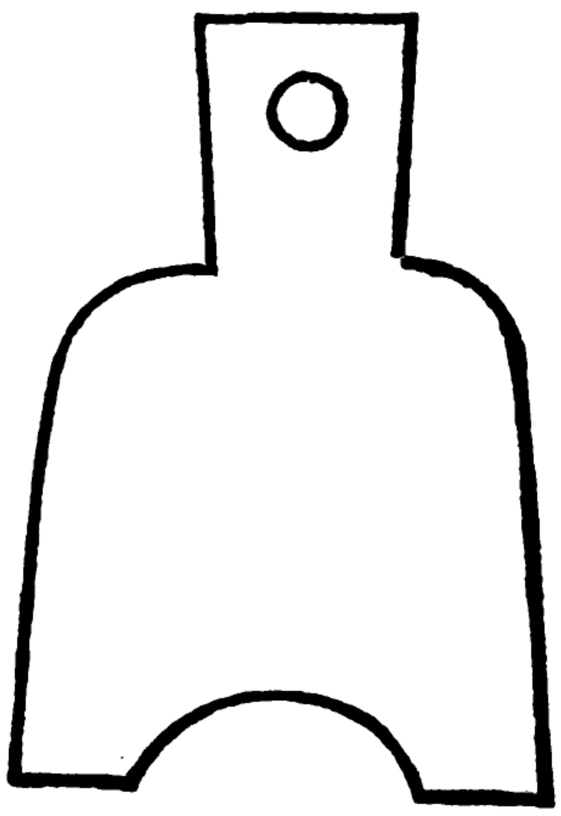


乘正尚金尚爰

No. 7.

乘半尚二金尚爰

No. 8.



乘半尚二金尚爰

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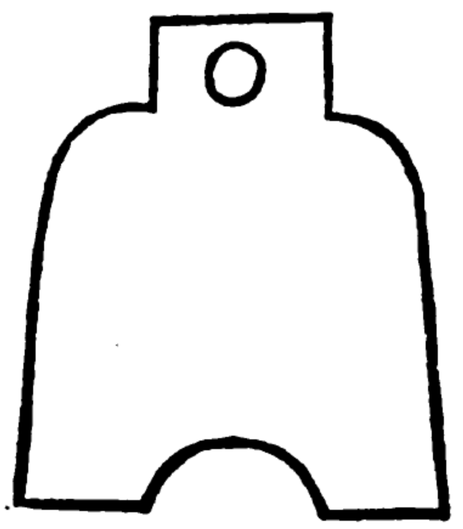

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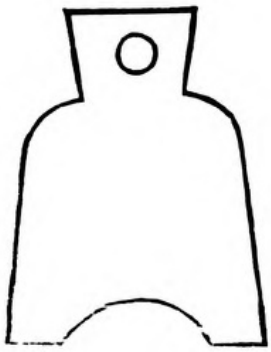
No 9.

乘半尙二金尙爰



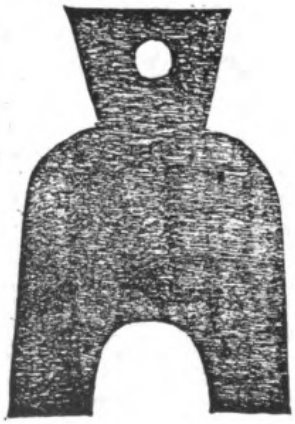
No. 10.

乘充化金五二十尙爰

No. 11.

安邑化一金

No. 11.



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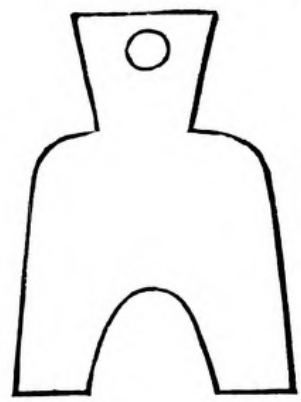
No. 12.

安邑化二金

No. 13.

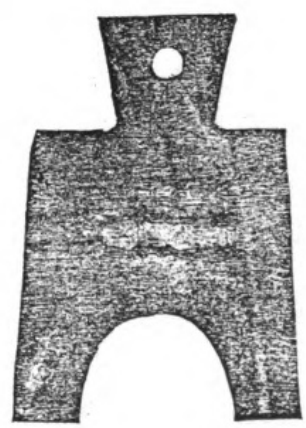
安陰二



No. 14.

甫反化一金

No. 14.



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No. 15. 穎一金化

No. 16. 穎半金化

No. 17. 京化一金

No. 17.

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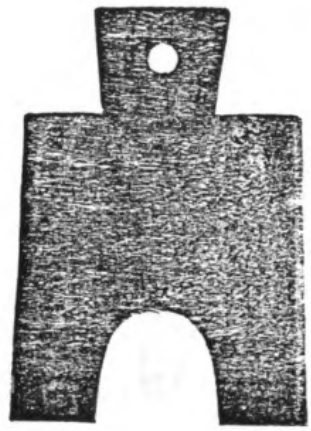
No. 18.

晉陽化一金

No. 18.

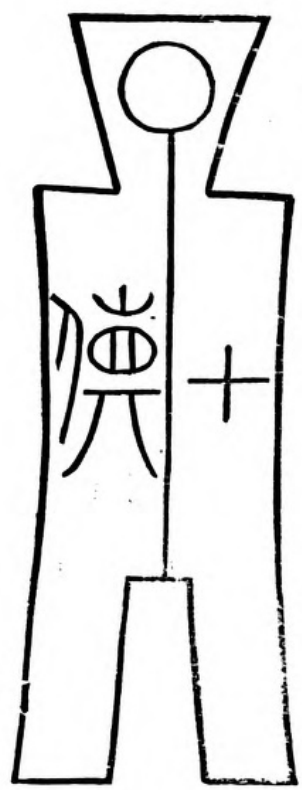


No. 19.

殊布當十化

No. 19.

背十貨



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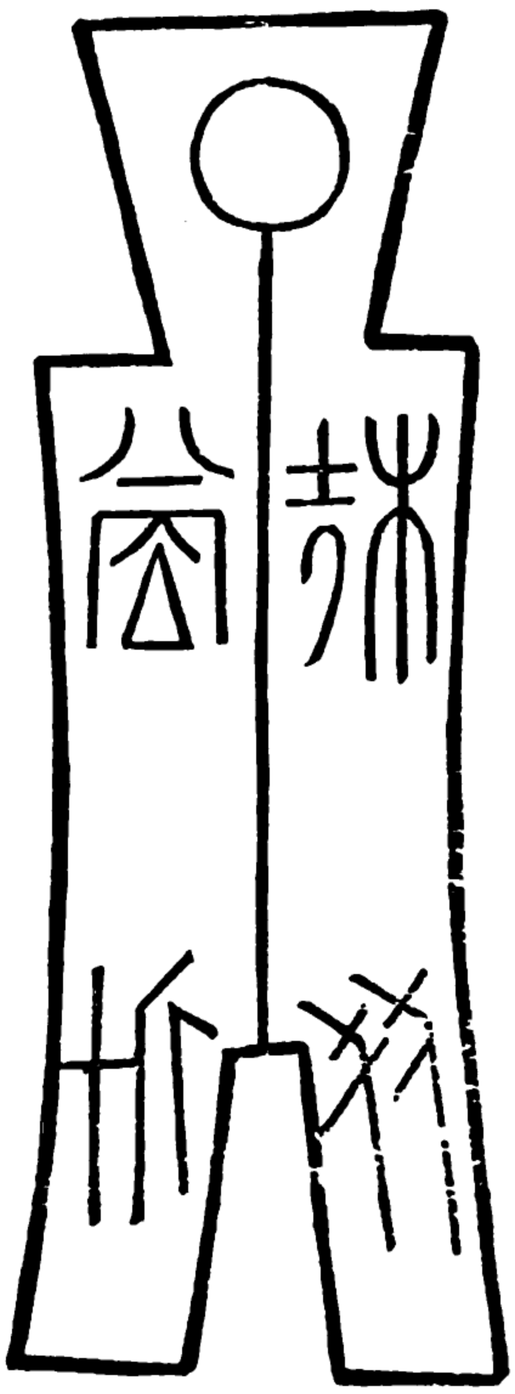

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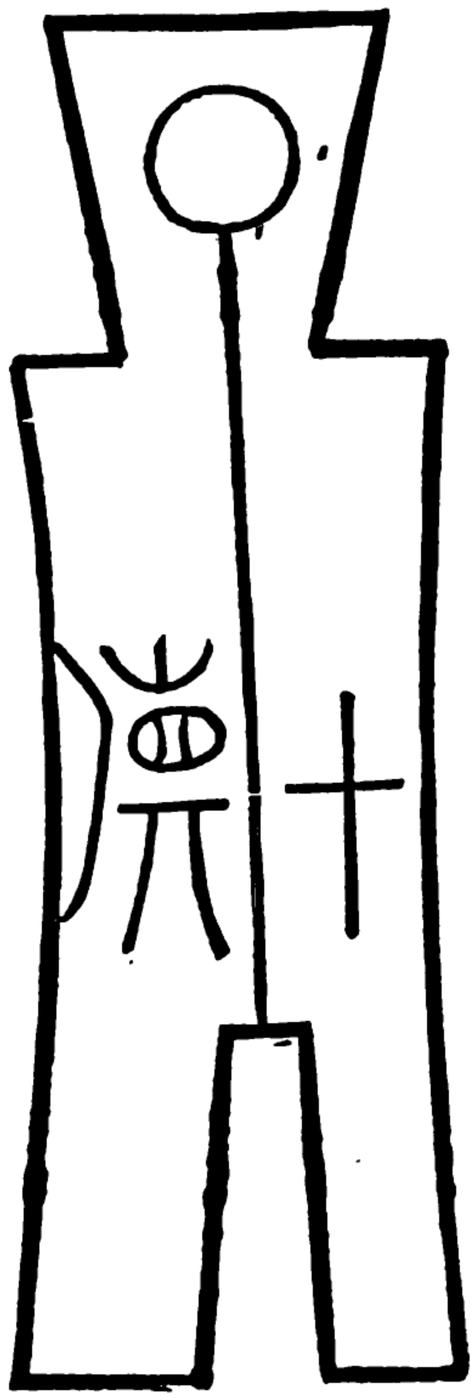

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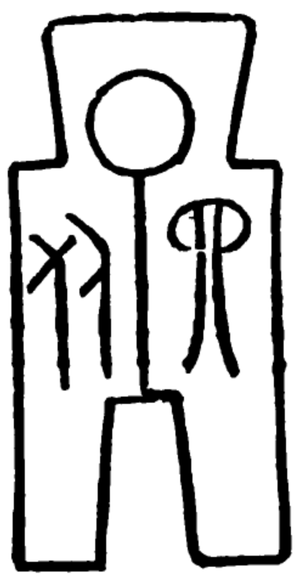

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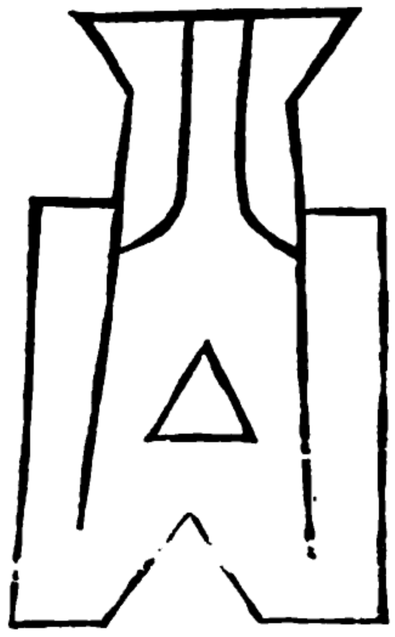

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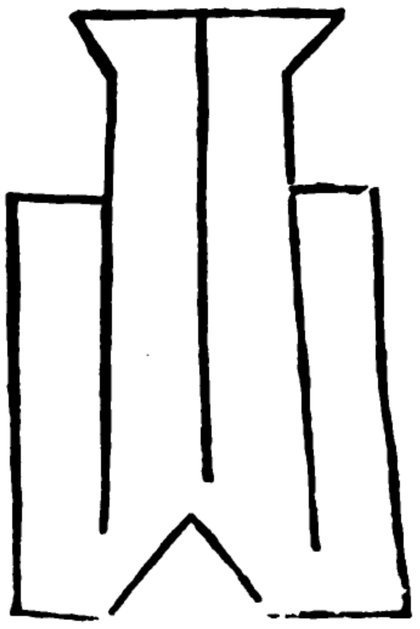

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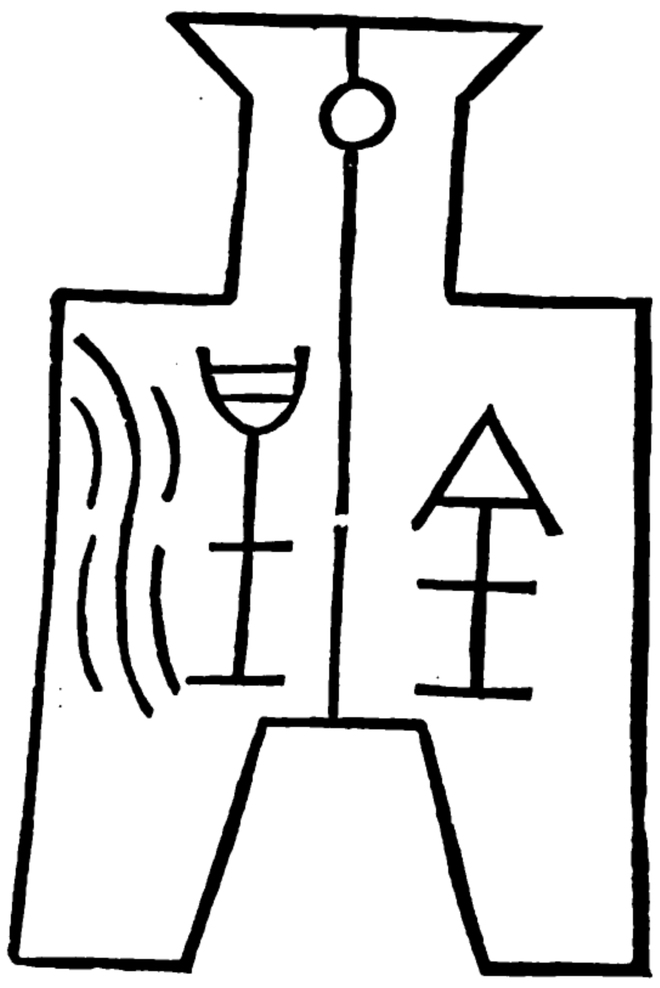
No. 23.

涅金



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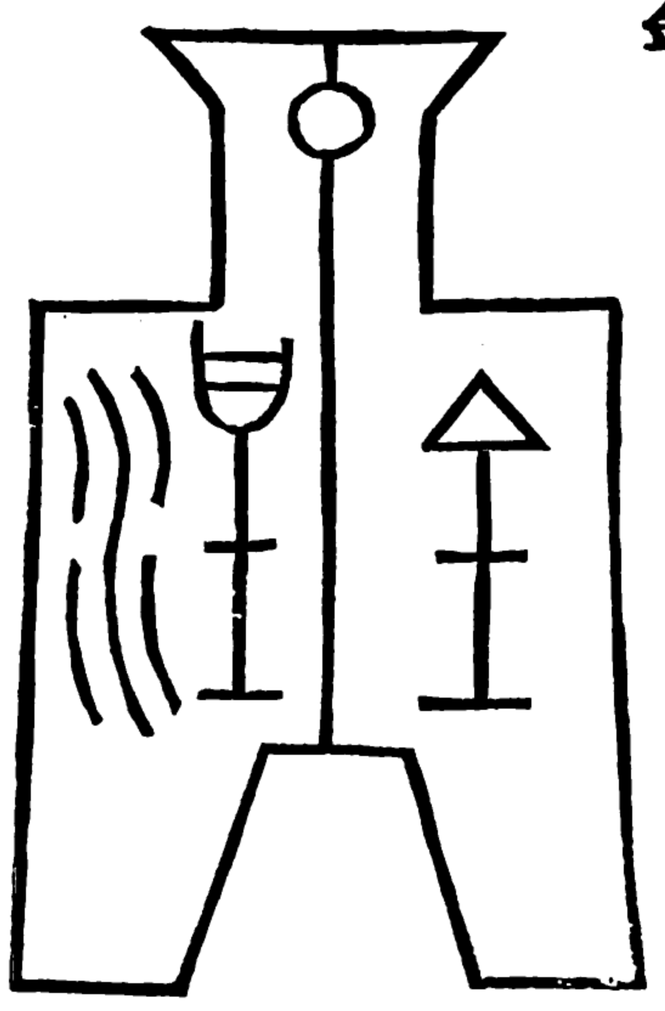

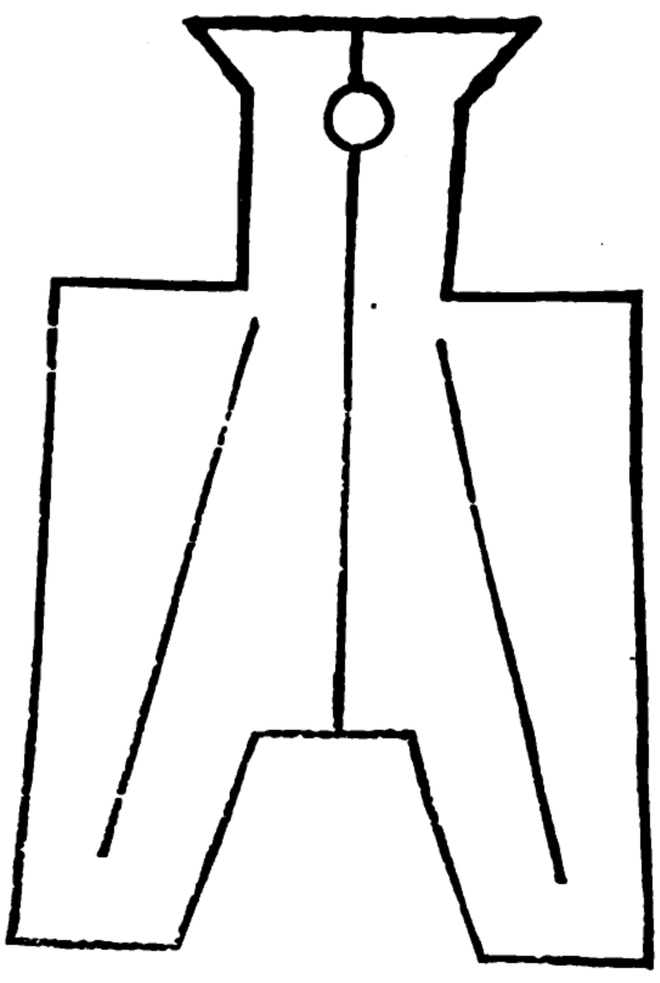

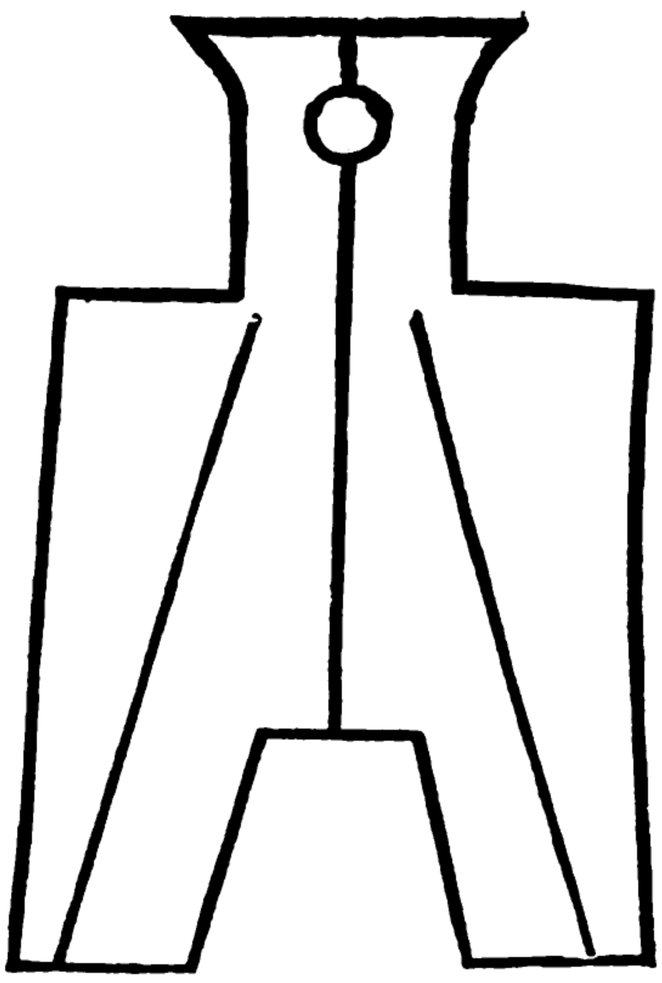

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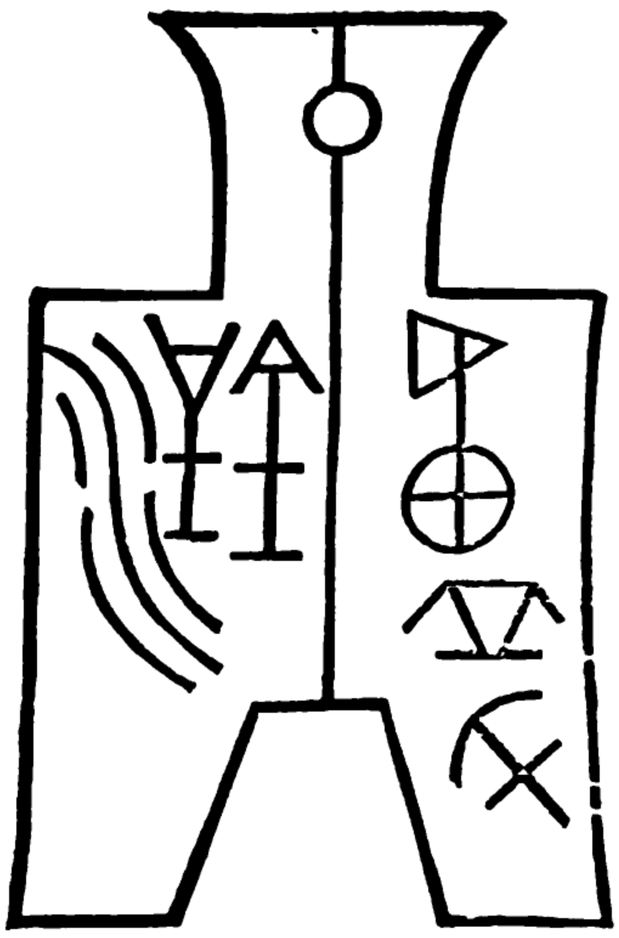
No. 25. 盧化涅金



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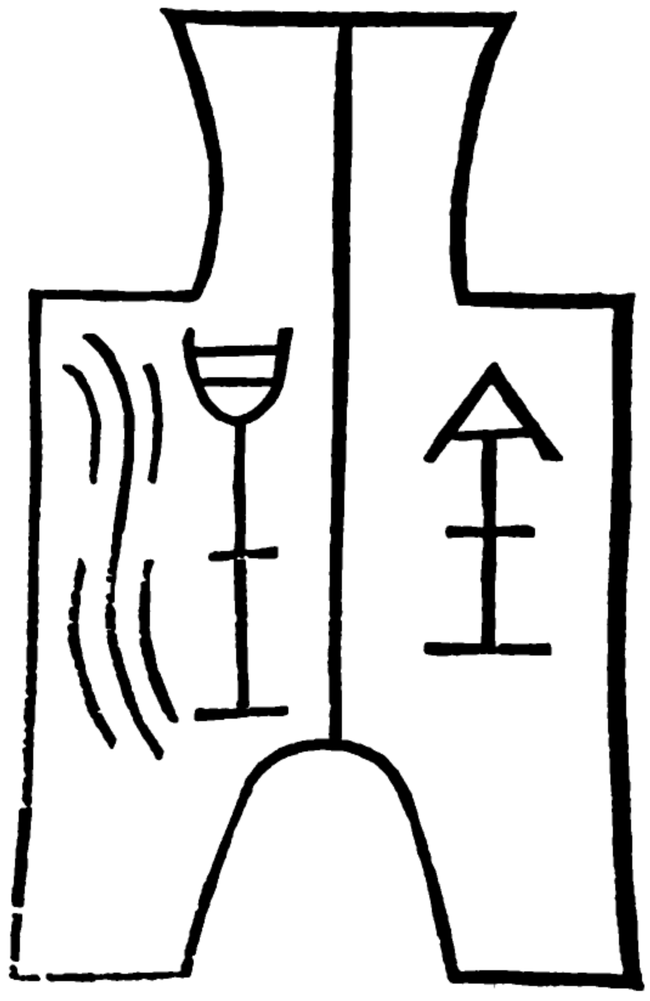

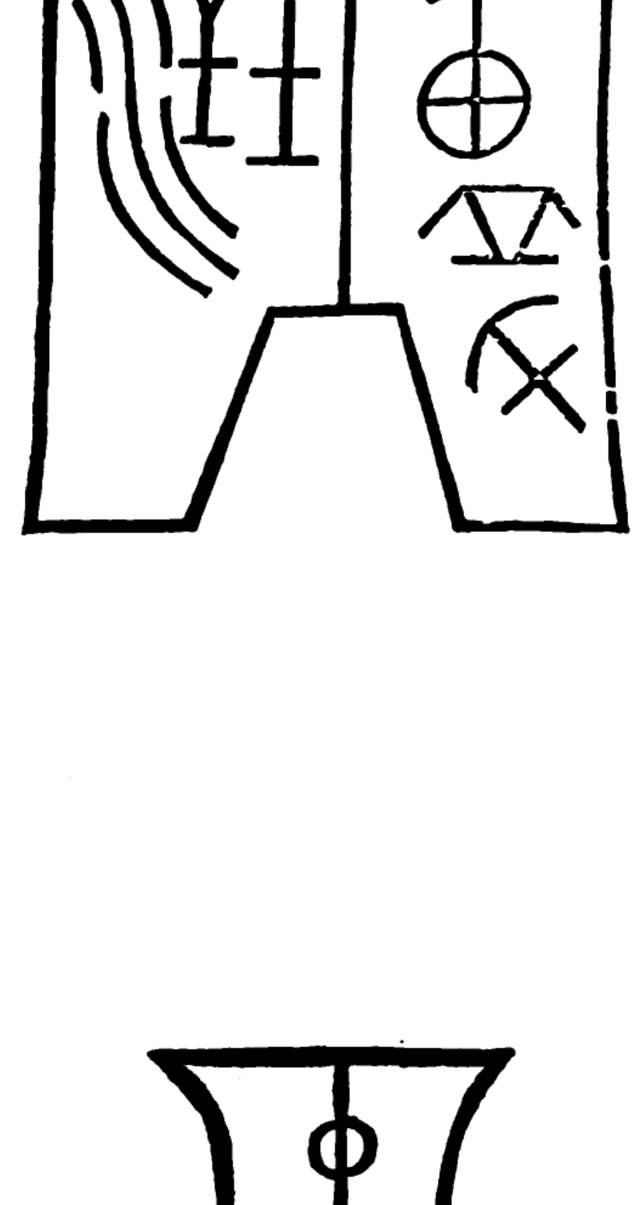

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TURKO-SCYTHIAN TRIBES.—AFTER HAN DYNASTY.

The Southern Hun *Hiloh Shï-chu-ti*(1) Khan, whose personal name was *Pi*(2), was a grandson of *Hu-han-ya*(3) Khan, and son of *Uchuliu Joh-ti*(4) Khan. After *Hu han-ya*, all his sons reigned in succession up to the time of *Pi's* uncle, the Khan *Yü*(5), when *Pi* was made the Right *Yüh-kien* and *Jih-chuh* Prince, and his tribes were to have the run of the southern marches and the *Wu-hwan*.

About the beginning of *Kien-wu*(6), one *P'êng Ch'ung*(7) broke out into rebellion at *Yü yang*(7*a*), and was joined by the Khan and his forces. They as a temporary expedient set up one *Lu Fang*(7*b*) as *Han* Emperor, and caused him to march into and occupy *Wu-yüan*(8). *Kwang-wu* was now only just beginning his career, and, having scarcely yet restored China itself to order, he had no leisure for external affairs. In his 6th year(9), however, he sent *Liu Lih*, Marquess of *Kwei-têh*(10), on a mission to the Huns. The Huns on their part also sent an envoy to offer their duty to *Han*, in response to which the Adjutant-General *Han T'ung*(10*a*) was ordered to acknowledge the compliment with presents of gold and cloths, in order to keep up friendly relations. But the Khan [*Yü*] was saucy and insolent, compared himself with *Mêh-têh*(11), and replied to the envoy in very violent language; but the Emperor made no change in his treatment of him.

At first the exchange of embassies was frequent, but the Huns, accompanied by *Lu Fang*, on several occasions trespassed upon our northern frontier. Accordingly in the 9th year(12) the Minister of War, *Wu* Tibetans and Tartars to support him, assuming the designation of 上將軍西平王.

(1) 醯落; 尸逐鞮. See Notes 52 and 80. The second group evidently has a distinct Turkish meaning.

(2) 比.

(3) 呼韓邪. See *Turko-Scythian Tribes*, Vol. XX, *China Review*, page 125, note 174. See also the continuation in Vol. XXI, page 100.

(4) 烏朱留若鞮: *Joh-ti* is a Hun word meaning 孝 or *Pius*, in imitation of the Chinese form. This Khan had come to the Chinese court in B.C. 1.

(5) 輿; See Note 308 of *T. S. Tribes*, (continued).

(6) The first year of the Emperor *Kwang-wu* of the After *Han* dynasty, A.D. 25.

(7) 彭寵.

(7*a*) *Ki chou*. In modern *Chih-li*.

(7*b*) During *Wang Mang's* usurpation 盧芳, who was a sort of Perkin Warbeck, gave himself out as being *Wu Ti's* great-grandson, and got together numbers of

(8) 五元 or 原. North *Shan-si*.

(9) A.D. 30.

(10) 劉颯: evidently the *Wang Lih* of Notes 293 and 318 of *T. S. Tribes* (continued), with a new surname.

(10*a*) 中郎將韓統.

(11) The great conqueror of Early *Han* times. See *T. S. Tribes*, Part 1.

(12) A.D. 33.

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Han(13), was sent to attack them. A year passed without any beneficial result: on the other hand the Huns gained in strength, and raids upon our territory became more frequent day by day. In the 13th year they proceeded to raid the territory of *Ho-tung*(14), with such impunity that the people of *Yu* and *Ping*(15) gradually moved off eastward of the *Ch'ang-shan* and *Kü-yung* Passes(16). The Hun Left Horde proceeded moreover to occupy our side of the Wall. The Emperor was very unhappy about this, and increased the number of his frontier troops by several thousand for each prefecture. Watch-towers were also built on a wholesale scale, and the fire-signals were looked to. The Huns, hearing that *Han* was offering rewards for *Lu Fang*, and coveting the good things they would receive, sent *Lu Fang* back. But *Fang* took credit to himself for a voluntary surrender, and did not say the Huns had sent him. The Khan on his part was ashamed to mention it himself, and so he never got any reward at all. But this made him more irate than ever, and he redoubled his raids. In the 20th year he appeared at *Shang-tang*, *Fu-fêng*, and *T'ien-shwei*(17). In the 21st year he went on to attack *Chung-shan* in *Shang-Kuh*(18), killing, plundering, and kidnapping on a large scale; the northern frontier for some time had not a peaceful year.

Now the Khan's younger brother *I-t'u-chï-ya-shï*(19), the Right *Luh-lih* Prince, should by rights have become Left Virtuous Prince in due turn. The Left Virtuous Prince was always the Khan's second. But the Khan, wishing that his son should succeed him, proceeded to kill *Chï-ya-shï*, who was son of *Wang Chao-kün*(20). Her name was *Ts'iang*(21), and she was a native of *Nan-chün*(22). In the time of the Emperor *Yüan Ti*(23) she had been selected from a free-born family for the Harem. When *Hu-han-ya* came to court, the Emperor ordered five palace girls to be presented to him. *Chao-kün* had been in the palace for several years, but had never yet shared the Emperor's couch, and was consequently sad and disappointed, so she begged the Harem manager to let her be one of those to go. There was a great assembly, when *Hu-han-ya* was about to depart, and the Emperor summoned the five girls for his inspection. *Chao-kün's* beautiful face and charming ornaments lit up the *Han* palace, whilst her coy hesitation sent a thrill through all the bystanders. The Emperor, observing this, was greatly taken aback, and would have kept her, had it not been for the difficulty of breaking faith; so he gave her to the Khan, to whom she bore two sons(23*a*). When *Hu-han-ya* died, the son of his first queen succeeded, and wanted to marry *Chao-kün*(24), who, however, wrote to the Emperor begging permission to return. But the Emperor ordered her to follow the Tartar custom, and so she again became queen to the succeeding Khan(25).

(13) 大司馬吳漢; the incorruptible minister by whose aid largely *Kwang-wu* obtained the throne.

(14) *Shan Si*.

(15) 幽, 幷, in *Chih Li*.

(16) The first 常山 is in *Tu-t'ung* Fu, the second is the well-known *Nan-k'ou* Pass near Peking. See Note 215.

(17) 上黨, 扶風, 天水; apparently all along the line of frontier from *Shan Si* to *Kan Suh*.

(18) In *Chih-li*: 上谷中山.

(19) 右谷蠡王伊屠知牙師: See *T. S. Tribes* (continued), Note 105.

(20) 王昭君. (21) 嬙.

(22) 南郡; 秭歸 in *Hu Peh* province.

(23) B.C. 48-33.

(23*a*) Query; only one. See Part 4, Note 105.

(24) In accordance with Tartar custom. See earlier papers.

(25) And, it is presumed, to all his brothers in succession.

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On *Chï ya-shï's* murder, *Pi* gave utterance to words of discontent, saying:—'From the point of view of brethren, the Right *Luh-li* Prince was the next successor. From the point of view of sons, I am the last Khan's eldest son, and I ought to have succeeded.' So he nourished both suspicion and dread within him, and very seldom presented himself at the court functions. The Khan's suspicions were therefore aroused, and he sent the two *Kuh-tu* marquesses to take command of *Pi's* army. In the 22nd year(25*a*) *Yü* Khan died, and his son the Left Virtuous Prince *U-tah-ti-hou*(26) succeeded as Khan. He died in turn, and his younger brother the Left Virtuous Prince *P'u-nu*(27) succeeded. *Pi*, finding that he could not get the succession, was already full of anger and grief, when to make things worse the Hun dominions for successive years suffered from drought and locusts. For several thousand *li* the land was bare, and all vegetation withered up. More than half the population, both men and beasts, perished from hunger and plague. The Khan feared that *Han* would take advantage of his exhaustion, so he sent an envoy with friendly proposals, and the Adjutant-General *Li Mao*(28) was sent in return to signify the Emperor's pleasure. But *Pi* secretly sent a Chinese named *Kwoh Hêng*(29) to present the Emperor with a map of the Hun dominions, and in the 23rd year(30) he went to the *Si-ho* prefect(31) and offered to join the Empire. The two *Kuh-tu* marquesses had a pretty shrewd idea of what he was about, and so, when it came to the dragon sacrifice of the 5th moon(32), they reported to the Khan that the *Yüh-kien* and *Jih-chuh* had long desired to act improperly, and that, if he were not punished, he would bring ruin to the State. It happened that at that moment *Pi's* younger brother, the *Tsien-tsiang*(33) Prince, was sitting outside the Khan's tent and overheard this remark, upon which he posted off to inform *Pi*. *Pi* was alarmed, and so he proceeded to assemble the 40,000 or 50,000 men belonging to the south frontier and south prefecture under his command(34), and awaited the return of the two *Kuh-tu* marquesses, intending to kill them. Just as they were arriving they got wind of his conspiracy, and both disappeared at once on swift horses to inform the Khan. The Khan sends 10,000 horsemen to attack him, but they, seeing that *Pi's* host was numerous, did not venture to attack, and returned.

In the spring the 24th year the chiefs of eight tribes agreed to elevate *Pi* to the dignity of *Hu-han-ya Khan*, taking the view that his grandfather had trusted to the *Han* alliance with peaceful results, and that it was desirable to make the name a hereditary title. On this *Pi* went to the Wall at *Wu-yüan*, and offered to be a border vassal for ever, with the duty of keeping off

(25*a*) A.D. 46.

(26) 烏達鞮侯.

(27) 蒲奴; *T. S. Tribes*, 2, Note 82.

(28) 中郎將李茂.

(29) 郭衡.

(30) A.D. 47.

(31) 汾州 in *Shan Si*; but this must be another place in *Kan Suh* of the same name, near *Ling Chou*. Compare note 56, and *T. S. Tribes*, Part 3, note 154.

(32) A note says that during the 1st moon of the year there was a smaller religious meeting at the Khan's court, and during the 5th moon a great meeting at Dragon City to worship Heaven, Earth, Ancestors, and the Spirits. In the 8th moon there was a great meeting at 蹄林縣 to take count of men and beasts. See note 124 in my paper on the Earlier Huns. I may add that the Turks used also to have this meeting in the 5th moon.

(33) See note 51. 漸將王 see Part 3, note 278.

(34) See note 22. I suppose this must refer to the adherents of the Chinese princess, unless 鄧 is a misprint for 部.

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the northern freebooters(35). The Emperor accepted the Adjutant-General *Kêng Kwoh's*(36) advice, which was in favour of the proposal. That winter *Pi* assumed the dignity of *Hu-han-ya* Khan(37). In the spring of the 25th year he sent his younger brother the Left Virtuous Prince *Moh*(38) at the head of over 10,000 soldiers to attack the *Yüh kien* and Left Virtuous Prince, younger brother of the northern Khan, who was defeated and taken prisoner. He pursued up to the Khan's very tent, and captured over 10,000 persons belonging to his horde, 7,000 horses, and 10,000 cattle and sheep. The northern Khan was panic-stricken and withdrew, abandoning a thousand *li* of territory.

Now the Emperor had constructed a number of war-chariots, each capable of being yoked to several bullocks, and carrying a small tower: these were posted about the Wall in order to repel the Huns. When people saw these they said to one another:—'The oracle used to say that in the 9th generation of the Huns the northern barbarians would be driven back over an extent of 1,000 *li*. Surely this must be it?' And now sure enough they did extend their dominion(39). The *Yüh-kien* and *Kuh-tu* Marquesses of the northern horde and also the Right *Kuh-tu* Marquess came and joined the Southern Khan with over 30,000 persons. The latter proceeded to send envoys to the palace, offering vassal service on their behalf, and proffering the State jewels: it was prayed that a commissioner might be sent to extend a superintending protection; young princes were sent as hostages to serve as pages; and appeal was made for renewal of the old treaty. In the 26th year the Adjutant-General *Twan-Ch'ên*(40) and the Assistant-Protector *Wang Yüh*(41) were sent as envoys to the Southern Khan, whose court was established at a distance of 80 *li* from the Wall running through the western tribes of *Wu-yüan*. The Khan came out to welcome the envoys, who said the Khan should prostrate himself to receive the decree. The Khan hesitated a while, but finally prostrated himself and declared himself a vassal. However, after the obeisance was over, he told the interpreter to say to the envoys that as a newly-elected Khan he felt very much ashamed, and would be glad if they would refrain in future from humiliating him in the presence of his horde. The *Kuh-tu* marquesses and others who witnessed this all shed tears. The envoys reported their proceedings to the Emperor, who let things stand(42). The Southern Khan now took up his quarters in *Yün-chung*, and despatched an envoy with a letter offering two camels and ten streaked horses(43). In the summer the *Yüh-kien* Left Virtuous Prince of the Northern horde, who had been taken prisoner by the Southern Khan, rebelled, making off with his followers and those of five *Kuh-tu* marquesses of the Southern horde, over 30,000 men in all, to join the Northern horde, encamping a little more than 300 *li* distance from the northern court(43*a*). They

(35) See note 69. 蕃蔽 is a good expression for 'buffer State;' 羈縻 expresses almost exactly our relations with the Amir of Afghanistan. See remarks in earlier papers; *Wuhwan*, note 134.

(36) 五官中郎將耿國. His advice was to employ *Hu-han-ya* to keep off the *Sien-pi* and Northern Huns.

(37) A note says that from this date the Huns were divided into the Northern and Southern Hordes, under rival Khans.

(38) 莫.

(39) I suppose this means the Southern Horde representing the Chinese Empire.

(40) 中郎將段郴.

(41) 副校尉王郁.

(42) 乃聽; this may perhaps be 'let him have his way.'

(43) 文馬.

(43*a*) 北庭; the After *Han Shu* has '200 *li*.' This place must not be confounded with the same name of later date applied to Uramtsi. See paper on *Sha-t'o Turks*, note 11. (This paper will follow shortly).

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agreed to set up the *Yüh-kien* Left Virtuous Prince. But after a month or so they got to fighting with each other in turn, and the five *Kuh-tu* marquesses all lost their lives, while the Left Virtuous Prince committed suicide. The sons of all the *Kuh-tu* marquesses all kept troops around them in case their persons should be attacked. In the autumn the Southern Khan sent one of his sons to court as a page, and submitted an address. A decree presented the Khan with a hat and girdle, clothes, a yellow gold seal, and an herb-dyed purple sash, an easy(44) chariot, a feather sun-shade, a gorgeous war-chariot and four, a valuable sword, bows and arrows, three black bâtons, two subsidiary(45) horses, 10,000 pieces of gold-worked silks and lustrings, 10,000 pounds of floss, musical instruments, drum carts, bedizened spears, cuirasses, weapons, eatables, and utensils, a consignment of *Ho-tung* rice, 25,000 measures of dried rations, and 36,000 oxen and sheep, for his sustenance. Moreover an adjutant general was ordered to appoint a special officer(46) in command of fifty criminals of the unfettered class to carry weapons and cross-bows and follow the Khan's movements, taking notes of events and settling any brawls that might occur. At the close of each year the Khan made a point of sending an address for submission, and at the same time despatched one of his sons to serve as a page at court. He was conducted thither by a military *attaché*(47), and *Han* sent a chamberlain to conduct the previous year's page son back to the Khan's court. They met on the road. His duty was to offer congratulations at court on new year's day, and to prostrate himself at the imperial tombs. This done, *Han* dismissed the Khan's envoy, ordering a chamberlain to escort him, with presents of 1,000 pieces of gay lustrings, four pieces of embroidery, ten pounds of gold, some sauces from the imperial kitchen, oranges, lungans, and lichees, for the Khan's mother and his various queens. And as a regular annual thing, about 10,000 pieces of gay lustrings were sent to those of the Khan's sons, the Right and Left Virtuous Princes, Right and Left *Lu-li* Princes, and *Kuh-tu* marquesses, who had done good service.

According to Hun custom there were three dragon-worshippings a year. They always used a *Wu*(48) day in the first, fifth, and ninth moons to sacrifice to the spirit of Heaven(49). But now, the Southern Khan having given in his adhesion to China, the *Han* emperors were also worshipped, after which all the tribes were assembled to debate on State affairs: there were horse and camel races for their amusement.

Of the great officers the noblest was the Left Virtuous Prince, the next the Left *Luh-li* Prince; then the Right Virtuous and the Right *Luh-li*: the above were styled the 'four horns.' Next came the Left and Right *Jih-chuh* Princes, and Left and Right *Wén-yü-ti*(50); then the Left and Right *Tsan-tsiang*(51) Princes. These were the

(44) 安車; 'for women.'

(45) 駙馬; hence applied to the Emperor's son-in-law.

(46) 安集椽史; officers of this class seem to have been *attachés* at vassals' courts.

(47) 中郎將從事.

(48) According to the *Shwoh-wén* the character 戊 originally meant 'five dragons intertwined,' and from a geomantic point of view, days that fall under this character possess certain virtues, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. See note 128, in my paper on the *Early T. S. Tribes*.

(49) The Turks of the 5th century are also said by the Chinese to have sacrificed to the spirit of heaven in the 5th moon. (Paper on *Turks* will follow).

(50) 溫禺鞮; for the other names see the *Early T. S. Tribes*, Notes 110-20. Compare *T. S. Tribes*, (continued), Note 141.

(51) 斬將: see Note 33, *ante*; probably 漸.

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'six horns.' All the above were the Khan's sons and younger brothers, and might become Khan in due succession.

The great officers of other clan names were the Left and Right *Kuh-tu* marquesses, and Left and Right *Shï chuh*(52) *Kuh-tu* marquesses. As for the rest, the *Jih-chuh*, *Tsü-k'ü*, *Tang-hu*, and such dignities were high or low according to the quality of the power possessed and the size of the horde ruled by each.

The Khan's clan name was *Hü-lien-ti*(53). The other clan names were *Hu-yen*, *Sü-puh*(54), *K'iu-lin*, and *Lan*(55), which four clan names belonged to the distinguished families of the country, and often intermarried with the Khan's family. The *Hu-yens* were Left, the *Lans* and *Sü-puhs* Right, and to them appertained the trial of causes and hearing of disputes. Whether the decision was important or otherwise, it was reported by word of mouth to the Khan, as they had no writing or records.

In the winter the sons of the five *Kuh-tu* marquesses again tried to come over to the Southern Khan with their horde of 3,000 men, but the Northern Khan sent a body of horse after them and captured the whole: the Southern Khan, who had sent troops to the rescue, was unsuccessful in the battle. On this a decree was issued ordering the Khan to remove his quarters to *Mei tsih*(56) in *Si-ho*; the Adjutant-General *Twan Ch'ên* and Assistant-Protector *Wang Yüh* were ordered to remain in *Si-ho* for his protection, and to establish there proper public offices. The Resident(57) of *Si-ho* was ordered to support the Adjutant-General every year by marching 2,000 horsemen and 500 unfettered criminals to assist him in protecting the Khan during the winter, breaking up their camp each summer. After that it became a regular thing, and all the eight prefectures along the frontier were recovered. The Southern Khan now resided at Si-ho, and there were appointed a number of princes from the other tribes in charge of subsidiary defensive duties. The *Hun-shï*(58) *Kuh-tu* marquess was made to camp in *Peh-ti*(59), and the Right Virtuous Prince at *Shoh-fang*(60); the *Tang-yü*(61) *Kuh-tu* marquess at *Wu-yüan*, and the *Hu-yen Kuh-tu* marquess at *Yün-chung*; the *Lang-shï*(62) *Kuh-tu* marquess at *Ting-siang*, and the Left General at *Yen-mên*(63). The *Lih-tsih*(64) *Kuh-tuh* marquess was to camp at *Tai* city, all placing their hordes at the disposition of the prefectures and departments for scout duty. The Northern Khan grew alarmed, and returned considerable numbers of Chinese that he had captured, in order to shew how well-disposed he was. Whenever his men, whilst raiding, came upon the watch-towers recovered for China by the Southern horde, they always excused themselves saying:—'We are after that renegade fellow the *Yüh-kien Jih-chuh*, &c.; we would not venture to encroach upon the Chinese.'

(52) 尸逐.

(53) 盧連鞮; a note says 'evidently the 攣鞮 of Early *Han*.'

(54) The *Wei Shu* says '*Sü-puh* was afterwards changed to *Puh* 卜.' (The Tobas changed all the clan names).

(55) A note says:—'the 1st, 2nd, and 4th, as in *Meh-têh's* time.' See *Earlier Huns*, Note 116. The 3rd was 丘林.

(56) 西河美稷; in *Fên Chou Fu Shan Si*. See coming paper on *Liu Yüan*, Note 8. Compare Note 3, above.

(57) 長史; officials stationed to watch semi-barbarous allies.

(58) 韓氏.

(59) 北地; part of *Kan Suh*.

(60) 朔方.

(61) 富于; 五原; See *T. S. Tribes* (continued). Notes 117, 312.

(62) 郎氏; 定襄.

(63) 雁門.

(64) 栗籍; in short, the line of the Wall between the eastern part of modern *Kan Suh* and *Ta-t'ung Fu*.

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In the 27th year(65) the Northern Khan sent an envoy to *Wu-wei*(66) with friendly proposals. The Emperor summoned the dukes and lords to discuss the matter at a court council, but no decision was come to. The heir-apparent said:—'The Southern Khan has but lately joined us, and the northern freebooters are afraid of being attacked, they therefore lend a ready ear [to our behests], and vie with the others in the expression of their eagerness to act rightly. If, without the power to send out a military force, we open relations with the northern freebooters, I very much fear the Southern Khan may waver in his allegiance, and those freebooters who have already submitted will be the last we shall ever see come in.' The Emperor said:—'Just so,' and cautioned the prefect of *Wu-wei* not to receive the envoy.

In the 28th year the northern Huns again sent an envoy to the palace with tribute of horses and fur-coats, once more begging for friendly relations, and also for some musicians. They craved permission, besides, to bring all their Tartar(67) allies from Turkestan to do audience duty. The Emperor sent the matter down to the three chief ministers for deliberation as to the best answer to give. One *Pan Piao*(68), Secretary to one of the ministries, memorialized thus:—'I understand that his Majesty *Süan* of pious memory warned the guardians of the frontier what a great, fickle, and treacherous power the Huns were; and that if they were conciliated by judicious intercourse they would be available for repelling the enemy and bearing the brunt of their attacks, whereas if their calculations were too easily responded to they would turn round and despise you. At the present moment the northern Huns, observing that the southern Huns have joined us, fear a conspiracy against their dominion, and therefore they have made repeated friendly advances, and have driven in their sheep and cattle from a great distance in order to trade with us; they have sent one prince after the other with liberal tribute offerings. This is merely an external exhibition of wealth and power in order to coax us. The heavier their offerings the poorer, I take it, their country really is. The oftener they make friendly advances, the more they fear us. Still, as we have not yet been able to get much assistance out of the south, we ought not to break off entirely with the north. We can not in decency fail to acknowledge the principle of benevolent neutrality(69). In other words, we may well give them liberal presents, calculated upon the value of what they have offered us; at the same time expounding very clearly to them what they may expect from the precedents of *Hu-han-ya* and *Chï-chï*(70). If a reply is to be sent which is to have good effect, I submit the following draft:'—[Here follows the reply which runs thus]:—'The Khan does not forget the grace of *Han*, and recalls his ancestors' old treaties, being desirous of improving friendly relations with a view to

(65) A.D. 52.

(66) 武威; *Liang-chou Fu.*

(67) 胡.

(68) 班彪, father of the celebrated historians *Pan Ku* and *Pan Chao.*

(69) 羈縻. See *Wu-hwan*, Note 134. The exact meaning of this standard political term may be perhaps better apprehended by a study of the characters themselves, which mean 'keep a halter on' (i.e. without riding or driving) to prevent them from running away to some one else.

(70) A note says: 'The first was rewarded, and the second 郅支, his elder brother, whose personal name was *Hu-t'u-wu-sz* 呼屠吾斯, was executed, after conducting a rebellion somewhere near the *Si Hai* 西海 [Caspian or ? Lake Balkash] where his State, also called *Chï-chï*, was situated. In B.C. 1, the Khan *Uchuliu Joti*, son of the first *Hu-han-ya*, came to court. *Joti* means 孝 or 'Pious,' and was added in imitation of the Chinese ritual.' See *T. S. Tribes* (continued), for a full account, Vol. XXI.

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his own personal ease and to the interests of his dominion. The proposition is a very worthy one, and for that reason the Khan has our approval. In past times the Huns underwent a long period of anarchy(71), *Hu-han-ya* and *Chï-chï* were at feud with each other, but luckily the grace of his majesty Pius *Süan* descended upon them as an *aegis*, and they both of them sent their sons as pages to court and declared themselves border vassals for the protection of the Wall. After that, *Chï-chï* broke with the august favour in a huff, whilst *Hu-han-ya* adhered to his friendly policy and exhibited a further degree of pious loyalty; so when *Han* extinguished *Chï-chï*(72), *Hu-han-ya* saved his dominion and passed it on to his sons and grandsons one after the other. Recently the Southern Khan has faced south, and presented himself at the Wall with his horde to receive our commands; and, as he is the oldest direct descendant of *Hu-han-ya*, we have held that the succession is his due. But, in failure of his duty, he has extended his conquests, and has made attacks in a suspicious spirit, craving for troops with a view to securing the submission and disappearance of the Northern horde, involving himself in complications the end of which it is impossible to foresee. We cannot confine ourselves to considering only his side of the question, for we must take into account that the Northern Khan has for successive years offered tribute and expressed a desire to improve relations, in consequence of which we have rejected and disapproved of the Southern Khan's propositions, in order to give effect to the [Northern] Khan's loyal and filial sentiments. *Han* stands, by reason of her prestige and good faith, as the supreme director of the myriad kingdoms: all on whom the sun and moon do shine are her lieges and handmaidens. Though customs may differ among the hundred barbarians, in questions of justice, no considerations of remoteness or proximity intervene. Those who submit and obey are rewarded. Those who rebel and resist are punished. Such are the consequences of good or evil; such are the examples of *Hu-han-ya* and *Chï-chï*. Now the Khan wishes to improve friendly relations: his genuine feelings have been manifested. What objection therefore can there be to his conducting all the countries of the Western Regions to come and perform tribute duty? In what does the fact that the States of the Western Regions belong to the Huns, differ from their belonging to *Han*? The Khan has undergone repeated wars and civil commotions: the interior of his dominions must be exhausted. Articles of tribute are after all only the expression of an idea. Why need he offer horses and fur-coats? We now send as presents to the Khan 500 pieces of mixed lustrings, a bow, a bow-case, an arrow-case, and four sets of arrows. We also present the *Kuh-tu* marquess and Right *Luh-li* Prince, who offered us some horses, each with 400 pieces of mixed lustrings, a horse, and a scimitar. The Khan said some time ago, that the flutes, harps, and harpsichords, presented to *Hu-han-ya* in the time of former Emperors, are all worn out, and he wishes to have them renewed. Remembering that the Khan's State was not at peace, and that he was just working up his military power, when his occupation would consist rather in warlike contests than in fluting and harping, the comparative importance of which to him must be very small, we did not send these articles. But we will not grudge him these insignificant objects, which we send, with

(71) Where our narrative of the Early Huns of the first *Han* dynasty leaves off, there were five rival Khans. See the continuation of the story in *T. S. Tribes* (continued).

(72) A Note says:—'*Chï-chï* had murdered an envoy named *Ku Kih* 谷吉, in consequence of which the proconsul *Kan Yen-shou* 甘延壽 with his lieutenant *Ch'én T'ang* 陳湯 raised a force of Turkestan troops and cut off his head.' This was in the Samarcand region.

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this, by ordinary post-messenger for his information.' The Emperor accepted all this in its entirety.

In the 29th year the Southern Khan was presented with several myriad sheep. In the 31st year, the Northern Khan again sent an envoy. As before, it was acknowledged by letter under the imperial seal, and presents of lustrings were sent, but no envoy. The [Southern] Khan *Pi* died after a reign of nine years. The Adjutant-General went to condole at the head of a body of troops: he sacrificed wine and rice to his *manes*, and detached some of his escort for protective purposes. *Pi's* younger brother, the Left Virtuous Prince *Moh*(72*a*), succeeded, and the Emperor sent an envoy with a letter under the imperial seal in order to keep him quiet and easy in mind: he was also confirmed by gifts of a seal and riband, and presented with a hat, a cap, three suits of brown unwadded clothes, a pocket-knife, and a woven girdle. Also 4,000 pieces of gay lustrings, which he was told to distribute amongst the princes, *Kuh-tu* marquesses, and smaller fry. Ever after this when a Khan died, sacrifices of condolement and consolatory presents were made on this fixed scale. The reign of *Moh*, the *K'iu-fou yu-ti*(73) Khan, began in the 1st year(74) of the period *Chung-yüan*. He died a year later, and was succeeded by his younger brother *Han*(75), the *I-fah yü-lü-ti*(76) Khan, in the 2nd year of *Chung-yüan*. In the 2nd year of *Yung-p'ing*(77) the Northern Khan *Hu-kan-k'iu*(78) at the head of a horde of a thousand persons came to submit. The Khan of the Southern horde died after a reign of two years, when the Khan *Pi's* son *Shih*(79) succeeded. *Shih*, the *Hi-t'ung-shï chuh-hou-ti*(80) Khan, commenced his reign in the 2nd year of *Yung-p'ing*, and in the winter of the 5th year 6,000 or 7,000 Northern Hun cavalry passed the Wall in *Wu-yüan* and proceeded to raid from *Yün-chung* to *Yüan-yang*(81). They were attacked and driven back by the Southern Khan. The *Si-ho* Resident(82) *Ma Siang* went to the rescue, on which the freebooters withdrew. The Khan *Shih* died after a reign of four years, and was succeeded by *Moh's* son *Su*(83), the *K'iu-ch'u-ch'ê-lin-ti*(84) Khan. In a few months he also died, and the Khan *Shih's* younger brother *Ch'ang*(85) succeeded. The *Hu-ya-shï-chuh-hou-ti*(86) Khan *Ch'ang* began his reign in the 6th year of *Yung-p'ing*. At this time the Northern Huns were still flourishing, and repeatedly raided the frontier, causing the Emperor great annoyance. But just then the Northern Khan had a wish for mutual trade, and sent an envoy with friendly proposals. The Emperor *Hien Tsung*(87) granted this, hoping that the intercourse would prevent them from raiding again. In the 8th year he sent the general of Dragoons, *Chêng Chung*(88), on a return mission to the North. But the *Kuh-tu* marquesses of the Southern *Sü-puh* family, finding out that *Han* was exchanging missions with the northern freebooters,

(72*a*) See Note 38.

(73) 丘浮尤鞮.

(74) A.D. 56.

(75) 汗; perhaps *Wu* 汙.

(76) 伊伐于慮鞮.

(77) A.D. 59.

(78) 讙千丘. (79) 屠

(80) 醯僮尸逐侯鞮.

(81) 原陽 in *Yün-chang*.

(82) 馬襲; he was in charge of the 36 States, and I suppose was stationed near modern *An-si*.

(83) 蘇.

(84) 丘除車林鞮. (85) 長.

(86) 胡邪尸逐侯顯. It is evident that the four last syllables must have a specific meaning. In fact it ought to be easy for Turkish scholars to decipher the meaning of all these names.

(87) 顯宗; that is *Ming Ti* 明帝, the introducer of Buddhism.

(88) 越騎司馬鄭衆; from another passage it appears that he had to contest the question of forms at his reception.

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took offence, and initiated steps towards revolt. They kept a secret look-out for the envoy from the North, and sent troops to meet him. When *Chêng Chung* got outside the Wall(88*a*), he suspected something was wrong, kept a look-out, and, sure enough, got hold of the *Sü puh* emissary. In consequence of this he wrote recommending that another general of high rank be appointed in order to prevent the two freebooting hordes from communicating with each other. It was from this time that the *Tu-liao* garrison was first established(89), and the services of the Adjutant-General *Wu T'ang*(90) were utilised for the discharge of the *Tu-liao* general's functions. The assistant protector *Lai Miao*(91), the chief protector *Yen Chang*(92), and the second protector *Chang Kwoh*(93), marched the *Li-yang*(94) guards into camp at *Man-pêh*(95) in *Wu-yüan*. The cavalry officer *Ts'in P'éng*(96) was sent with a body of men to camp at *Mei-tsih*(97). In the autumn of that year, sure enough, the northern freebooters sent 2,000 horsemen to watch *Shoh-fang*, and constructed boats out of horse-skins, with the intention of crossing [the Yellow River(97*a*)] and joining those of the Southern horde who had rebelled: but, finding *Han* was prepared, they drew off. They made several further sudden raids upon the frontier prefectures, burning cities and settlements, and killing or kidnapping great numbers of people. The gate of *Ho Si*(98) had to be kept shut during broad daylight. The Emperor was much concerned about all this, so in the 16th year he ordered a *levée en masse* along the whole frontier line, and despatched expeditions beyond the Wall by four different roads to march north against the Huns. The Southern Khan sent *Sin*(99), the Left Virtuous Prince, along with the staff officer *Tsi T'ung*(100) and [the above-mentioned] *Wu T'ang*, by way of *Kao K'üeh*(101) in *Shoh-fang*, to attack Prince *Kao-lin-wên-yü-tuh*(102) at the *Choh-sie*(103) Hills. The freebooters, hearing of the arrival of the *Han* troops, all made off across the desert. *T'ung* and *T'ang* were blamed for not having advanced up to the *Choh-sie* Hills and were removed, the acting appointment of *Tu-liao* general being given to *Lai Miao*. That year the Northern Huns came into *Yün-chung*, and then to *Yü-yang*. The prefect *Lien Fan*(104) attacked them and drove them back, whilst a commissioner named *Kao Hung*(105) was ordered to pursue them with the troops of three prefectures; but he effected nothing. In the 1st year(105*a*) of *Kien-ch'u*, *Lai Miao* was transferred to the prefecture of *Tsi-yin*(106), and the west-marching general *Kêng*

(88*a*) From another extract it seems the Chinese envoys got as far as a sea called *Sz-k'ü Hai* 私渠海.

(89) I have elsewhere translated this '*Liao*-crossing general.' This name had been borne in B.C. 86, but now the post seems to have been permanently recreated as a centre of defence against the nomads.

(90) 吳棠. (91) 來苗.
(92) 閻章. (93) 張國.
(94) 黎陽.
(95) 曼柏. See *Wu-hwan*.
(96) 秦彭 (97) See Note 56.

(97*a*) The Mongols crossed the Yang-tsze in this way when they took *Yünnan* under Kublai Khan. See my sketch of Burmese History.

(98) 河西: extreme North of *Shen Si*.
(99) 信.
(100) 祭肜; who distinguished himself in Corea. See *Sien-pi*, Note 185.
(101) 高關; See *Early Huns*, Note 71.
(102) 皐林溫禺犢; 涿邪. See *T. S. Tribes* (continued) Notes 141 and 119.
(103) See Early Huns, Part 2, Note 65. Perhaps the Alashan Hills.
(104) 廉范. (105) 高弘.
(105*a*) A.D. 76.
(106) 濟陰 in *Shan Tung*.

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Ping(107) was made acting *Tu-liao* general. Meanwhile Prince *Kao-lin-wên-yü tuh* had again occupied the *Choh-sie* Hills with his horde. When the Southern Khan heard of it, he sent a body of lightly-equipped horse to accompany the frontier prefecture and *Wu-hwan*(108) troops beyond the Wall and attack him: several hundred heads and 3 000 or 4,000 prisoners were taken. This year the Southern horde suffered much from locusts, and there was a great dearth. The Emperor *Suh Tsung*(109) supplied over 30,000 of their destitute with grain, but in the 7th year *Kêng Ping* was transferred to the post of metropolitan Captain-general(110), and *Têng Hung*(111), prefect of *Chang-yeh*, was made acting *Tu-liao* general. In the 8th year one *Ki-liu-sz*(112), Northern Hun chief of the *San-muh-lou-tsz*(113), surrendered at the *Wu-yüan* Wall with 38,000 individuals, 20,000 horses, and 100,000 sheep and oxen.

In the 1st year(114) of *Yüan ho*, *Mêng Yün*(115), prefect of *Wei-wu*(115*a*), reported that the Northern Khan had again expressed a desire for trade with both officials and people. A decree said:—'Let it be so;' and the post-director *Ying-hu*(116) was sent to conciliate him and to admit him.

The Northern Khan then sent the great *tsü-k'ü* Prince *I-moh-tsz*(116*a*), with over 10,000 cattle and sheep, to do a trade with the *Han* merchants. Some of the other princes and chiefs also came, and the prefectural and district towns where it took place had official reception houses built for them and entertained them liberally. The southern Khan, hearing of this, despatched a force of light cavalry out by way of *Shang Kün*(117), cut off and carried away some human beings, and lifted a number of cattle and horses, which he drove back within the Wall. In the early spring of the 2nd year the northern Hun chief *Ch'ê-li Chah-ping*(118) came to take refuge within the Wall with 72 others. The northern freebooters were now weak and exhausted, and their tribal divisions were all at loggerheads. The southern horde attacked them in front, and the *Ting-ling*(119) attacked them in the rear. The *Sien-pi* attacked them on the left(120) and the Turkestan(121) tribes encroached upon their right, so that they were no longer able to maintain their position, and withdrew far to the north(122).

The Khan *Ch'ang* died after a reign of 23 years, and the Khan *Han's* son *Süan*(123) succeeded. *Süan*, the *I-t'u-yü-lü-ti*(124) Khan, succeeded in the 2nd year of *Yüan-*

(107) 耿秉 one *Kêng Kung* 耿恭 was in charge at *Su-lêh* (Kashgar), where he was surrounded by the Huns who turned off his water stream, at a spot he had fortified. However he succeeded in finding wells.

(108) In my account of the *Wu-hwan*. (p. 76, Note 69) it will be seen that *Tsi Tung* broke up the horde, and doubtless these were the loyal remains of it.

(1 9) 肅宗; i.e. *Chang Ti*.

(110) 執金吾.

(111) 鄧鴻.

(112) 稽留斯.

(113) 三木樓訾.

(114) A.D. 84.

(115) 孟雲.

(115*a*) ? *Wu-wei*.

(116) 驛使迎呼.

(116*a*) 伊莫訾.

(117) 上郡; in *Shen Si*.

(118) 車利涿兵 of *T. S. Tribes* (continued), Note 15.

(119) See *T. S. Tribes*, Part 11 Note 133, and *T. S. Tribes* (continued); Note 64, one tribe somewhere near Ili, another tribe near Lake Baikal.

(120) Front-south, Rear-north, Left-east, Right-west.

(121) 西域.

(122) This is no doubt the beginning of the movement which drove horde after horde into Europe.

(123) 宣; A.D. 85.

(124) 伊屠於閭鞮

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ho. That year the Khan sent over a thousand of his soldiers on a hunt as far as the *Choh-sie* Hills; here they suddenly came across the northern freebooter, Prince *W'ên-yü-tuh*(125), with whose head they returned after a battle. In the winter *Mêng Yün* represented that, as the southern horde had proceeded to pounce upon and plunder the northerners who had been on friendly terms with us, the northern Khan was saying that he had been deceived by *Han*, and was preparing for a raid on the Wall unless we conciliated him by returning the captives carried off by the southerners. But *Suh Tsung* agreed to the recommendation of the stud officer *Yüan An*(126) and sent down a decree to the following effect:—'The *Hien-yün* and *Hün-yüh*(127) have been China's enemies from the most ancient times till now. Though there have been periods when friendliness prevailed in name, there has never been the least advantage to us from it, and the out-of-the-way frontier folk have repeatedly had to endure their ravages. Fathers died at the beginning, and sons fought at the end. Delicate females crowded into the guard-stations, and orphan children wept along the roads. Aged mothers and widowed wives set up hopeless altars of prayer and drank their own tears, looking in vain for the return of their dead ones from the desert beyond. Oh! how pitiful! The philosopher *Lao-Tsz* says that the reason why the Great River and the Ocean out-live the smaller streams is because they are below them. What harm can it do us then to be also a little humble and lowly? And especially now that the Huns are definitely divided amongst themselves. Their language is submissive and the treaties are clear, whilst their tribute offerings come in heaps and piles. How, then, can it be right to break faith and put ourselves in the wrong? *Tu-liao* is hereby ordered, as also is General *P'ang Fên*(128), to give double rations to all the souls captured by the southern horde, and to return them to the northern freebooters. At the same time the rewards for heads cut off by the southern horde and for captives taken must be paid on the usual scale.'

When he heard this, the southern Khan once more ordered the *Yüh-kien Jih-chuh* Prince *Shï-tsz*(129) to march out beyond the Wall at the head of several thousand lightly-equipped horsemen and to take the northern freebooters by surprise. Another thousand heads were taken, and the northern freebooters, observing that the southern horde were the more liberally treated by *Han*, surrendered at the rate of several thousand more every year(130).

In the 1st year(131) of the period *Chang-ho*, the *Sien-pi*(132) entered the land of the eastern-most Huns, and inflicted a severe defeat upon the northern horde, beheading the Khan *Yu-liu*(133), and obtaining his Hun skin as a trophy(134). The northern horde was now in a complete state of confusion, and 58 tribes(135) in all, numbering 200,000 souls and 8,000 capable

(125) See Note 102.

(126) 袁安.

(127) See *T. S. Tribes*, Page 1.

(128) 龐奮.

(129) 師子; see further down, when promoted to be *Luh-li*. See Note 157.

(130) This last sentence is doubtful.

(131) A.D. 87.

(132) See my account of the *Wu-hwan and Sien-pi* Tunguses. In the 2nd century B.C. the Huns had broken up the *Sien-pi* branch of the *Wu-hwan*. Probably a branch of these were the ancestors of the Mongols. We shall trace this question in due course.

(133) 優留: it is not clear who this was.

(134) If this translation is correct, it reminds us of the Persian King Sapor, who is supposed to have skinned and stuffed the Roman Emperor Valerian 180 years later. Possibly he took the idea from the Huns.

(135) 屈蘭儲卑胡都須 are some of the names, but I cannot divide them.

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soldiers(135*a*), went to *Yün-chung*, *Wu-yüan*, *Shoh-fang*, or *Peh-ti* to surrender.

The Khan *Süan* died after a reign of three years, and *T'un-t'u-ho*(136), younger brother of the Khan *Chang*, succeeded. *T'un-t'u-ho*, the *Hiu-lan-shï chuh hou-ti*(137) Khan, succeeded in the 2nd year of the period *Chang-ho*. At this time the northern freebooters were in great confusion, not to speak of famine and locusts. Surrendering parties came in one after the other. The southern Khan had an idea of annexing the northern horde, but just then the Emperor *Suh Tsung* died, and the Empress-Dowager *Tou*(138) became Regent. In the 7th moon of that year the Khan sent up a message to the following effect:—'For generation after generation we have received innumerable favours. The sacred schemes and distant cares of his late Majesty the Pious *Chang* were just on the point of realization, and for this reason the *Wu-hwan* and *Sien-pi* at his order punished the northern freebooters, cut off the Khan's head, and broke up his State. The recently surrendered *Hü-k'ü*(139) and other tribal chiefs have come and represented to me that in the spring of last year they broke up the northern *ordo*, and the northern Khan, having been decimated by the southern soldiers(140), and dreading moreover the *Ting-ling* and the *Sien-pi*, fled far away, pitching his tents along the west side of the *An-hou*(141) River. In the first moon of this year, the *Kuh-tu* marquesses joined in setting up the Khan's elder brother by a different mother, the Right Virtuous Prince, as Khan. In consequence of the elder and younger brother thus contesting the throne, their subjects have divided and scattered, in such wise that your vassal together with the princes, *Kuh-tu* marquesses, and newly surrendered chieftains, have together discussed a scheme of policy, and have come to the unanimous conclusion that advantage should be taken of the northern freebooters' divisions and strifes to march against them and chastise them, thus breaking up the northern and consolidating the southern horde, amalgamating the whole into one State, and for ever freeing the *Han* house from northern cares. Again, in the 8th moon of this year the newly surrendered *Yu-sü Jih-chuh Sien-t'ang*(142) came with a lightly encumbered following(143) all the way from the freebooters' horde to your vassal, and said that nearly all the tribes of the northern freebooters were desirous of applying to China, but that they were ashamed to make the first move, and for that reason only had not come. If an army marches out to attack them, we can therefore depend upon many of them declaring for us, and unless it is done this year, I fear they may unite once more. I humbly reflect that, from the time when my late father(144) came over to *Han*, we have been the recipients of great kindness, have acted as a strict barrier, and have kept a close watch, whilst a large army has occupied the region for now quite 40 years. We have been born and bred on the land of *Han*, being dependent for every mouthful of food, and receiving annual presents besides, often to the extent of millions. Though enjoying secure repose under an easy rule, we feel ashamed that we have not

(135*a*) If that, (four per cent.), is a fair average, we can make a guess at populations when the Chinese speak of a State 'with so many competent soldiers.'

(136) 屯屠何.

(137) 休蘭; note the frequent recurrence of the last four syllables. Notes 80 and 86.

(138) 竇. (139) 虛渠.

(140) The context seems to demand this, but it might mean 'started from the northern *ordo*, and the northern Khan having decimated' &c.

(141) 安侯.

(142) 右須日逐鮮堂.

(143) 輕從.

(144) I suppose *Pi* counts, as his father, on the principle suggested in *T. S. Tribes* (continued), Note 144.

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yet been able to make any return service. We now offer to raise a force of the best soldiers in our State, and to despatch the Left *Luh-li* Prince *Shï tsz* and the Left *Huyen Jih-chuh* Prince *Sü-tsz*(145) at the head of 10,000 horsemen *viâ Shoh-fang:* also the Left Virtuous Prince *An-kwoh*(146), and the Right Great *tsü-k'ü* Prince *Kiao-lêh-su*(147) at the head of 10,000 horsemen by way of *Kü-yen*(148), all three arranging for a *rendez vous* in the 12th moon somewhere in the freebooters' land. I myself at the head of the remaining 10,000 men will pitch a defensive camp at the Wall between *Shoh-fang* and *Wu-yüan.* I have never been a person of any great depth or intelligence, and moreover the troops at my disposal have been too few to make pretension of guarding both interior and exterior. I would therefore desire that the quartermaster-general *Kêng Ping*, the *Tu-liao* general *Têng Hung*, and the prefects of *Si-ho*, *Yün-chung*, *Wu-yüan*, *Shoh-fang* and *Shang-kün* might be sent to join forces, and, marching north, unite with the prefect of *An-ting* in *Pêh-ti*(148*a*), each one fixing his camp at some vital spot. I thus hope, aided by the sacred Emperor's prestige and divine power, to settle the whole business at one blow. The making or the unmaking of my country depends upon this year. I have already commanded all the tribes to keep their men and horses well up to the mark, and to assemble on the [Yellow] River bank for the dragon(149) sacrifices of the 9th moon. Your Majesty will be pleased to take it into his consideration and decide.' The Emperor shewed it to *Kêng Ping*, who submitted his views as follows:—'In past times the Emperor *Wu Ti* greatly extended the empire, and was desirous of reducing the Huns to subjection, but, as it did not please Heaven that it should be done then, his wish was not fulfilled. In the time of the Emperor *Süan*, however, *Huhan-ya* came with his submission, in consequence of which the frontier folk secured peace, and inner and outer became as one, increasing and developing quietly for a period of over sixty years. Then *Wang Mang* usurped the throne(150), and changed the Khan's official(151) title. Devastating raids were incessant and the Khan rebelled. But when *Kwang wu* received [Heaven's] commands(152), he once more brought them into the fold, and the recovery of the territory of the frontier prefectures was thus made possible. The *Wu-hwan* and *Sien-pi* were all so impressed that they also reverted to loyalty, while our prestige kept down the western barbarians. Such were the great results. Now, happily, destiny has it that Heaven allows the Northern freebooters to struggle apart. To make use of barbarian to attack barbarian is for the advantage of the republic, and we may well hearken and approve.' *Ping* then proceeded to say that he was a recipient of the Emperor's favour, and was therefore in duty bound to go on an expedition against

(145) 須訾. (146) 安國.

(147) 烏勒蘇.

(148) 居延 north of modern *Kan-chou.*

(148*a*) 北地安定 probably in *Shen Si* or *Kan Suh.*

(149) Swayne's Herodotus says of the Scythians:—'Images and altars they make for ARES only. . . . But to ARES they sacrifice after another manner. In each district of the land at the chief place of it, there is a temple of ARES. . Faggots of brush-wood are piled together; . . . . on this there is made a platform; . . . In the midst of this platform is a sword of iron made after the ancient fashion, and this sword is the image of ARES. And year by year they offer to this sword sheep and horses, and of the men whom they take captive . . . . They pour wine on the heads of the men and slay them over a great vessel, and then, taking the blood on to the platform, pour it over the sword that serveth for an image.'

(150) A.D. 9.

(151) A Note says that the old Hun imperial seal had no Chinese characters engraved upon it. See *T. S. Tribes*, (continued) Note 222 A.

(152) A.D. 25.

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them and requite this kindness. The Emperor followed his advice, and accordingly, in the 1st year(153) of the period *Yung-yüan*, *Ping* was created general against the West, and was ordered to march out against the freebooters *viâ Shoh-fang* with the cavalry General *Tou Hien*(154) and 8,000 horses, the *Tu-liao* troops, and the 30,000 horsemen of the Southern Khan's horde. He inflicted a great defeat upon them: the Northern Khan fled, and over 200,000 men were either killed or taken prisoners, as has already been related in the chapter(155) on *Tou Hien*. In the 2nd year *Têng Hung* was transferred to the Foreign(156) office, and *Hwang-fu Lêng*(157), prefect of *Ting-siang*, was made *Tu-liao* General.

The southern Khan now again sent up an application for permission to extinguish the northern horde. On this *Shï-tsz*, the Left *Luh-li*(157*a*) Prince, and others were sent out at the head of 8,000 cavaliers of the Left and Right tribes, *viâ* the *Ki-luh* Pass(158). The Adjutant-General *Kêng T'an*(159) sent one of his staff-officers to escort him as far as the *Choh-sie* Hills. Here he left his baggage, and divided his men into two tribal columns, each advancing, lightly armed, to the attack by a different road. The Left tribe passed north beyond the West Sea to the north of *Ho-yün*(160). The right tribe followed the west bank of the Huns' river, going round *T'ien Shan*, and crossing the *Kan-wei*(161) River south. The two armies met and surrounded the northern Khan by night. This greatly startled him, but he gave battle at once with a thousand veteran troops. The Khan was wounded and fell from his horse; but he got on again, and just succeeded in escaping at the head of a score or two of light horse. His jade seal, and also his queen, sons, and daughters were taken, five in all. Eight thousand heads were cut off, and the army returned with several thousand captives they had taken.

About this time the southern horde achieved quite a number of victories in succession, and either captured or accepted the surrender of a great many tribes: 34,000 families, consisting of 237,300 individuals and 50,170 capable soldiers, were brought to the staff-officer. The adjutant-general appointed two staff-officers. Having in view the large number of persons surrendered, *Kêng T'an* proposed to the Emperor that 12 staff-officers(162) should be added.

(153) A.D. 88.

(154) 竇憲: nephew of the empress of *Chang Ti* (Note 138): his victories were engraved on stone at 燕然山. See Early Huns, Note 93, Part 2. The Southern Khan made, when north of the desert, a present of a huge tripod to *Hien* marked 仲山甫鼎. (Chapter on *Tou Hien*).

(155) In the biographical chapters.

(156) 大鴻臚; such it seems to have then been. See *T. S. Tribes* (continued), Note 270.

(157) 皇父棱.

(157*a*) See Note 127.

(158) 鵜鹿; in *Yü-hun*, Ordos. See Early Huns, Note 132, also paper on *poan-poan*, Note 28 (not yet published).

(159) 耿譚.

(160) 河雲. Whereabouts unknown to me. The usurper *Wang Mang* gave the name of 西海 to modern *Lan-chou*.

(161) 甘微. Whereabouts unknown to me.

(162) 從事 appears to mean generally a sort of *aide-de camp*.

E. H. Parker.

(To be continued.)

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JOTTINGS FROM CANADA.

ANTIQUARIAN AND PHILOLOGICAL RESEARCHES.

One of the first things that struck me on my arrival in Victoria was the resemblance of the Indian squaws, or Klutchmen as they are locally called, to the women of Mongolia. It was also remarkable how like to Japanese dressed in European clothes were the Indian men, or Siwashes as they are locally called, especially when wearing the same ungraceful garments. I mentioned this matter to the Rev. J. Endicott Gardner, of the Methodist Mission, Victoria, stepson of the well-known Mr Vrooman, of Canton, and was informed by him that a Japanese or Chinese 'copper fan' had recently been excavated in Government Street at a depth of ten feet and from a spot which had apparently never been disturbed before. This 'fan' had, he said, been sent to the British Museum. As the gentleman, Mr Wilson, who had found it, lived hard by, we went to interview him, and discovered that the supposed 'fan' was still at his country residence. Thither we all repaired. The object excavated turned out to be a copper fan-shaped mirror, such as are at this day sold at the Haku-ran-kwai 博覽會 in Osaka for their weight in copper cash, or a silver equivalent. On the reverse side of the smooth mirror face was the raised picture of two cranes, a tree, a brook, and a tortoise, with the inscription 中原攝津守光重. This means nothing particular in Chinese, but the Japanese boy in charge of the hotel lift said that the words were read *chū gen setsu tsū shu kō djō*, or, in Japanese vernacular, *Nakahara setsū no kami Mitsu shiga*; that the object was very old, he did not know how old, but probably fifty or a hundred years; and that *Setsū no kami*, or 'the Lord of Setsu' (near Osaka), was the 'old way' in which Mr Nakahara Mitsushige styled himself. This statement was confirmed, so far as the reading of the characters goes, by Mr Shimamura 下村, a Japanese gentleman on his way to Tacoma; but he said that *Setsū no kami* was the name of a celebrated mirror-maker in ancient times, and that he would require to consult his history books for the exact date. Mr Shimizu, Japanese Consul at Vancouver, writes to me as follows:—'*Setsū no kami* was a title in ancient times meaning "Governor of the province of Settsu." I presume the inscription is the name of the maker of the article.' Possibly antiquaries in Japan may now be able to give the probable date of the mirror. In the course of conversation, Mr Wilson mentioned that some Japanese or Chinese coins had been unearthed by a Mr James Deans. I visited Mr Deans, a local antiquarian and Indian expert, who informed me that they had been found in an Indian child's grave, having evidently been used as ornaments. He had two of the 26 found still in his possession: they were the ordinary 寬永 cash, so common both in Japan, and Wênchow, and there is no reason to suppose that they found their way here previous to the date of the first British settlements. Mr Deans mentioned, however, that the coast Indians had ancient traditions of three strangers arriving from the 'land of the setting sun' and marrying into their tribes. He was also present on one occasion when some Japanese fisher-

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men employed under him indicated an Indian boat derrick as being purely Japanese in idea and construction.

In addition to the above evidence suggestive of the partial or entire peopling of certain coast tracts in America by Japanese or Chinese waifs, there has recently appeared, in the *Overland Monthly* for June 1894, an able and interesting article by Mr Frederic J. Masters, entitled 'Did a Chinaman discover America?' In this paper Mr Masters adduces evidence to shew that within the past two centuries there have been several scores of instances in which Japanese have been driven upon American or Honolulu coasts; that the natives of Hawaii were spontaneously struck with the resemblance to themselves of the first Japanese castaways they saw; that the Aztec and Inca civilizations both resembled the Chinese in many points; that the story of Fu-sang brought back to China by the bonze Hwei Sên 惠森 in the 5th century is probably true; that the *fusang* tree appears to be the maguey tree of Mexico; that the Mexican stranger from the west, Quetzalcoatl, was probably a Buddhist missionary from China; that the high priest Tay Zaca of Mixteca may have something to do with Sâkya, &c., &c. The article is well worth reading, and certainly Mr Masters makes out a very good *primâ facie* case. I am the more gratified to be able to make this admission in that I recently communicated a note to the *China Review* expressing the opinion that the whole story of Fusang was mischievous nonsense. I still think that the counter-evidence given in that note points to Hwei Sên's having got no further than Corea; but the miscellaneous testimony brought forward by Mr Masters, coupled with the evidence of my own senses, leads me to believe that there is still a good case for consideration on grounds apart from the bonze's story, which, again, may after all contain some modicum of truth. I understand that Mr E. P. Vining, of Chicago, has just published an extensive volume called 'The Inglorious Columbus,' which sets forth at still greater length practically the same views as those of Mr Masters. I may have an opportunity of referring to this work later on.

Mr Deans gives me the following list of numerals, from one to ten, used by the tribes near Victoria:—*netsi*, *chessi*, *xleux*, *hasen*, *taxem*, *sakwus*, *teixes*, *takux*, *apen* (the *x* guttural like Scotch *ch*). Unfortunately, one of the ten is omitted; I cannot say which. The numerals of the Kwaitjen tribes, 40 miles from Victoria, are the same, except that 'two' is *iseli* instead of *chessi*. The Alaska tribes have a curious way of using fives instead of tens: thus, *cleik*, *teix*, *nask*, *takun*, *kitjen*, *nasketushi*, *cleikketushi*, *teichhetushi*, *kushak*, *tjilakát*. (There is perhaps some mistake in the transcribed order of these.) Mr Deans says that tones are very marked in the north, where, however, the language is not by any means monosyllabic but rather agglutinative. On the other hand Mr Masters endeavours to make a point out of the monosyllabic nature of the more southerly coast languages. All authorities conversant with Indian tongues agree that the tribes west of the Rockies speak kin languages, all totally different from the class of languages prevailing east of that range. The jargon called Chinook, a sort of 'pidjin-Injun,' still much used by the white traders and the coast tribes, however useful, is really no language at all, at least half the words being French or English corrupted: yet even in this jargon the ten numerals are preserved, and are in some cases not unlike those given above: thus: *ixt*, *múks*, *clein*, *lakit*, *quinem*, *taxem*, *sinamok*, *sotka*, *kwai-in*, *tanem*. The words for 'one,' *ixt* or *icht* and *netsi*, certainly recal the Chinese *yit* or *ik* and the Japanese *ichi* or *itsi*.

The whole subject of the probable ethnological relationship between the tribes of Asia and America requires further and careful consideration.

E. H. Parker.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

INCREASE IN THE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM IN CHINA.—At the present time, while the opium question is exciting so much interest and while the report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject has not yet been published, we feel sure that any reliable information on the much-discussed point of the extent of the growth of opium in China will be welcomed. A general impression has for long existed that the Chinese in their apparent opposition to the import of foreign opium into China are not altogether sincere, seeing that the cultivation of opium is allowed, seemingly without any restriction, in their own country. This impression receives most remarkable confirmation in the *Report on the Foreign Trade of China for the year* 1892, *presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, August,* 1893.

This report, which was compiled by Mr. Beauclerk, Chargé d'Affaires of the British Legation at Peking, contains a digest of the reports for 1892 of the Consuls at Amoy, Wenchow, Ichang, Taiwan, Chefoo, Foochow, Wuhu, Pakhoi, Swatow, and of the Customs Reports for Tientsin, Shanghai, Newchwang, Hankow, Ningpo, Kiukiang, Chungking, Tamsui, Kiung-chow, Canton, Lappa, and Kowloon, and concludes with general remarks on the Consular and Customs Reports of which digests are given. The following extracts bearing on opium, and especially on the cultivation of native opium, which are taken from the Consular and Customs reports, seem to show very clearly that it is not now a question whether China wants opium or not, but whether her supply is to come from foreign sources or to be home-grown. In view of the decline of the import of foreign opium into both the North and South of China and the increased cultivation of the native drug, as shown by the report under consideration, it seems almost certain that native opium, which is cheaper than foreign opium and which is gradually becoming the popular drug, will drive foreign opium almost entirely from the markets of China. Native opium will be smoked by the many, while foreign opium will become a luxury of the few.

EXTRACTS—CONSULAR REPORTS.

Amoy.—'Poppy cultivation is increasing every year and the quality is not much inferior to the Persian.' (P. 3).

Ichang.—'No foreign opium is used, as the local product is far cheaper and suits the taste of the consumer.' (P. 5).

Taiwan.—'Opium is the principal article of import and the consumption is increasing owing to the greater prevalence of smoking amongst the urban populations and the comparative cheapness of the Persian drug, which has nearly excluded the Indian altogether.' (P. 6).

Chefoo.—'Very little opium is imported, as smokers are contented with the native drug and the consumption does not appear to increase, but if anything rather the reverse.' (P. 7).

Foochow.—'In Persian opium there is an increase, owing to the failure of the native crop. In Indian there is a falling off, on account of its comparative dearness.' (P. 9).

Wuhu.—'Foreign opium was stationary

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and there was a decline in the consumption of the native drug, the Kiangsu crop having been seriously damaged by rains.' (P. 11).

Pakhoi.—There is a progressive decrease in the import of Indian opium.' (P. 11).

Chinkiang.—'The consumption of native opium is driving the foreign drug out of the market.' (P. 13).

Chungking.—'The Supt. of Trade issued a proclamation in September urging the people to grow cereals in place of opium. It is still on the walls, in sight of which flourishing fields of poppies bear witness to its futility.

'It is unlikely that cereals will be grown in place of opium so long as the latter crop yields a profit, which in this neighbourhood exceeds that in wheat by some 80 per cent.'

EXTRACTS—IMPERIAL MARITIME CUSTOMS REPORTS.

General.—'The import of foreign opium showed a falling off of 6,663 piculs.'

'The Indian Government, having curtailed the quantity of Bengal opium sold at the monthly auctions, reduced importation and enhanced prices. . . . The cheap Persian variety, including so-called Turkey opium, has advanced in favour and is largely used for mixing with the Chinese drug.' (P. 14).

Tientsin.—'Here the importation of Indian opium is on the increase: but that of the native drug is increasing also and is said to represent 75 per cent. of the whole.' (P. 16).

Shanghai.—'Very many opium smokers have discarded the dear Indian opium for the native drug, to which they have accustomed themselves. At the moment there is in the port the largest stock of Indian opium on record and its sale is rendered very difficult on account of its high price.' (P. 17).

Newchwang.—'The production of native opium is reported to be well up to the average.' (P. 18).

Hankow, Ningpo.—(No mention of opium).

Kiukiang.—'Importation of opium has decreased.' (P. 20).

Chungking.—'No foreign opium was imported, the consumers being entirely contented with the native drug.' (P. 21).

CHINESE KOWLOON (CUSTOMS).

'The rise in price of foreign opium has attracted to the province increased quantities of the native drug: and as the latter has now established a foothold, it need not cause any surprise if the import of foreign opium in the Southern provinces should continue to decline as it has been doing for some years past in the North of China.' (P. 86).

GENERAL REMARKS (BY MR. BEAUCLERK).

'The decline in the importation of opium will please those moralists who so strongly oppose it and so earnestly advocate the complete extinction of the trade. It may possibly, however, not be entirely satisfactory to note that the decrease in this import is supplied by the cheaper Persian and native drugs, the importation and production of which are largely increasing.

'Now the Indian drug is unquestionably purer and less noxious in its effects than the inferior qualities with which it is mixed or which take its place. If smokers are compelled to resort to the cheaper and worse kinds, they will consume more in order to make up for the want of the better and stronger quality.

'Opium smoking is a habit so ingrained in the Chinese that it will not be abolished by the exclusion of one particular sort, and, if the wealthier and upper classes are driven to use the inferior opium, it naturally follows that a corresponding deterioration of mental and physical health must ensue.'

'The exclusion of the best opium from the market resembles to a great degree what might happen were the importation into England of good French cognac to be prohibited on grounds of temperance and morality, whilst inferior brandies were coming in from other quarters to supply the want of the better stimulant and the manufacture of inferior native spirits increasing in proportion to the lack of an article to which well-to-do people are accustomed.' (P. 37-38).

L.

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE YIH KING.—In the *China Review* (Vol. XIV, p. 17), I analysed the structure of the Yü-king, showing that it consisted, first, of an archive ballad and, second, of an ancient commentary; the two, however, so amalgamated, and jumbled together that they have been handed down as one. The same structure is to be noted in the earlier books of the Shû as in the Shuntien where we read:

在璿璣玉衡
以齊七政

His attributes were the revolving sphere and jumbled bar.
By means of which he regulated the seven storms.

Following this clue we can continue it throughout the chapter.

It is however in the Yih that this jumble has become most marked, so marked in fact that once pointed out it seems impossible to pass it over. Professor de Lacouperie seems to have been the first to note it, but he founded on it the quaint idea that the text of the Yih was a dictionary, an idea, however, he has not persevered in.

Besides its numerous commentaries, from the Siang 彖 to the various appendices, the Yih may be said to consist of three parts, the hexagrams, the old text and the indications. Unfortunately neither the Siang nor any of the other appendices throws the slightest light on the structure. They are the feeblest of paraphrases and utterly beneath contempt, as any one may see in Dr. Legge's translations. Confucius is reported to have said, were he to study the Yih for fifty years he would still be liable to error, and this is the key to the commentators, who have striven, as in the kindred case of the Ch'un-ts'iu, to make the Yih into an ethical canon, beneath whose symbols lay hid the secrets of a moral philosophy.

The origin of the hexagrams is ascribed to Fuhi 伏羲 or Paohi 庖羲, the Chinese Sage, who had for his ministers the clouds and his winged messengers the winds of heaven—in other words, is unknown. They were first said to have been eight, which we may well believe, and to have been given on the banks of the rivers Lo and the Ho in a mysterious manner, by means of a map carried by a dragon horse. This is only another way of saying things were synchronous with the earliest civilisation of China, which spread from the banks of the Lo in the present Hunan.

It is noteworthy that, except in one doubtful instance above quoted,* the name of the Yih does not occur in the four specially Confucian books. It as yet existed only by being handed down by the professional diviners as their stock-in-trade, and neither they, nor indeed any one else, had ever thought of turning it into a classic 經, that absurdity being for a later age. The use of divination was however common, and we find the Shu, V. 4, enjoining the appointment of public diviners, 卜筮人. The word for divining, *putish*, comes from one of those numerous words which we find reaching from ocean to ocean. It is in fact the exact analogue of German *fragen* and originally meant to ask, pray, and hence in Chinese to ask the oracle. Two methods seem to have been in use; one the tortoise, the other the sacrificial grass. With regard to the former the method of operation was to scorch the shell over a slow fire till it cracked, and from the direction of the cracks the response was judged favourable or the reverse. The grass seems to have been cut in lengths; these were manipulated with certain ceremonies, and six drawn and arranged in the form of a hexagram. The soothsayer then repeated the memorial words attached to each line till something supposed to have a bearing on the question asked turned up. He then repeated the attached cues which were, as we shall see, of varied nature, but most frequently consisted of words like 吉 lucky, 利 profitable in the reverse, or such phrases as 涉大川 cross great streams, &c.

* Lun-yü, VII, 16.

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In the manipulation of the tortoise we see the origin of the fable of the spirit horse and the Ho, and it seems hardly going too far to connect the grass stems with the ancient Indian Kuça or sacrificial grass.

From all analogy the memorial words attached to each of the hexagrams must have been in some sort of verse, the better to aid the memory of the soothsayer. The Yih, as we have it, is certainly not mystified and we fail to find any indication of rythm. This, however, is not conclusive. As in the Ch'un-ts'iu so in the Yih we find an almost identical paucity of characters, and when we examine further we discover the absence of verbs and particles. The characters in fact represent things not words; and in both cases the reciter must have clothed the bare verses with the ornaments of syntax. Thus it was that Confucius in the case of the Ch'un-ts'iu had to supplement it with oral teaching, which, reduced to writing in the second century after his death, resulted in the Tso-chwan the 'assisting narrative.' In the case of the Yih no one appeared to perform the same task for the versicles while their memory was yet green. With their disuse their meaning was forgotten and text and cues were jumbled together into one meaningless whole. The rythm of the original was thus marked, and great and unintelligible gaps were left in what survived.

At the time of the recension of the Tso-chwan the editor had still some knowledge of the old method of divination, and several times alludes to it. Thus in Chap. III, year 22, we find the Prince of Ch'en consulting the lots. He drew the 20th diagram 觀 Kwen. Where this interchanged with Pi 否, the 12th, *i.e.*, the fourth line, he found the expression 觀國之光. 'He beheld the glory of the State.' The cue to this was 利用賓于王, 'It is profitable to be a king's guest,' and he drew his conclusions accordingly, much as in the middle ages in Europe the superstitious made use of the *Sortes Vergilianae*.

In Chapter X., year 29, we have the first diagram K'ien given at length. An enquiry is made of the State remembrancers why now-a-days there are no dragons. The reply is given 'because you don't know how to take care of them.' Apropos of the enquiry, the diagram 乾 is quoted nearly as we still have it.

6	5	2	1
九龍	飛龍在天	見龍在田	潛龍
			勿用
有悔	見羣龍無首		
吉			
龍戰于野			

Of these six the first four are still in the first hexagram in the order of line 1, 2, 5 and 6; the fifth forms awkwardly a seventh supernumerary line, while the sixth in our present books has been transferred to the end of the second hexagram 坤 K'wen. The arrangement of the lines according to the Tso-chwan is more logical and connected than in the published editions of the Yih, so that we may expect in the present text to find many corruptions and irregularities.

For the reason stated above, namely the want of verbs and particles, it is of course impossible to translate the diagram. Those who wish to do so may add the missing lines according to their fancy. Such attempts however belong to the realm not of translation but of paraphrase, a process unfortunately much affected by Chinese scholars of every age. No hint nor allusion occurs in the Tso-chwan as to the existence of any Siang, Twan or other appendix to the Yih, and this, added to the internal evidence of the language and contents, may be taken as conclusive proof that 200 B.C. they were not in existence. We may in full relegate them to the period of the early Han when the mistaken zeal of the emperors forced the growth of a crop of weeds and barefaced forgeries, which has ever since stood in the way of rational research into the few fragments of antiquity that have survived.

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All the hexagrams are not, however, so elliptic as the first, and some of them are sufficiently full to enable us to arrive at a fair knowledge of the contents of the memorial versicles. We may then take a few at random and see what we can learn of their contents. As an appendix I give in full an analysis and translation as closely as possible of the 36th diagram, the 明夷 Ming-I, which will sufficiently illustrate the construction generally. The memorial versicles will be found generally to refer to ordinary occurrences in the daily life of the early settlers. Exogamy has always been one of the most marked of Chinese practices. Even at the present day the marriage of two individuals of the same surname is strictly forbidden; in the visit of the bridegroom's friends to the house of the bride, and her escort to her husband's home we have a long lingering survival of the practice of marriage by capture. As we ascend in time, we find these traces growing stronger; thus the Shi, I, 2, I, sings:—

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
  The dove must be his mate;
His chosen bride to show his home,
  A hundred chariots wait.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells,
  The dove his home must show,
His chosen bride to her new home
  The hundred chariots wait.

In yonder nest the magpie dwells;
  The dove, a bride forlorn,
To her new home, to her new caves
  The chariots home have borne.

Even more definite is the Shang-shang-che-hwa (Shi, II. 6. X.) the last verse of which tells us:—

Now right, now left his chariot hies,
  Our prince has neared her side.
Now left, now right the lady lies,
  Our prince has gained his bride.
    Her veil he holds. Ah, lucky fate!
    Like bride—like prince; how well they mate.

The Yih hexagram 3 under the title of 屯 Chun, the Assembly Meet, describes a bridal chase.

1. Lusty and vigorous is our well established prince.
2. We meet him at the appointed place, mount our horses in order, and bent on prey set out to capture our future wives.
3. Like the hunted deer dazed they rush into the middle of the forest; our prince all ardent, till we relinquish the chase.
4. We mount our horses, the capture completed, and go.
5. We select our captives, great and small.
6. We place them on our horses weeping and blood-stained.

The sixth describes the unfortunate result of a law suit: even if the complainant be successful he is a marked man. 'Even though he were given at evening the embroidered girdle, in the morning thrice is it carried off.'

The seventh 師, Sze, will bear translation.

1. The host goes forth in regular order amidst the lines; three times the King gives his orders.
2. The force bids fair to be defeated,
3. The left wing is turned.
4. The field is taken, (when)
5. The heir-apparent takes command.
6. Like a great commander he issues his orders; he enters the country, and receives the submission of the people, great and small.

The twenty-eighth, Ta-kwo 大過, great excess, also.

1. For a mat the white rush is best.
2. Like a decayed willow, sending forth shoots, is an old man who has taken a wife.
3. His bodily powers are exhausted.
4. Were they vigorous, it might be different.
5. Like a decayed willow putting forth flowers is an old woman who has taken a young husband.

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6. They have passed their proper limit and have destroyed their peace of mind.

We may finish these extracts with a domestic scene. The thirty-seventh, the 家人 Kia-jen, the Family Man, exhibits the interior of a family.

1. Well regulated is the household.
2. In the middle the cooking is going on.
3. The goodman says Ho-ho; the goodwife answers Hi-hi.
4. The family has abundance.
5. He rules it without effort.
6. There is mutual confidence and respect.

The examples I have given by no means exhaust the number of those capable of translation but are sufficient to indicate the general construction. Their main interest of course lies in the glimpses they give us of domestic life amongst the early settlers. Secondary to this is the insight they afford us as to the manner in which 'Classics' were cooked in the second and first centuries B.C.

HEXAGRAM XXXVI.—MING-I.

The Ming-I.

明夷
明夷于飛垂其翼君子于行三日不食有攸往
主人有言
明夷于左股拯馬壯
吉
明夷于南狩得其大首
不可疾貞
入于左腹獲明夷之心于出門庭
箕子之明夷
利貞
不明晦初登于天後于地

The Ming-I are on the wing but their wings will droop. Our prince is on the move: three days he does not eat, in his anxiety to move.

The chief mock at him.

The Ming-I are at his left flank gallantly spurring their horses.

Fortunate.

The Ming-I are at the southern hunting ground. He has captured their leader.

Unsuitable; an unlucky omen.

Entering at the left flank he surprises the main body of the Ming-I, and drives them out of their camp.

The Ming-I of Ki-tsze.

Before the day dawned, in the darkness they knew not if they were going to heaven or earth.

THO. W. KINGSMILL.

QUERIES.

CHINESE SOCIOLOGY.—An English country gentleman who is so much interested in Chinese sociology as to have endeavoured to apply experimentally some of its principles to certain local affairs in England, is very desirous of obtaining more light on the Chinese family and village system, and will feel deeply indebted to any readers of the *China Review* who may be disposed to supply answers to any of the following queries, or who will volunteer information on points suggested by but not specially formulated in these interrogatories.

Why are consanguineous marriages not allowed among the Chinese?

Description of the exact ceremony for the worship of ancestors.

The nature of or principle underlying the sacrifice to ancestors.

How are ancestral tablets arranged?

How are family records kept? Give samples. When families separate, what happens as to records?

Description of the family burial ground. How long may some have been in continuous existence?

In what order are the burials arranged on the ground?

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The general plan and orientation of a home built for ancestral worship.

When a family divides, on death of ancestor, what connexion is kept up?

How do families living in neighbourhood group for necessities of the peace, collecting taxes, etc.?

How do these groups further group?

How far does the local organisation proceed before officialdom intervenes?

What is the civil, criminal, and administrative range of the family—and of the group, etc.?

How is taxation gathered—and how levied?

How is the land assessed, and by whom?

How is succession in families arranged, and who are the judges?

What is the organisation of towns for municipal government, viz., the division into lands, sections, etc., and what the functions of the lowest sections and upward?

Description of the grades of examination and class of questions asked in each.

How far do joint families exist, and what is the longest record of such?

The organisation of the guilds.

The various salutations, and if possible their origin or supposed origin.

REPLIES.

REPLY TO DR. EDKINS.—I cannot well give specific replies to Dr. Edkins unless he quotes the exact words I have used and indicates where I may refer to them. I have no 'view' on any subject which is not supported by all the evidence available to me, and I am always prepared to abandon any thing which looks like a view if good counter evidence can be adduced. There is no evidence as to Chinese dialects procurable in print at this day which is fuller than the evidence, (all obtained at first hand), which I give in the shape of seven or eight local dialects besides Corean and Japanese; and any person is of course at liberty to form his own views upon that evidence. My view is, in general terms, that upon that evidence it is impossible to conclude that there ever existed such alleged ancient sounds as Dr. Edkins distributes over Williams' Dictionary.

As to the Sanskrit pronunciation of Buddhist words, the Chinese seem to me to have done a thousand years ago just what they do now,—to have applied to a foreign sound the first character which struck them as apt. The person first using the character, no matter what his dialect, sets the example, and it is accepted by all; just as now the Cantonese and Hakkas accept Fat-lansai or Faplanse because the French were first called Fa-lan-si by the 'mandarins.' I find the utmost irregularity in Sanskrit words:—thus, for Musala (garbha) Eitel gives 牟娑洛, 摩沙羅, 謨薩羅, 目娑羅, and my humble experience is that similar irregularities run throughout all departments of Chinese history.

Where new evidence is produced, as for instance in Corean by Mr. James Scott, of course I must re-consider what I have said. Otherwise the Philological Essay remains on record, as my 'view,' just as it stands.

E. H. PARKER.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,
AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Journal of the Peking Oriental Society, Volume III, Number 3.

This is a most valuable number of a journal which already stands high in the opinion of those qualified to judge, for its contributions towards the ever-increasing mass of literature on subjects Chinese. In the first article Dr. Dudgeon gives a translation of a Chinese memorial presented by the officials of the Board of Revenue re-

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garding the population of the country for the year 1886, which will be entertaining reading to those who take an interest in the vexed question of the population of China. In the third article Dr. Martin furnishes a translation of two inscriptions obtained in Japan, the first relating to 'the mysterious water vessel' which Confucius is said to have seen in the temple of Lu, the second being a hymn to the Chuzengi Waterfall by a modern poet. The second article, entitled *Yang Chu, the Epicurean, in his relation to Lieh Tzŭ, the Pantheist, by Dr. A. Forke*, is undoubtedly the one which will attract most notice, both on account of its scholarship and the critical manner in which a difficult subject is treated. As regards Yang Chu, 'nearly all that we know of his personality and doctrine is derived from the 7th Book of the philosopher Lieh Tzŭ, so that in order to examine how far the record there given can be considered as trustworthy,' Dr. Forke proceeds to discuss the existence of Lieh Tzŭ, whom Mr. Balfour has called 'a philosopher who never existed,' and whom Mr. Giles regards as 'some enterprising scholar of the Han dynasty.'

To the Chinese critic 高似孫 Kao Ssŭ-sun who denied the existence of Lieh Tzŭ because (1.) his cognomen Yu Kou 禦寇 is synonymous with Hung-mêng 鴻蒙 'Vapour clouds:'

(2.) he is not mentioned by the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien B.C. 91:

(3.) he is omitted in the enumeration of Taoist philosophers in the last chapter of Chuang Tzŭ, Dr. Forke replies that the two words *Yu Kou* cannot designate clouds, that to put the existence of Lieh Tzŭ in question because of his not being referred to by Ssŭma Ch'ien would be like denying the existence of the Great Wall because Marco Polo does not mention it, and that the omission of Lieh Tzŭ in the last chapter of Chuang-Tzŭ is of no great consequence, as this very chapter appears to be a later addition and as Lieh Tzŭ is mentioned in other chapters.

Balfour's argument that Lieh Tzŭ is a suppositious personage because almost nothing is known of him except the references in the book of which he is the alleged author, is met by asking 'how many well-established facts do we know of Mencius, Chuang Tzŭ and even Confucius, independently of their own works?'

Having disposed of the arguments against the existence of the philosopher, he cites two passages to prove that Lieh Tzŭ was in high estimation as a philosopher in the third century B.C.—one passage being from the philosopher Shih Tzŭ 尸子, B.C. 280, and the other from Lu Pu-wei's Chun Chiu 呂氏春秋, circ B.C. 250, where the philosophy of Lieh Tzŭ is described as being characterised by 虛 Hsü 'abstraction.' Dr. Forke then proceeds to answer the question whether the book which goes by his name was written by Lieh Tzŭ or contains his teachings. To this question the Chinese critic Kao Ssŭ Sun and the European sinologues Eitel and Giles have answered that 17 chapters of Lieh Tzŭ's alleged work have been plagiarised from Chuang Tzŭ and that the rest has been made up by later additions. This view Dr. Forke combats and maintains that the work of Lieh Tzŭ 'is not the production of an anonymous plagiarist and compiler, . . . but that of an original thinker not inferior to Chuang Tzŭ.' While acknowledging that the literal identity between long passages in Lieh Tzŭ and Chuang Tzŭ is very striking, he maintains that an examination of the parallel passages given by Dr. Faber in his introduction to his translation of Lieh Tzŭ which appear not only in Lieh Tzŭ and Chuang Tzŭ, but also in Lu Pu-wei's Chun Chiu and Lieh Tzŭ, and Huai-nan Tzŭ and Lieh Tzŭ, tends to show that these writers did not necessarily borrow from each other and that, if there was any borrowing, it is quite possible that the other writers borrowed from Lieh Tzŭ rather than that Lieh Tzŭ borrowed from them. But even allowing that all the passages which occur in other writers as well as in Lieh Tzŭ were plagiarised by the

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latter, Dr. Forke argues that the originality displayed in other parts of the work are sufficient to show that the work which has been handed down as that of Lieh Tzŭ contains the sayings and teaching of a genuine person, which were reverently recorded and preserved by his disciples in the same manner as were the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Having discussed the general question of the existence of Lieh Tzŭ and the genuine nature of his works, Dr. Forke critically examines Book VII, which contains the philosophy of Yang Chu, and the result at which he arrives is that Book VII was not the work of Lieh Tzŭ, but has been interpolated into his works, and that it really contains a trustworthy digest of the teachings and philosophy of Yang Chu, a philosopher, who lived after the time of Lieh Tzŭ and who was contemporary with Mencius and Chuang Tzŭ.

The abhorrence in which Mencius held the egoism of Yang Chu, his alarm at the spread in the empire of his teachings, and his dread that the people might be led astray by them, are clearly stated in his works. 'The words of Yang Chu and Mih Tih fill the empire. If you listen to people's discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views of the one or of the other. Now Yang's principle is "each one for himself," which does not acknowledge the claim of the sovereign . . . To acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. If their principles are not stopped and the principles of Confucius set forth, their perverse speakings will delude the people and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness.

'I am alarmed by these things and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages and to oppose Yang and Mih. I drive away their licentious expressions so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. When sages shall rise up again, they will not change my words.' (Legge's Classics, Vol. II., pps. 158-159.) Chuang Tzŭ also protests against the sensualism of Yang Chu, pointing out that if men allow their senses to have their own way that instead of attaining happiness they lose their original nature. Dr. Forke, who gives an interesting digest of the philosophy of Yang Chu, the principle traits of which he describes as pessimism, sensualism, and egoism, compares it to 'a crimson painting in a deepening of the darkest black. This deep black is his gloomy pessimism, the crimson painting are the joys and pleasures by which he tries to overcome it.'

The article concludes with an appendix containing a translation of Book VII and of the passages referring to Yang Chu scattered throughout the different books of Lieh Tzŭ. Portions of Book VII have been translated by Legge in his Prolegomena to Mencius (Vol. II Chinese Classics), where in Chapter II, there is a section on the opinions of Yang Chu. We have compared Dr. Forke's translation with the original and also with those portions which Legge has translated, and we congratulate him on the general accuracy and terseness of his renderings. We consider Dr. Forke's article a valuable and scholarly addition to our knowledge of a highly interesting school of Chinese philosophy and we should be glad to see it appear in a separate form with all the passages referred to in his introduction quoted in Chinese in full and accompanied by the Chinese text of Book VII, which contains the philosophy of one of the earliest free-thinkers. L.

Historique Abrégé des Relations de la Grande-Bretagne avec la Birmanie. Par Henri Cordier. Paris. Ernest Leroux.

This brochure, which is creditably exact and correct throughout, contains a *résume* of the history of British relations with Burma. Though M. Cordier says he is indebted to the only partly finished *Calendar of State Papers* of Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury for part of his information, there is really

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nothing new in the pamphlet with the exception of a few unimportant extracts from letters from the East India Company's agents. All the rest can be found in the works of Colonels Phayre and Yule or in the other minor books on Burma. Still, the two works named are not very accessible, more especially to the French public, who will therefore find M. Cordier's paper of interest and value. Regular and continuous British relations with Burma, as M. Cordier points out, only began when the Burmese race had established its supremacy over the Shans and Peguans: in some respects this was unfortunate, for the Peguans are now so completely merged in the Burmese that it is difficult to believe there ever was a distinct Peguan nationality, and almost all records of its distinctive existence have disappeared.

M. Cordier remarks that 'Theebaw's cruelties would probably have passed unnoticed if that prince had not shewn towards the Indian Government a hostility which seemed all the greater by reason of his drawing closer to France.' It is only reasonable to expect such a remark from a Frenchman, but it is hardly fair to the Indian Government. It is a matter of notoriety that the immediate cause of the British march upon Upper Burma was the strained situation brought about by Theebaw's intrigues with the French. But, long previous to this, divers other complications had been tending towards a like result, and the zeal of M. Haas had merely the effect of focussing the explosive power hovering over combustive material which was already in a condition to go off almost spontaneously at any moment.

After the first war it had been stipulated in the Yandabu Treaty that either power might station a Resident at the court of the other, but of course no advantage could accrue to Burma from such an interchange as this. After the second war of 1852 the extensive territory of Pegu had, as above narrated, been annexed to British India by proclamation. King Mendoon, who succeeded to the throne in 1853, never explicitly recognized the cession of Pegu, and it is evident from Colonel Yule's account that its recovery was always the uppermost thought in his mind. The result of our having Residents at the court of Ava was that we obtained from Mendoon the commercial treaties of 1862 and 1867, and besides that permission to station a Political Officer at Bhamo and to send expeditions under Colonels Sladen and Browne in 1868 and 1875.

In 1876 our relations with Mendoon, who was a reasonable and peaceably inclined king, grew more strained owing to our Resident ceasing from that date to see the king in person: in that year Mr. Shaw brought the shoe question to a crisis by declining to continue the practice of taking them off in the king's presence: the result was our Residents never saw the king any more, and in negotiating the treaty of 1876 we failed to secure the king's formal consent, which he was on the point of giving, to refrain from having any relations with foreign powers except under our sanction.

But besides the Pegu, foreign relations, and shoe question, there were other matters of disagreement. Possessing as we did in the above described one-sided way the whole coast-line of Burma, we naturally took good care that she should no longer import arms and ammunition at her good pleasure. This drove her in a measure into the arms of the French as early as 1873, when a treaty was all but concluded, the Burmese however declining to ratify it unless the import of arms through French territory was facilitated, and unless France would consent to link her fortunes with Burmese whether for attack or defence. Burma had already tried to come to an understanding upon the arms question with the Italians, when they first appeared upon the scene in 1861.

Finally there was considerable uncomfortable feeling in connection with the right over Karennee, a small alien State wedged in between Siam and Burma. When we

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annexed Pegu, by proclamation in 1852, we drew an arbitrary boundary line between the Burmese possessions and our own: later on it was found that our imaginary line cut in half the semi-independent State of Karennee and so we dropped it a little south, thus resigning our half of the little State. This induced the Burmese to lay claim to the whole of it, and though in 1875 they agreed to recognize its independence, they neglected to take part in, and even obstructed, the demarcation of limits, with the result that we did it by ourselves thus furnishing them with another bone of contention though the fault was not ours.

Finally there was the question of royal monopolies. King Mendoon constituted himself a trader with a view of providing himself with a revenue without depending upon sums wrung by corrupt governors out of the people; but at last this system had grown into an obstruction to legitimate commerce by reason of the king's monopolies.

Thus it will be seen that, long before the unhappy Theebaw made things worse with his massacres and his intrigues, there was already under the mild king Mendoon ample material for a conflagration. Still things went on very passably until the latter part of 1878 when the old king died. Theebaw, whose legitimacy was doubtful, distinguished himself accordingly by massacring a number of his relatives quite beyond the average, and in consequence of this our Resident withdrew, finding his reduced influence, since 1876 exercised only through the court officials, insufficient to restrain the bloodthirsty monarch. Affairs in Affghanistan having taken an evil turn for us at this juncture the whole staff of the Residency was now withdrawn, and the Burmese mission sent to the Viceroy of India in order to re-assure him and protest against the apparent rupture was not allowed by us to proceed. Matters were rendered worse in consequence of the temporary escape from Calcutta of one of Theebaw's relatives for whose safe custody he considered us responsible: occurring at such a moment this unfortunate event may fairly be said to have justified his suspicious of our good faith: moreover we had now no Resident at Mandalay to assist in explaining matters.

In the following year, 1881, further disagreements arose in connection with Burmese encroachments beyond the boundary of Manipoor, and in 1882 a Burmese mission was sent to India in order to arrange this and several other of the long-standing difficulties above recounted, but our concessions and demands were not approved at the Burmese capital, and the next thing we heard was that an envoy was on his way to Europe, where he was not long in making overtures to France.

M. Cordier would not be a true Frenchman did he not manage to get the names of British officials wrong. Thus Mr. William Warry appears as M. Warry Wallis, and 'l'honorable Curzon' figures as 'un des Questionneurs les plus redoutables' of the House of Commons. Whilst concluding his brochure with a little special pleading on behalf of French 'rights' in the Shan States, M. Cordier pays a very just tribute to the precision and clearness with which the British Government sees and 'goes for' its solid interests, and does not hesitate to contrast this policy with that of his compatriots in Tonquin. Yet he hopes,—and in this hope we heartily join him—that 'Great Britain, France, and China will succeed in solving satisfactorily to all three a question which has really nothing difficult in it.'

E. H. PARKER.

Revue Indo-Chinoise Illustrée. No. 2. Hanoi. J. H. Schneider.

The second number of this charmingly printed periodical contains five articles; one, descriptive of the new steam match factory at Hanoi, which appears to be a great success; one, a very valuable paper,

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upon the social organization of the Annamese; one, beautifully illustrated, upon the state of Cambodia in 1893; a paper upon the coal cakes manufactured out of Hongay coal, which ought to interest Hongkong speculators; and a bulletin of recent events. The subscription for Indo-China is only ten francs a year,—say $3, and each separate number costs a dollar. The publisher, Mr. Schneider, deserves every encouragement, and the publication will grow more valuable as it becomes scarcer in after years. The get-up is absolutely perfect.

E. H. P.

Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes. By Edouard Chavannes, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris. Ernest Leroux.

This highly creditable work is a translation, with elaborate notes and copious indexes, of the *Kao-sêng Chwan* of the T'ang dynasty. It is essentially the work of a man who has never been to China, as can be easily discovered by such indications as *P'an-jong* for Canton (P'an-yü); for no one who had lived in China would fail to know the local name of its two divisional cities. The note to which M. Chavannes refers on page 118 must be a mistake, or must involve some misapprehension. Any way, the priest's statement that it is pronounced *jong* cannot possibly be correct in this particular case. Nor would any one who had studied in China, in discussing the ancient name for Singapore *Si-li* 息力, have failed to connect it with the modern word *Lék* 吶 or *Shek-lek* 喞吶 which is still applied to it by the Chinese colonists. These, however, are indications rather than defects, and detract very little from the true value of the book, which will be chiefly useful to students in China on account of its excellent Sanskrit translations and definitions. These will supplement Eitel's invaluable and well-known Vocabulary, and fill up many a hiatus therein. M. Chavannes has taken an immense amount of pains with his work, which carries on the best traditions of Stanislas Julien's careful style. There is nothing of the hare-brained and rash speculativeness of Pauthier in it. Studied in connection with the *Fa Hien* of Dr. Legge and Watters' Shadow of a Pilgrim (*Hüan Chwang*), it will always be a useful repertory of words connected with Central Asian, Indian, and South Sea geography especially from the Buddhistic point of view. The suggestion, however, that the ancient Chinese name *Kiao-tche* (Tonquin) may be an imitation of the native Annamese word *kescho*, meaning the town of *Hanoi*, does not appear to us to be deserving of much attention. If we mistake not the dissyllable in question is made up of the purely Chinese word 畿 *ki* or *ke*, meaning 'metropolitan area,' (as in the Corean province King-ki Tao), and the native word *cho* 'a market' (as in the word Cholon, a town near Saïgon), which is usually written with a bastard Annamese phonetic or *chu-nom* character, having the Chinese character 市 mixed up with its composition as an ideograph. On the same page (53) M. Chavannes once more betrays his 'European origin' by calling the modern *Shao-hing* city *Hoei-ki* 會稽, whereas it is a matter of popular notoriety that in this particular sense the first character is read *koei* or *kwei*. Again, he does not appear to have availed himself as freely as he might have done of Julien's excellent Sanskrit values for Chinese transliterative characters. What is the use of always writing *tan* for 但 when the Chinese give its chief rhyme as 昌, and when it is always evident, from the Sanskrit that *ta* was the sound intended? And as to *tsoei* 崔 on page 94, even Giles tells us that *su* is the sound nominally intended, not to mention that it is always evident from the Sanskrit that the sound *sz* or simply the letter *s* is what was actually desired. The reference to (*Hoei*) *lin* on page 133 must be a mistake for (*Tao*) *lin*. Certainly, there were two bonzes about this time called *Hoei-lin*, but

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M. Chavannes' reference to Par. 42 contains no mention of them.

We intend to make regular and respectful use of the *Voyages des Pèlerins*; and, notwithstanding anything of a depreciatory nature said above, we gratefully accept it as a first-class addition to our knowledge of Chinese literature, and cordially thank M. Chavannes for the pains he has taken.

E. H. P.

The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., sometime Her Majesty's Minister to China and Japan. In two volumes. Vol. I. Consul in China. By Stanley Lane-Poole. With a portrait and maps. Vol. II. Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, by F. V. Dickins; to China, by S. Lane-Poole. With a map. London, Macmillan and Co. and New York. 1894.

Inverting a well-known dictum of Carlyle's, we venture to say that there is no first-class biography in the world but is at bottom a heroic poem, be it written in verse or prose. At any rate, after a perusal of the work under review, it seems but natural that the life of a unique man like Sir Harry Parkes, who not only possessed all the shining qualities of an epic hero but actually did more than any other man in the world to broaden the foundations of a rational basis of the relations now subsisting between Europe and China and to make the name of England great in Japan, should turn under the hands of an expert and accomplished biographer like Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole into an exalted heroic epos. We would not exactly call Sir Harry Parkes the 'Orlando Furioso' of China, or altogether bring the life-long battle he fought to rescue the commerce of the East from Mandarin thraldom into direct comparison with 'Jerusalem Delivered,' whilst we unhesitatingly place this record of British military enterprise and diplomatic pluck on an equality with the feats of conquest immortalized in the 'Lusiad.' But we deliberately assert that neither had Ariosto nor Tasso nor Camoens any greater or nobler theme to deal with, nor do these great poets, with all the added charms of measured heroic verse, exercise a more fascinating, elevating or purifying influence upon their readers than Mr. S. Lane-Poole does, telling in his homely but nervous English prose, or rather letting his hero tell, in his journal, letters or dispatches, the true story of a truly great man's life.

Thanks to the literary tact and self-restraint of the editor, who strictly keeps within those undefinable but all important limits which separate biography from history, the work before us is a real artist's study in biographic portraiture, with just sufficient-background of historic outlines to make the personal character of the hero, in all its grand features, stand out in luminous and bold relief. There is much psychologic discernment in the skill with which the editor enables the reader to see, as before his very eyes, the little rose-bud of a boy, who leaves England with a half-finished education, gradually unfold, under the educative influences of life and study in the council chambers of nations, in the company of plenipotentiaries, admirals, and military strategists, and amid the smoke of battle fields, into a successful interpreter, consul and administrator, till at last he became a full-blown diplomatist whom the wickedest and boldest Chinese statesmen dreaded more than the black plague, whilst in his heart and pure unspotted life he preserved the living faith of a true Christian. Tutored by sinologues like Morrison and Gützlaff, young Parkes, barely fourteen years old, was present at the negotiations and signing of the Nanking treaty, and received there, under the fatherly care of Sir H. Pottinger (then in the heyday of his diplomatic successes), and whilst sitting on the knees of that wily old statesman, Ki-ying, who fondled the little English boy whilst in his heart he cursed England and all Englishmen, his first initiation into the

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intricacies and mysteries of Chinese diplomacy. Shortly afterwards, a full-fledged Consular interpreter when just sixteen years of age, successfully battling with Chinese Tao-tais and Governors, he achieved the first great victory of his life, when under the invigorating and refining influences of Consul Rutherford and Mrs. Alcock, he conquered all the temptations of the free-and-easy life of the East by the determination which he then recorded in his journal and stuck to through life, 'to battle against the potent and overpowering stream of the world (worldliness, he meant) but which, if a higher Hand upholds me, I hope to oppose.' The man before whom the sternest of Chinese diplomatists, like Governor Yeh of Canton, quaked in their shoes, was the man who first of all conquered himself and who, whether victorious in council or tortured in a Chinese prison, ever looked to God for help and strength. The man whom namby-pamby philanthropists detest as the originator of the so-called Arrow War and the life-long representative of the drastic gun-boat policy, was imbued with the divine conviction that the issues pending between England and China were at bottom the natural and irreconcilable antipathies subsisting between Paganism and Christianity, between civilization and semi-barbarism and that he could trace, in the Arrow War as in all the subsequent collisions between China and England, 'the finger of One who rules the destinies of races.' Sir Harry Parkes did not carry his religion on his sleeve, nor did he talk about it. But his simple piety was after all the backbone of his life and actions. It was his religious faith that inspired his unwavering belief in the imperial destinies of his country and supported the uncompromising firmness and unflinching courage, the untiring energy and inflexible justice, for which his name has become a synonym in China. The man who ever had the fear of God in his heart was the man who, whether as Interpreter or as Consul, as the soul of the Commission in military occupation of Canton, as Consul General in Shanghai and as Minister Plenipotentiary in Peking, was ever known to be 'a man not afraid of responsibility,' a man 'ever ready to take the bull by the horns when necessary.' Lord Elgin, Lord Palmerston, Sir Edmund Hammond, Sir Rutherford-Alcock, Sir Thomas Wade, and in fact all his contemporaries who had a hand in the management of affairs during that stirring period with which Sir Harry Parkes' name is associated, have testified to the fact that, under the most trying circumstances, he was always found equal to the situation, through his great tact and great zeal, and thanks to his untiring energy, painstaking attention to details and intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese.

Sir Harry Parkes had exceptional opportunities to become acquainted with the typical character of the literati and governing classes of China. He was a keen observer, a shrewd judge of character, and possessed that wonderful intuition which enables a man in each case to discern at once the weak spot in his opponent's armour. Now, thrown into constant contact with literati and mandarins as Sir Harry Parkes was, and that during the lively period from 1842 to 1865, and again from 1883 to his death, it is well worth inquiring what, in his experience, are the leading characteristics of the governing classes of China. Their unvarying attitude he describes as one of arrogant superiority and exclusiveness, double-dealing and obduracy. Their fixed policy, he wrote, is to degrade British officials in the eyes of the people by petty affronts because by so doing they believe they are degrading the whole race of barbarians, and hence they invariably pursue a course of insult and contumely towards all foreigners. The basis of this policy Sir Harry Parkes found in an invincible repugnance, of which both the rulers and the ruled in China are possessed, to recognize the existence of any other sovereign on earth but the Son of Heaven. 'The world is my

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orange' is at bottom the political faith of every Chinaman. And this theory is most powerfully upheld by the literati of China whom Sir Harry Parkes describes as 'that hide-bound body of pedantic literati, the grind of an irrational examination mill, who represent alike statesmanship and bureaucacy in China.' He further says of them that 'they are convinced that every detail of polity and conduct was settled for ever some twenty-four centuries ago, and that they alone possess the true and infallible code.' In this belief, Sir Harry Parkes opines, the literati, mandarins or civil servants of China offer an impregnable front to Western ideas.

If Sir Harry Parkes is correct in the foregoing estimate he formed of the true character of the governing classes of China, it is evident that no conciliatory dealing with them can avail anything. The tendencies of the Chinese mind are utterly irreconcileable with the principles and procedure of European civilization. Europe has never yet gained any concession from the Chinese on any subject whatsoever except by pressure. 'Sir Harry Parkes,' says his biographer, 'knew that to get your way with them you must assert yourself; to obtain concessions you must demand them confidently; and to win their respect you must impress them with your importance.' Sir Harry Parkes knew how peculiarly tenacious all Chinese are of precedent and how observant they are of the minutiæ of etiquette, and by using the weapons of precedent and etiquette he gained many of his battles, but even in these respects he found, again and again, that 'all mandarins are like eels.' Truth has no value in their eyes. Moral right or wrong is only a convenient subterfuge with them. Resolute power is the only argument they respect. In every case the experience of Sir Harry Parkes was that 'the least hesitation or timidity would infallibly damage British influence and endanger our interests with the people.'

It is easy to decry such a drastic attitude or gunboat-policy, as it has been styled, as the harsh application of brute force. But let the opponents of this policy show that any other line of action or argument has ever made any impression on the Chinese. Sir Henry Pottinger beat every Chinese diplomatist hollow so long as he followed the bold and resolute policy of simply demanding what he claimed, but the moment he commenced to ask by means of arguments and entered into palavers, he was completely fooled. Lord Elgin tried the conciliatory line of policy in North-China, and in Canton against Yeh, with disastrous results, until he saw at last that Chinese mandarins are absolutely inaccessible to any other argument but that of force. But Lord Elgin further found, to his cost, that a point gained in China by force must be maintained by force, or, as Sir Harry Parkes put it, 'in China, occupation for a longer or shorter period must follow any advance.'

It must not be supposed, however, that it was Sir Harry Parkes' policy to use harshness or intimidation, or in any way to ride rough-shod over the Chinese. That which is really meant by the term 'gunboat-policy' never was the policy of Sir Harry Parkes at all. No man ever treated Chinese officials with more patience and forbearance. No man ever laid himself out more, than Sir Harry Parkes did, to study and humour their prejudices. He was never wearied by their protracted, long-winded arguments and persistent prevarications, but fought them, argument for argument, being never more cheerful or in better spirits than when he found himself in what the Chinese thought a tight corner of the argument. His great principle was never to ask for anything which in common fairness would not commend itself to any impartial man's sense of justice, but, having once formulated his demand, he was like a bull-dog in his tenacity of purpose. In this way Sir Harry Parkes succeeded not only in getting his way with Taotais, Governors, Viceroys and Members of the Tsung-li Yamên, but

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in maintaining on the whole friendly relations with them. In fact both the Chinese and the Japanese anti-foreign officials, though they hated him as 'the only foreigner whom they could not turn round their little finger,' could not help respecting him as an inflexibly just and at bottom kind-hearted though immoveable statesman. What the ever-victorious army was under General Gordon, that was the British Consular service in the days of Sir Harry Parkes, yet the force that sustained him in his battles with Mandarin obstinacy was not the gunboat but his divinely inspired sense of the dignity and honour of Great Britain.

Great as the work of Sir Harry Parkes was as British envoy in Japan, where for eighteen years he laboured to maintain British interests during one of the most critical epochs of Japanese history, when the old feudal system crumbled into dust, he really fulfilled the true destiny of his life while in China. But within this narrower, circle of his labours, we may further limit the sphere of his historic greatness. Though his very appointment to the Embassy in Peking raised the *esprit de corps* of the British Consular Service in China and in fact introduced a new era in its history, though he laboured day and night at Peking and with as much success as has fallen to the lot of any other Minister, drawing water with the bottomless bucket of diplomacy from the deep well of Tsung-li Yamên, duplicity the real work of a Sir Harry Parkes in China could be done only hand in hand with a Lord Palmerston in London. The occupation of Canton, the unqualified success of which unique measure is avowedly due to Sir Harry Parkes himself, the opening of Canton city, the West River expedition, the granting of the long-promised but ever-delayed foreign concessions at Canton and Shanghai, the organisation of coolie emigration from Canton; the surrender to the Hongkong Government of the Kowloon peninsula, and, last but not least, the organisation of the Mixed Court of Shanghai—these are, amid numerous other achievements, the principal trophies of his life's labours and battles.

But there is more in this excellent biography of Sir Harry Parkes, than a mere historical record of his labours and achievements. A well-written history of a truly great man does not merely gratify our curiosity about the past but modifies our view of the present and our forecast of the future. And we confidently predict that no unprejudiced patient student of the life of Sir Harry Parkes can lay down these volumes without feeling that his experiences, counsel and example are full of lessons for the future conduct of our relations with China and the Chinese. Whether our lot be cast in Hongkong or in China, whether we have to deal with Chinese mandarins or with Chinese compradores, shopkeepers or coolies, it is the same typical Chinaman we have to do with, whose character no one understood better than Sir Harry Parkes.

With regard to the history of Hongkong in particular, Mr. S. Lane-Poole has brought together, out of Sir Harry Parkes' journals and letters much new and interesting information. Major Caine appears here in a better light than elsewhere. The character and deserts of Dr. Gützlaff are fully and equitably discussed. We regret that the editor had no information, or did not consider it judicious to produce what he had, on the famous bungle made over Sir H. Pottinger's Supplementary Treaty. But the work and character of Sir John Davis, Sir George Bonham and particularly of Sir Jown Bowring receive much interesting illustration from the pen of so shrewd an observer as Sir Harry Parkes. The true history of the origin of the Arrow War, in which our hero was the prime mover, is told more correctly and more fully in the pages of this biography than anywhere else. As to the lease of the Kowloon Peninsula, we had hitherto been led to believe by General Sir Hope Grant,

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that he had thought of it first, that then Sir F. Bruce directed Sir Hercules Robinson to apply for a lease, whereupon, as the gallant General says, 'Sir Hercules Robinson charged our Consul in Canton, Mr. Parkes, a clear-headed and able young man, with all his wits about him, to take steps for the attainment of our object.' But the truth now appears to be that it was the clear-headed young man who conceived the brilliant idea of getting a lease (instead of forcibly taking possession) of Kowloon, for on 18th March, 1680, the said young man wrote to his wife, 'After hearing what I had to say, both Sir H. Robinson and Sir Hope Grant came round to my way of thinking as to the desirability of getting a *lease* of Kowloon, although they had already begun to land troops.' There is no doubt but that on numbers of other points also the history of British relations with China derives substantial contributions from the publication of this biography of Sir Harry Parkes.

In conclusion we venture to suggest to the editor to revise in any future edition his introductory chapters, where, through lack of direct sources of information, he has blundered in some important instances. Lord Napier's position is incorrectly described. 'Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir Charles) Elliot' is a blundering confusion of two distinct persons. Commissioner Lin did not aim 'at the total expulsion of Europeans from China and the closing of all foreign trade.' Though, like a true Chinaman, he did long to make the barbarian lick the dust, he likewise, with the true Chinaman's financial instinct, desired to retain foreign trade in China. It is likewise a blunder to say that in May, 1842, the island of Hongkong had been a British possession for a few months only.' But these are mere trifles.

E. J. E.

A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya. By N. B. Dennys, Ph. D., London, 1894.

Dr Dennys, specially qualified for this particular work by his former journalistic experiences and by many years' intimate acquaintance with the races included in the population of British Malayasia, offers here to the public a handy alphabetically arranged digest of all the most valuable information regarding the Straits Settlements that has accumulated since the first publication of Crawfurd's, now largely obsolete, Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Archipelage. Dr Dennys has wisely confined himself to the sphere of British Malaya, but included, of course, the native States under British protection. Within this circle, however, the author has brought together a well selected mass of information regarding the geology, topography, ethnography, fauna, flora, commerce and commercial products, statistics and history of British Malaya, such as will not only supersede Crawfurd's excellent but antiquated work, but furnish a repertory which must be a most useful desk book for every merchant, official and student interested in the British section of the Malayan Archipelago. Hongkong residents practically interested in the commerce or mining enterprises of the Straits, will find this work an extremely useful reference book. The attention of Sinologists also will be attracted by the peculiar sociological problems involved in the symptoms of sympathetic adaptability which the Chinese population of the Straits Settlements exhibits in contact with Malayan modes of life and thought, whilst retaining all their pristine antipathy and incompability of mental and social temper in contact with European forms of civilization. We are glad to note that the important and annually increasing share which the Chinese have taken in developing the natural and commercial resources of Malaya are fully recognized in this handbook. The book does not claim absolute completeness. Nor was it possible for the compiler, in this first edition, to include every point of interest. From no captious spirit, but with the desire to benefit

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future editions we venture, therefore, to direct Dr Dennys' attention to a few weak points.

The author's notions as regards the relationship existing between dialects and languages in general and between Hakka, Punti and Tiechiu (with other Fohkien dialects) in particular are considerably antiquated and need correction. Chinese forms of gambling and Chinese secret society organisations, which the author refers to here and there, are but imperfectly expounded and require to be re-stated more fully. With regard to the account given of Sir Stamford Raffles, as well as in the case of a few other important Malayasian subjects, Dr Dennys will find in late numbers of the *China Review* unexpected but useful and reliable information. The Mahommedan marriage law lately dealt with by the Straits Government, the educational system of British Malaya, the life-long missionary and educational labours of the late Mr Keasberry, the efforts made by the Presbyterian Church of England, the system of Chinese immigration,—these are some of the important subjects which we would like to see included in a second edition. Finally we would suggest that the addition of a few maps giving the Chinese as well as the Malay names of places would materially enhance the usefulness of this excellent work.

Like a work of art, the beauty of which consists as much in what it suggests as in what it actually presents, Dr Dennys' Descriptive Dictionary will commend itself to every inquiring mind as a powerfully suggestive work, suggestive of the regions which specially call for further exploitation and study. And if some busy bee in the field of Sinology would follow Dr Dennys' example and prepare a similar Descriptive Dictionary of China, the suggestive force embodied in his present work would be even more powerfully and usefully demonstrated.

E. J. E.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

TURKO-SCYTHIAN TRIBES.—AFTER HAN DYNASTY.

(Continued from page 267, No. 4, Vol. XXI.)

In the 3rd year the Northern Khan was again defeated by the Right Protector *Kêng K'wei*(163) and fled no one knew whither. His younger brother the Right *Luh-li* Prince *Yü-ch'u-ti*(163A) was set up as Khan and at the head of the Right *Wên-yü-kien*(164) Prince, and the *Kuh-tu* marquesses and others of lower degree, marched with a horde of several thousand men as far as *P'u-lei*(165) Sea, whence he sent an envoy to the Wall. Marshal *Tou Hien* wrote to propose the elevation of *Yü-ch'u-ti* as Khan, and the Emperor approved. *Kêng K'wei* was sent to confer a seal and ribbon upon him, and present him with four jewelled swords and a four-horsed feather-covered chariot. The Adjutant-General *Jên Shang*(166) was sent with a *bâton* as Protector to reside at *I-wu*(167), after the precedent of what was done with the Southern Khan. Arrangements were just being made to place him in charge of the northern *ordo* subject to China, when *Tou Hien's* execution took place, and in the 5th year *Yü-ch'u-ti* rebelled of his own accord and returned North. The Emperor sent an active-service staff officer named *Wang Fu*(168) at the head of over a thousand horse to join *Jên Shang* in the pursuit of him. He was enticed back and decapitated, whilst his horde was broken up.

The Khan *T'un-t'u-ho* died after a reign of six years, and the Khan *Süan's* younger brother *An-kwoh* succeeded in the 3rd year(169) of *Yung-yüan*. *An-kwoh* had been Left Virtuous Prince, but he was not thought much of. On the other hand, the Left *Luh-li* Prince *Shï-tsz* had the reputation of being both brave and sagacious. The former Khan *Süan*, as well as *T'un-t'u-ho*, had admired his bold decisiveness, and for this reason repeatedly sent him beyond the Wall in charge of surprise expeditions

(163) 耿夔; later on this general advanced 5,000 *li* into Hun territory.

(163A) 於除鞮.

(164) 溫禺鞮.

(165) 蒲類. This seems to be (as Mayers makes it) at or near Barkul, whilst it appears that Urumtsi was also called *P'u-lei* city. Anyhow, it was 8,000 *li* from *Ch'ang-an*. See Early Huns, part 2, note 132.

(166) 尙任.

(167) 伊吾; at or near Hami.

(168) 王輔.

(169) 安國; A.D. 91. This would be four years, not six. The context which follows proves that the 5th year is meant.

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against the northern horde, for which he received rewards on his return. The Emperor also conferred distinction upon him, and for this reason he was much respected by every one in his country. In due turn he now reached the grade of Left Virtuous Prince, but, perceiving that the Khan had some plot on hand with the newly surrendered folks, he lived apart near the Wall at *Wü-yüan*, and, whenever the Khan had a Dragon Assembly to discuss business, he always absented himself under the plea of sickness. *Hwang-fu Lêng* knew this, and lent him his countenance, keeping him near, which enraged the Khan still more. In the spring of the 6th year *Hwang-fu Lêng* was superseded, and the Captain-general *Chu Hwei*(170) was made *Tu-liao* general. Just then the Khan was not on very good terms with the Adjutant-General *Tu Ch'ung*, so he sent up a memorial accusing *Tu Ch'ung*(171), who, after sounding the Prefect of *Si-ho*(172), got him to intercept the Khan's letter, which was thus prevented from reaching the imperial ear. *Ch'ung* on the other hand had joined *Chu Hwei* in representing that the Southern Khan *An-kwoh* was neglecting the old Tartars(173), and becoming too intimate with those newly surrendered; that he was trying to encompass the death of the Left Virtuous Prince *Shï-tsz*, the Left Station *tsu-k'ü Liu Li*(174), and others. Moreover, that the surrendered persons of the Right Tribe were conspiring so as to force *An-kwoh* to raise troops and rebel. They advised *Si-ho*, *Shang Kün*, and *An-ting*(175) to be on their guard. The Emperor sent this down for the consideration of the dukes and lords. They all expressed the view that, though the barbarians(176) were fickle and unfathomable, they would not dare to make any move if a large body of troops were massed near them. The best way would be to send an envoy with a head on his shoulders to the Khan's *ordo*, join forces with *Tu Ch'ung*, *Chu Hwei*, and the prefect of *Si-ho*, and watch events. If nothing fresh took place, they might be instructed to seize the opportunity of the Khan's assembling his court and high officers, to reproach the horde with the violence of their conduct so detrimental to the frontier, and call upon them to punish the guilty(177). If they failed to obey orders, then the Khan should be directed to take such measures as might seem best. Then, when the function should be over, make the barest gifts required by courtesy. This course would probably suffice to impress the barbarian world(178). The Emperor approved, and accordingly *Hwei* and *Ch'ung* proceed to raise troops and visit the Khan's *ordo*. *An-kwoh*, hearing one night that the *Han* troops had come, was very much alarmed, abandoned his tent, and decamped. He collected his troops and, at the head of the newly surrendered, marched to punish *Shï-tsz*, who, however, got wind of it betimes, and at once led all his people off to *Man-peh* city(179). *An-kwoh* pursued him up to the city walls, but, the gate being shut, was unable to get in. *Chu Hwei* sent an officer to interpose and arrange the difference, but *An-kwoh* would not listen, and, as the city could not be taken, he drew off his troops and encamped at *Wu-yüan*. *Ch'ung* and *Hwei* thereupon collected all the horsemen of the prefecture and started

(170) 朱儁. (171) 杜崇

(172) Not 汾州 in *Shan Si*, I think, but west near *Ling Chou*. See note 31.

(173) 胡; here the word seems to be used for 'the Huns' alone.

(174) 劉利.

(175) 安定; all in *Kan Suh* or *Shen Si*.

(176) 蠻夷; not often applied to northerners; but see Early Huns, note 159.

(177) 共平罪誅; a rather doubtful sentence,—if correctly printed.

(178) 百蠻.

(179) 曼柏; See note 95, probably in North *Shan Si*. See *Sien pi*, Note 362.

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in hot pursuit, much to the alarm of his horde. *An-kwoh's* maternal uncle *Hi-wei*(180) and others, fearing that they would suffer punishment too, struck *An-kwoh* dead: he had reigned one year. The Khan *Shih's* son *Shï-tsz* succeeded. *Shï-tsz*, the *T'ing-tuh Shï chuh-hou-ti*(181) Khan, succeeded in the 6th year of *Yung-yüan*. Five or six hundred of the surrendered Tartars(182) attacked *Shï-tsz* one night, but the military *attaché Wang T'ien*(183) marched up troops to his assistance and drove them off with loss. After this the newly surrendered Tartars were very alarmed in their minds, and fifteen tribes of them, numbering over 200,000 individuals, revolted and compelled the Right *Yüh-kien Jih chuh* Prince *Fêng Hou*(184), son of the former Khan *T'un-t'u-ho*, to accept the Khanship. They proceeded to massacre or kidnap both officials and people, burnt the post-stations and tents, and marched with all their wagons(185) and *impedimenta* towards *Shoh-fang*, intending to cross to the north side of the desert. On this the chariot and cavalry general *Têng Hung*, the cavalry general and protector *Fêng Chu*(186), and the *Tu-liao* general *Chu Hwei* were sent at the head of five regiments of the Right and Left imperial guards(187) of the north. All the available archers collected from the prefectural States, and all the soldiers along the frontiers, whilst *Jên Shang*, protector of the *Wu-hwan*, accompanied him at the head of quite 40,000 *Wu-hwan* and *Sien-pi*, on a grand punitory expedition. At this moment the southern Khan and adjutant-general *Fu-ch'ung* were in camp at *Mu-shï*(188) city. *Fêng Hou* at the head of over 10,000 horsemen attacked and surrounded but were unable to reduce it. In the winter *Têng Hung* and the others came up to *Mei tsih*, on which *Fêng Hou* took advantage of the ice, crossed the defile, and went towards *Man-i*(189) valley. The southern Khan sent his son in pursuit at the head of 10,000 horsemen and the 4,000 horsemen under *Tu-ch'ung's* command accompanied by *Têng Hung*. He came up with *Fêng Hou* at the Great City Barrier, cutting off over 3,000 heads, and taking prisoner over 10,000 individuals. *Fêng Chu* also divided his troops and went in pursuit of the other tribe, cutting off over 4,000 heads. *Jên Shang*, accompanied by the native *Sien-pi* proconsul *Su Pah-hwei*(190) and the *Wu-hwan* chief *Wuh-k'o*(191) in command of 8,000 horse, attacked *Fêng Hou* at *Man-i* valley again with disastrous effect, from first to last cutting off over 17,000 heads. *Fêng Hou* then took his horde beyond the Wall where the *Han* troops could not pursue. In the 1st moon of the 7th year the armies returned. *Fêng Chu* with one camp remained at *Wu-yüan* and discontinued the services of the *Wu-hwan*, *Sien-pi*, Tibetan(192), and Hun(193) troops. *Su Pah-hwai* was ennobled as Horde leading Prince, and received presents

(180) 喜爲 (181) 亭獨. (182) 胡
(183) 安集椽王恬. See Note 46.
(184) 逢侯.

(185) '[The Scythians] have neither cities nor forts, but they carry about their houses with them, and they are all archers, shooting from horseback, and they live not by tillage, but by cattle, and their dwellings are on wagons.' *Swayne's Herodotus.* A work called the 鹽鐵論 says:—The Huns' cart furniture has no silver about it, but yellow silk garnished with plain ornaments of solid make. The silk has no pattern or colouring.

(186) 馮柱.
(187) 羽林.

(188) 牡師; evidently in *Kan Suh.*
(189) 滿夷谷.
(190) 蘇拔麃; See my paper on the *Wu-hwan*, Note 191.
(191) 勿柯.
(192) 羌.
(193) 胡; I do not see what else it can mean here, as it must mean 'Hun' a few lines further on.

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of bullion and stuffs(193A). *Têng Hung* on his return to the capital was convicted of dilatoriness and failure. He died in prison. Later on the Emperor found out that *Chu Hwei* and *Tu Ch'ung* had fallen out with the Tartars(194) and had prevented their sending up a memorial, thus bringing on a rebellion. They were both summoned, put in prison, and died there. The prefect of Goose(195) Gate *P'ang Fên* was made *Tu-liao* general.

Fêng Hou divided his men into two tribes outside the Wall: he himself took charge of the Right(196) tribe and settled down at the foot of the *Choh-sie* Hills: the Left tribe settled at *Shoh-fang*, at a distance north-west of him of several hundred *li*(197). In the winter of the 8th year the Left tribe Tartars(198) got suspicious of the others and revolted, returning through the Wall at *Shoh-fang*. They received a kind welcome from *P'ang Fên*. They had 4,000 capable soldiers, besides 10,000 weak and young, all of whom surrendered and were distributed over the prefectures of the north frontier. The Southern Khan wished to hold their Right *Wên-yü-tuh* Prince *Wu-kü-chan*(199) responsible because he had been the first to conspire with *An-kwoh*, seeing which *Wu-kü-chan* again revolted with several thousand men, and went off beyond the Wall amongst the mountains and valleys where he became a nuisance to both officials and people. In the autumn *P'ang Fên* and *Fêng Chu*, with the troops of all the tribes, attacked *Wu-kü chan*, whose horde surrendered, on which the whole body numbering over 20,000 were removed to *A-ting* and *Pêh-ti*(200). *Fêng Chu* on his return was transferred to the Board of Works(201).

Now *Fêng Hou's* horde was in the last throes of famine, and besides the *Sien-pi* kept attacking them and they had no means of defence, so that the number of deserters who made off and came through the Wall was endless.

The southern Khan *Shï-tsz* died after a reign of four years, and was succeeded by the Khan *Ch'ang's* son *T'an*(202). *T'an*, the *Wan-shï*(203) *Shi-chuh-ti* Khan, came to the throne in the 10th year of *Yung-yüan*. In the 12th year *P'ang Fên* was transferred to the post of *Ho-nan* city governor, and *Wang Piao*(203A) prefect of *Shoh-fang*, was made *Tu-liao* general. The southern Khan sent a force every year to attack *Fêng Hou* and made considerable hauls of prisoners, from first to last some thousands, while *Fêng Hou* on the other hand went from bad to worse.

In the 16th year(204) the Northern Khan sent an envoy to the capital with tribute offerings and friendly proposals to renew the old *Hu-han-ya* understanding. [The Emperor] *Ho Ti* declined to grant this on the ground that the old formalities had not been gone through, but he sent him handsome presents, without, however, sending a return envoy. In the 1st year(205) of *Yüan-hing* he again sent an envoy to *Tun-hwang*(206) with duty of tribute, saying that his country was so poor that he could not provide the usual formal things, but praying that a great envoy might be despatched to him, when he would send his son back with such on his return to serve as a page at court.

(193A) See the *Wu-hwan*, Note 191, where it seems to be for quite a different service.

(194) 胡; here manifestly 'the Huns.'

(195) 雁門 See Note 128.

(196) West.

(197) This would seem to indicate that the *Choh-sie* were not the Alashan Mountains. See *T. S. Tribes*, Part 2, Note 65. See Note 105.

(198) 胡. (199) 烏居戰.

(200) Estern *Kan Suh*.

(201) 將作大匠. (202) 檀.

(203) 萬氏; the syllable *hou* is omitted. See Notes 1 and 80.

(203A) 王龐.

(204) A.D. 104. (205) A.D. 105.

(206) West *Kan Suh*, Polo's Sachiu.

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At that time the Empress *Têng*(207) was acting as Regent(208), and she also did not send him a return envoy. In the summer of the third year(209) of *Yung-ch'u* a Chinese named *Han Ts'ung*(210) came with the Southern Khan to court, and when they got back, he persuaded the southern Khan that the people of *Kwan Tung*(211) were dying of starvation, and that it was a favourable moment for attack. The Khan took his word, proceeded to collect troops, and revolted, attacking the adjutant-general *Kêng Ch'ung*(212) at *Mei-tsih*. That autumn *Wang Piao* died. In the winter the chariot and cavalry general *Ho Hi*(213) and the assistant-adjutant *P'ang-hiung*(214) were sent to punish the Khan, who in the spring of the following year sent over 1,000 horsemen to make a raid upon *Ch'ang Shan* and *Chung Shan*(215). *Liang K'in*(216), Protector of the Turkestan tribes, was made *Tu-liao* general, and, with the assistance of the *Liao Tung* prefect *Kêng K'wei*, attacked and routed him, as has already been related in the chapters(217) upon the said *K'in* and *K'wei*. The Khan, observing that all the armies were advancing together upon him, was thrown into a great state of alarm, and turned round upon *Han Ts'ung*, saying:—'You said the Chinese were all dying! What manner of men, then, are these?' He then sent an envoy offering to surrender, which advance was accepted. The Khan took off his hat, and with bare feet, facing *P'ang Hiung* and suite, performed the act of obeisance confessing himself deserving of death. On this he was pardoned and treated as before, and he on his part made return of the Chinese boys and girls stolen, and also of those kidnapped by the Tibetans and sold by them to the Huns, over ten thousand persons in all. In the 5th year *Liang K'in* was removed, and *Kêng K'wei*, Prefect of *Yün-chung*, was made *Tu-liao* general. In the 1st year of *Yüan-ch'u*(218), *K'wei* was transferred to the post of *Wu-hwan* Protector, and *Têng Tsun*(219) was made *Tu-liao* general. *Tsun* was the Empress Dowager's cousin, and was therefore the first who held the full appointment. In the 4th year *Fêng Hou* was routed by the *Sien-pi*: his horde was broken up and scattered, and the greater part joined the northern free-booters(220). In the spring of the 5th year *Fêng Hou* with a hundred cavaliers fled back to the Wall at *Shoh-fang* and surrendered to *Têng Tsun*, who recommended that he should be interned in *Ying-ch'wan* prefecture(221). In the 1st year of *Kien-kwang*(222), *Têng Tsun* was removed, and *Kêng K'wei* was again made *Tu-liao* general in his place. At that time the *Sien-pi* were raiding the frontier, and *K'wei* with the *Wên-yü-tuh* Prince *Hu-yu-hwei*(223) marched several successive seasons at the head of the surrenderers beyond the Wall to punish the *Sien-pi*(224). On their return the surrenderers were ordered tribe by tribe to occupy the line of passes, but, as *Kêng K'wei's* demands upon them

(207) 鄧.

(208) For *Shang Ti* 殤帝 'the Emperor who died young.'

(209) A.D. 109.

(210) 韓琮.

(211) *Shan Si.*

(212) 耿种.

(213) 何熙.

(214) 龐雄.

(215) 常山, 中山; apparently in *Shan Si* and *Chih-li*. See Note 16.

(216) 西域校尉梁慬.

(217) Biographical part of the After *Han Shu*.

(218) A.D. 114.

(219) 鄧遵.

(220) See Note 203 in my account of the *Sien-pi*, from which it appears that *Têng Tsun* defeated them too.

(221) 潁川; in *An Hwei*.

(222) A.D. 120.

(223) 呼尤徹.

(224) See paper on *Sien-pi*, Note 205.

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were harassing, the surrenderers were displeased with him, and contemplated rebellion.

The Khan *T'an* died after a reign of 27 years, and his younger brother *Pah*(224A) succeeded. *Kêng K'wei* was once more removed, and *Fah-tu*(225), prefect of *T'ai-yüan*, was made general instead. *Pah*, the *Wu-ki-hou Shï-chuh-ti*(225A) Khan came to the throne in the 3rd year of *Yen-kwang*(226). In the Summer a party headed by the chief of one of the tribes named *A-tsuh*(227) rebelled and tried to force *Hu-yu-hwei* to join them. *Hu-yu-hwei* said :—'I am old, and have received favours from the house of *Han*: I will die rather than do so.' The horde wished to kill him, but some one saved him, and he got away. The *A-tsuh* cabal then went off, taking with them their wives, children, and baggage. The Adjutant-General *Mah Yih*(228) sent a force along with some Tartar horsemen to attack them. Nearly all either lost their heads or were drowned in the River. Over 10,000 head of horses, cattle, and sheep were taken. In the winter *Fah-tuh* died, and in the 4th year *Fu Chung*(229), Prefect of *Han-yang*(230), took his place as general; but that winter *Fu Chung* died also, and, in the 1st year of the period *Yung-kien*(231), *P'ang Ts'an*(232), prefect of *Liao Tung*, was made general in his place.

Now the Wall defences west of *Shoh-fang* had mostly fallen into disrepair, and on this account the *Sien-pi* several times made raids on the southern horde, killing the *Tsien-tsiang*(233) Prince. The Khan was distressed and alarmed, and sent up an application asking for repairs to the Wall defences. *Shun Ti* granted it, and despatched the soldiers of the *Li-yang*(234) garrison to march out and camp along the north frontier of *Chung-shan*(235). Reinforcements were also sent to the various posts in the various prefectures bounded by the Wall, and they were exercised in fighting and archery.

The Khan *Pah* died after a reign of four years, and was succeeded by his younger brother *Hiu-li*(236). *Hiu-li*, the *K'ü-t'êh-joh-shï-chuh-tsiu*(237) Khan, came to the throne in the 3rd year of *Yung-kien*. In the 4th year, *P'ang Ts'an* was transferred to the Foreign Office, and a prefectural(238) official named *Sung Han*(239) was appointed *Tu-liao* general in his place. In the 2nd year(240) of the period *Yang-kia*, he again was transferred to the post of stud officer(241), and the *Wu-hwan* protector

(224A) 拔.

(225) 法度.

(225A) 烏稽侯尸逐鞮; if we could get the key to decipher the meaning of these Hun names, we should be able to discover much.

(226) A.D. 124.

(227) 阿族.

(228) 馬翼. (229) 傅衆.

(230) 漢陽; in *Kan Suh.*

(231) A.D. 126; under the new Emperor *Shun Ti.*

(232) 龐參; see *Wu hwan*, Note 359.

(233) There were Right and Left of that ilk. See Notes 33 and 51.

(234) In *Ta-ming Fu.* See paper on the *Wu-hwan*, Note 210, where it is erroneously placed.

(235) 中山; a Note says 定州 in *Ho Peh* 河北 [*Ta-ming Fu*]. See *Wu-hwan*, Note 210.

(236) 休利.

(237) 去特若尸逐就.

(238) 東平相; it is not clear what kind of an official, but the celebrated 阮籍 held this post later on, 'and reached the prefecture on a donkey.'

(239) 宋漢.

(240) A.D. 133.

(241) 太僕; no unusual pains are taken to ascertain the exact nature of these ancient offices, a knowledge of which is not essential to the subject in hand.

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Kêng Yeh(241A) was made *Tu-liao* general in his stead. In the 1st year(242) of *Yung-ho*, *Yeh* was recalled on account of sickness, and the Tibetan-guarding protector *Ma Tsih*(243) was made *Tu-liao* general in his place. In the summer of the 5th year, the *Kou lung*(244) Princes *Wu-sz* and *Ch'ê-niu*(245), with others of the Southern Hun Left tribe, rebelled, and raided *Si-ho* at the head of over 3,000 horsemen: they then proceeded to entice over the Right Virtuous Prince with 7,000 or 8,000 horsemen, and surrounded *Mei-tsih*, killing the Residents of *Shoh-fang* and *Tai* prefectures. *Ma Tsih* and the Adjutant-General *Liang Ping*(246) with the *Wu-hwan* protector *Wang Yüan*(247) collected the troops along the frontier, together with *Wu-hwan*, *Sien-pi*, *Tibetans*, and *Huns*(248) to the total of 20,000, with which they attacked and defeated *Wu-sz's* party; but the latter rallied and gathered a larger force, with which he captured numerous cities and villages. The Emperor sent an envoy to remonstrate with the Khan, setting forth for his consideration the favours received and the principles of right, and commanding him to secure the surrender of the revolters. The Khan had not joined in the conspiracy, so he took off his hat, left his tent, and went to *Ping* to express his regret for the offence. *Ping* was recalled on account of sickness, and *Ch'ên Kwei*(249), Prefect of *Wu-yüan*, was made adjutant-general in his place. *Kwei* put great pressure upon the Khan for not restraining those under his rule, in consequence of which the Khan and his younger brother the Left Virtuous Prince both committed suicide. The Khan *Hiu-li* had reigned thirteen years. *Kwei* now desired to move the Khan's official residence, so as to be on closer terms with the inner horde, but this only made the [later] surrenderers the more suspicious. *Kwei* was therefore attainted and died in prison.

The generalissimo *Liang Shang*(250) held that, in view of the recent revolt of the Tibetans and Huns(251), and the number of tribes that had joined in, it would be better policy to parley with them than to exercise force, and be more likely to succeed: he therefore sent up the following recommendations:—'The Huns are well aware of the enormity of their offence in revolting and committing raids. But even birds and beasts will turn at bay in order to escape death. How much more a national horde too numerous for extermination! Our commissariat labours are becoming more serious day by day, and the armies are becoming exhausted with the severe demands made upon them. It is not the true interest of China to exhaust the interior for the sake of what is outside. In my humble opinion the *Tu-liao* general *Ma Tsih* has given ample evidence of his strategical abilities, and moreover he has commanded the frontier for a long time, and profoundly understands the essential points of warfare. Whenever I receive letters from *Tsih*, I find that his views coincide with mine. *Tsih* should be ordered to hold a strongly fortified position, and from it negotiate to secure a surrender by the exhibition of kindness and good faith, proclaiming offers of rewards, and explaining their duties to them. In this way the rogues can be subdued, and the State will be freed from trouble.'

The Emperor approved, and commanded *Tsih* to induce the revolted free-booters to surrender. *Shang* also sent letters to *Tsih*, &c., saying:—'China has been at peace so long that she has forgotten how to fight.

(241A) 耿曄; see *Wu-hwan*, Note 212.
(242) A.D. 136.
(243) 馬續; see *Wu-hwan*, Note 203.
(244) 句龍. (245) 吾斯車紐.
(246) 梁竝. (247) 王元.
(248) 胡.
(249) 陳龜.
(250) 梁商.
(251) 胡.

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Chance hand-to-hand encounters with magnificent horsemen are of uncertain result: this is the strong point of the Tartar nomads(252), and the weak point of China. Strong crossbows fired off from city walls, solid camps strongly guarded awaiting the attack: this is China's strong point, whilst it is the Tartars' weak point. We ought to confine ourselves in the first instance to what is our strong point, whilst we observe what they are going to do, at the same time offering rewards and proclaiming the advantages of repentance, and not allowing ourselves in our eagerness for petty successes to mar the main business in hand.' *Tsih* and his colleagues acted accordingly, in consequence of which the Right Virtuous Prince *Pu-yih-ti*(253) and others went to *Tsih* and surrendered, 13,000 souls altogether.

In the autumn *Kou-lung Wu-sz* and others set up the *Kou-lung* Prince *Ch'ê-niu* as Khan. He had under him the *Wu-hwan* to the east, and the Tibetans and various Tartars to the west, several myriads in all. They attacked and defeated the guards at the metropolitan tombs(254), killing the Protector and magistrate of *Shang Kün*, and raiding the four departments of *Ping*, *Liang*, *Yu*, and *Ki*, so that the *Si-ho* prefectural seat had to be removed to its subordinate district city *Li-shih*(254A), that of *Shang Kün* to *Hia-yang*(255), and that of *Shoh-fang* to *Wu-yüan*(256). In the winter the adjutant-general *Chang Tan*(257) was sent at the head of the garrison troops of the different tribes of *Yu Chou Wu-hwans* to chastise the rebels *Ch'ê-niu*, &c. He gave them battle at *Ma-yih*, cutting off 3,000 heads and capturing a large number of prisoners(258), arms, cattle, and sheep. *Ch'ê-niu*, at the head of his own chieftains and *Kuh-tu* marquesses, applied for permission to surrender, but *Wu-sz* still remained in the field, and joined the *Wu-hwan* in making plundering raids. In the spring of the 6th year *Ma Tsih* led 5,000 *Sien-pi* horsemen to attack 穀 city(259), where they cut off several hundred heads. *Chang Tan* was of a brave and impetuous character, besides being a good hand at keeping well with his men, so that the army did their very best for him. Hence the line of communications acted responsively even as far as the *T'ien Shan*. The *Wu-hwan* were utterly broken; all their chief generals were decapitated, the Chinese prisoners were retaken, besides flocks and herds of animals and various property. In the summer it was *Ma Tsih's* turn to be removed, and *Wu Wu*(260), the guardian of the city gates, was made general in his place. In the 1st year of *Han-an*(261) *Wu-sz* and the *Yüh-ti-t'ai-k'i-tsü-k'ü-Pêh-têh*(262) and others again plundered the *Ping* tribe(263).

Now *Tou-lou-ch'u*(264), the *Hu-lan Joh-shï-chuh-tsiu*(265) Khan, was proclaimed at

(252) 戎狄.

(253) 部抑鞮.

(254) 京兆虎牙; so translated in a note.

(254A) Not to be confused with the *Si-ho* of *Kan-duh*: See Notes 31, 56. 離石; North *Shan Si*: See *Liu-yüan*.

(255) Central *Shan Si* on the River.

(256) See Early Huns, Note 52. There are so many places near North *Shan Si* bearing this elusive name that I cannot say exactly where this one is.

(257) 張耽; See *Wu-hwan*; Note 155.

(258) 生口 probably means young boys and women only.

(259) There is nothing to shew where this was.

(260) 吳武. (261) A.D. 142.

(262) 莫鞮臺耆沮渠伯德. The second pair of characters are from memory, as I have accidentally omitted to copy them. This is the more unfortunate, as I suspect the word must be connected with the modern Mongol *daidji* 台吉.

(263) 部; probably a mistake for 郡.

(264) 塊樓儲.

(265) 呼蘭若尸逐就. See Notes 137 and 237.

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the capital in the 2nd year of *Han-an*. The Emperor went in his chariot to the Foreign Office, carrying a *bâton* of appointment, presenting him with a seal and ribbon, leading him up to the throne room, and bestowing upon him a plain covered chariot(266) with four horses attached, a drum chariot, an easy chariot, escort horses, knives, a state sword(267), &c. He was also given 2,000 pieces of gay stuffs, and the Khan's queen and others of less degree were presented with gold-embroidered cloths, various paraphernalia and two light(268) chariots and horses. An adjutant-general was sent, armed with a *bâton*, to escort the Khan back to the southern *ordo*. A decree commanded that the officers of the Sacrificial and foreign Boards, and all the young pages sent by the rulers of different States should assemble outside the *Kwang-yang*(269) gate of the city to see him off, and he was given a banquet accompanied by a sham fight and various sports. The Emperor *Shun Ti* went to the *Hu-t'ao*(270) Palace to witness it all. That winter the adjutant-general, *Ma Shih*(271) hired a man to assassinate *Kou-lung Wu-sz*, and sent his head to *Loh-yang*. In the 1st year(272) of *Kien-k'ang* he advanced to attack the remains of the horde, cutting off 1,200 heads. Over 700,000 *Wu-hwan*, men and women of all ages, went to give in their submission to *Shih*, along with their wagons, impedimenta, and innumerable cattle and sheep.

The Khan *Tou-lou-ch'u* died after a reign of five years, and *Kü-ch'ê êrh*(273), the *I-ling*(274) *Shï chuh-tsiu* Khan, succeeded in the 1st year of *Kien-ho*(275), and so on till the 1st year(276) of *Yung-shou*, when the Left *Yüh-ti-t'ai-k'i-tsü-k'ü Pêh-têh* and others again rebelled and made a swooping raid upon the States subordinate to *Mei-tsih* and *An-ting*. The Protector *Chang Hwan*(277) attacked, defeated, and forced them to surrender, as has already been related in the chapter on that individual.

In the 1st year(278) of *Yen-hi* all the tribes of the Southern Khanate rebelled and proceeded to raid the nine frontier prefectures, in company with the *Wu-hwan* and *Sien-pi*. *Chang Hwan* was made adjutant-general for the north and punished them, the Khan and all his tribes tendering submission. Having in view the fact that the Khan was incompetent to keep his dominions in hand, *Hwan* placed him under arrest, and sent up a proposal that the Left *Luh-li* Prince should be set on the throne. The Emperor *Hwan Ti* issued the following decree:—'The Spring and Autumn [Annals] lay stress upon the principle of pardon on the occasion of a new reign(279). *Kü ch'ê-êrh* has with his whole heart turned to civilization. For what crime has he been set aside? Let him be sent back!'

The Khan *Kü-ch'ê-êrh* died after a reign of 25 years. His son . . .(280) succeeded . . ., the *T'u-t'êh*(281) *Shï-chuh-tsiu* Khan succeeded in the 1st year(282) of *Hi-p'ing*. In the 6th year the Khan, accompanied

(266) See Note 185.

(267) 玉具劍.

(268) 軿車馬.

(269) 廣陽; a note says 'west gate of *Loh-yang*' (now the capital).

(270) 胡桃. (271) 馬寔.

(272) A.D. 144.

(273) 居車兒. (274) 伊陵.

(275) A.D. 147. (276) A.D. 155.

(277) 張奐; See the *Sien-pi* paper, Note 381.

(278) A.D. 158.

(279) 春秋大居正. These five characters are said by the commentators to mean all this! I presume it is an elliptical way of alluding to the words of the *Tso Chwang* 體元居正, which themselves furnish endless food for commentators' strife.

(280) 某; 'no record of his name.'

(281) 屠特.

(282) A.D. 172.

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by the adjutant-general *Tsang-Min*(283), marched out *viâ* Goose Gate to attack the *Sien-pi T'an-shih-hwai*(284), but returned after having suffered a total defeat. This year the Khan died, and his son *Hu-chêng*(285) succeeded. The Khan *Hu-chêng* succeeded in the 1st year(286) of *Kwang-ho*. In the 2nd year the adjutant-general *Chang Siu*(287) found himself on bad terms with the Khan, and *Siu* took upon himself to decapitate him and set up in his stead as Khan the Right Virtuous Prince *Kiang-k'ü*(288). *Siu*, for taking upon himself to put him to death without asking authority, was fetched on a tumbril to the Assize Court(289) to answer for his crime. The *Kiang-k'ü* succeeded in the 2nd year of *Kwang-ho*. In the 4th year(290) of *Chung-p'ing*, the prefect *Chang Shun*(291) of *Chung-shan* rebelled, and at the head of the *Sien-pi* raided the border prefectures. The Emperor *Ling Ti* ordered a levy of the Southern Hun troops to form a punitory force under *Liu Yü*(292), governor of *Yu Chou*. The Khan sent the Left Virtuous Prince with a body of horse to *Yu Chou*. His people fearing, however, that there would be no end to the Khan's drafting of troops, broke out into revolt and *Hi-loh*(293) of the Right Tribe, the different *Hiu-chou*(294) Tartars, and the White Horse Coppers(295), numbering over 100,000 men, rebelled, attacked the Khan, and killed him. The Khan *Kiang-k'ü* had reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his son the Right Virtuous Prince *Yü-fu-lo*(296). *Yü-fu-lo*, the *Ch'i-chï Shï-chuh-hou*(297) Khan, succeeded in the 5th year of *Chung-p'ing*. Those of his people who had killed his father thereupon rebelled against him, and combined to set up the *Sü-puh Kuh-tu* marquess(298) as Khan, on which *Yü-fu-lo* went to court to complain. Just then *Ling Ti* died, and the Empire was in great confusion. The Khan, at the head of several thousand horsemen, joined the *Peh-po*(299) rebels in a raid upon the prefectures of *Ho-nei*(300). But the people were now all

(283) 臧旻; see *Wu-hwan*, Note 241.

(284) 檀石槐; the great conqueror, who possessed himself of the whole of the ancient Hun dominions, and drove the Northern Huns, *viâ* Sogdiana, to Europe. See paper on *Wu-hwan*, Note 227.

(285) 呼徵.

(286) A.D. 178.

(287) 張脩.

(288) 羌渠; See *Wu-hwan*, 153.

(289) 廷尉.

(290) 四 must be a mistake for 元, for it is stated that this year was also the 7th of *Kwang-ho*, i.e. A.D. 184.

(291) 張純; See *Wu-hwan*, Note 86.

(292) 劉虞; See *Wu-wan*, Note 91.

(293) 醯落 compare Note 1.

(294) 休著胡.

(295) 白馬銅; I have not the least idea what this means.

(296) 於扶羅.

(297) 持至尸逐侯; grandfather of *Liu Yüan-hai* 劉元海, *alias Liu Yüan* 淵 Being descended from the Khan *Mêhtêh* and the Chinese princess given to him (See paper on Early Huns, Note 147), he took the imperial surname of *Liu*, and A.D. 308, after saving the falling *Tsin* dynasty as general, set up at *P'ing-yang* in *Shan Si* as Emperor of Anterior *Chao* 趙. See my future paper on the Turks. Note 267, also future paper on *Liu Yüan*.

(298) See Note 52. The *Kuh-tu* marquesses seem to have been the heads of clans, like the Campbells of Scotland.

(299) 白波; a name given to one of the numerous hands of rebels that sprung up on the revolt of *Chang Kioh* 張角 and his Yellow Turbans 黃巾.

(300) 河內; according to Playfair parts of *Shan Si* and *Ho Nan*. In another part of the After *Han Shu* the words 河東 are substituted: this means South *Shan Si*. See *Liu Yüan*, Note 11.

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gathered together on the alert, and he got nothing by his marauding; on the contrary, his troops got a drubbing, and when he thought of turning homewards again his people would not receive him.

The *Sü-puh Kuh-tu* marquess died after being Khan for one year, and the throne of the Southern horde was now destitute of an occupant: an old Prince was made to administer the affairs of State. The Khan *Yü-fu-lo* died after a [nominal] reign of seven years, and was succeeded by his younger brother *Hu-ch'u-ts'üan*(301). The Khan *Hu-ch'u-ts'üan*(302) came to the throne in the 2nd year of *Hing-p'ing*(302A). As his elder brother had been driven away and could not return to his dominions, they were several times raided by the *Sien-pi*. In the 1st year of *Kien-an*(303) the Khan came to court. The Emperor *Hien Ti*, on his way back east from *Ch'ang-an*(304), was escorted by the Right Virtuous Prince *K'ü-pi*(305) and the *Pêh-po* rebel general *Han Süan*(306), who drove off *Li Ts'ui* and *Kwoh I*(307); and after the imperial cortège had reached *Loh-yang*(308), the Emperor was removed [by *Ts'ao Ts'ao*] to *Hü*(309), whence the Khan was able to return to his own country(310). In the 21st year(311) the Khan came to court, and *Ts'ao Ts'ao* then kept him at *Yeh*(312), sending *K'ü-pi* to look after his own dominions(313).

* * * * * *

Thus disappears from China the Hun power as a nation of nomads. For some time after this, Hun adventurers struggled on, and even ruled parts of China as Emperors; but the bulk of them, or at least the ruling families, drifted westwards to Europe. The diffiulty is how to connect the fragments that remained with the rising Turks (lineal representatives of the Huns) of the 6th century. That task we shall shortly attempt.

(301) 呼廚泉. See *Wu-wan*, Note 2.

(302) A Note says:—'uncle of *Liu Yüan-hai*.'

(302A) A.D. 195. (303) A.D. 196.

(304) He had been obliged to abandon his capital.

(305) 去卑. (306) 韓暹.

(307) 李傕; 郭記. Doubtless other rebel leaders. After *Han* was now falling to pieces.

(308) *Ho-nan Fu*. The palace was found to be in ashes and overgrown with jungle.

(309) 許州 in *K'ai-fêng Fu*, where the celebrated usurper *Ts'ao Ts'ao* was waiting his chances.

(310) A Note says this was *P'ing-yang* in *Shan Si*, (the ancient capital of China).

(311) A.D. 216.

(312) 鄴; *Chang-têh Fu* in *Ho Nan*. The *Shï Shwoh* tells an amusing story of how *Ts'ao Ts'ao*, who was mean in appearance, gave his sword to a stalwart trooper to hold so as to give dignity to himself, and how the simple Hun mistook the trooper for the hero.

(313) A Note says 'the five tribes of his dominions.' *Ts'ao Ts'ao* had divided the Huns into five tribes.

E. H. PARKER.

THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG,

BY E. J. EITEL, PH.D.

(*Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 1, p. 14.*)

When the Legislative Council passed the first Hongkong Opium Ordinance (26 November, 1844), the Colonial Treasurer, R. M. Martin, strongly protested against this Government measure on the ground that private vice should not be made a source of public revenue. Finding his protest disregarded, he forthwith applied for leave of absence. When this application was refused, he resigned his office and returned to

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England (12 July, 1845), where he thenceforth laboured, with a pen dipped in gall, to prove that Hongkong, whose majestic peak he compared with a decayed Stilton cheese and whose charming surroundings he likened to the back of a negroe streaked with leprosy, was an utter failure, and that the Colony ought to be removed to Chusan.

The exclusive privilege of selling opium in quantities less than a chest for consumption in the Colony, was put up to auction (20 February, 1844), and, notwithstanding the machinations of a ring of Chinese opium dealers, purchased by an Englishman (G. Duddell) at a monthly rental of $720. But the purchaser soon found himself outwitted by the Chinese who, taking advantage of the loose wording of the Ordinance, openly retailed opium in the Colony 'for exportation' and gained the protection of the Court in doing so. The faulty Ordinance was thereupon amended (12 July, 1845) and the opium farm put up to auction again (1 August, 1845) when it was bought by a Chinese syndicate for $1,710 a month. Next year, a re-sale having been offered (24 May, 1846), further powers were demanded by the farmers; the monopoly was once more offered for sale (30 June, 1846), but no bids were made to obtain further concessions. At last the farm was sold (2 July, 1846) at the reduced rate of $1,560 a month. However, it soon became apparent that the powers extorted by the farmers, who employed constables and even an armed cruizer for the protection of their revenue, seriously interfered with the legitimate junk trade and the freedom of the port. Even the Chinese themselves petitioned the Governor (27 January, 1847) for the abolition of the opium monopoly. The Governor hesitated and temporarily suspended this troublesome opium farm (1 August, 1847) after it had yielded £4,118 in 1846, and £3,183 in 1847. It is remarkable that this first experiment in opium farming at once brought to the surface the evils which ever afterwards characterized the system in Hongkong, viz. unscrupulous circumvention of the law, organized withholding of a just rental and vexatious interference with the native trade and with the freedom of the port.

The revenues of the Colony improved considerably under the Governor's assiduous care. By enforcing the recovery of arrears of rent on land and buildings, the income of the Colony was raised, at a bound, from £9,534 in 1844, to £22,242 in 1845. The opium farm caused the revenue of 1846 to mount up to £27,842 and by charging higher fees on boat registry (Ordinance 7 of 1846) the revenue of 1847 came to £31,078. On the other hand the attention paid to public works caused the expenditure to rise, from £49,901 in 1845, to £66,726 in 1846. But it was reduced again in 1847 to £50,959.

What assisted the Governor in his efforts to improve the finances of the Colony, in spite of the fearful odds that were against him, was the fact that, though the foreign trade was stagnating, the native junk trade held its own, and that the population of the Colony, though decimated by removals to the Treaty ports of China, remained for several years wonderfully steady. During the three years from 1845 to 1847, the population numbered respectively 23,748, 22,453, and 23,872 souls. In the year 1848, the population was indeed reduced to 21,514 persons. But the Governor attributed this decrease, not to the alleged decay of local commerce, but to a more careful registration 'which, while giving a truer account of the actual number, relieved the Colony from those who hung loose on it and only applied for registration tickets to make a bad use of them.'

In his efforts to repress crime, Sir J. Davis found himself handicapped, like every successive Governor of Hongkong, by the continuous influx of criminals from the neighbouring mainland of China, by the untrustworthiness and inactivity of native constables, by the dissolute character of European sailors or soldiers enlisted in the

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local Police Force, who were ignorant of the native language and consequently dependent on truculent native interpreters, by the costliness of importing trained British constables, and finally by the inherent inapplicability to Asiatics of British laws and British modes of punishment. Sir J. Davis was, however, fortunate in obtaining (6 September, 1844) from London the services of an Inspector of the Metropolitan Police, Ch. May, who did the best possible with the imperfect material supplied to him and reorganized the Police Force of Hongkong on the model of the Irish Constabulary with due adaptations to local circumstances. With the aim of suppressing the system of private night-watchmen, kept by every European house-owner on the model of the old practice in vogue in the Canton and Macao days, Major-General D'Aguilar (acting as Lieutenant-Governor in the temporary absence of Sir J. Davis) passed (11 September, 1844) the unpopular 'Bamboo Ordinance' (17 of 1844) prohibiting the use of the bamboo-drums by which those watchmen used to make night hideous in order to prove (not merely to their employers as the Ordinance alleged) that they were on the alert. But whilst securing by this premature measure the peace and quiet of the town during the night, he rather encouraged, in the absence of an efficient Police Force, nightly depredations by native burglars.

Highway robberies and burglaries continued to be of almost daily occurrence. Government House was once more robbed (16 July, 1844) and some of the Governor's valuables carried off. No house in the Colony was safe without armed watchmen and no one ventured out after dark except revolver in hand. The Police Magistrate issued (25 August, 1846) a notice warning residents 'not to go beyond the limits of the town singly nor even in parties unless armed.' In 1847 European householders were ordered to supplement the imperfect street-lighting system by suspending lamps before the doors of their houses. The Police Force possessed as yet neither the training nor the moral tone that would have inspired the community with confidence and prevented collusion between native constables and criminals. As to the latter it seemed as if English law, though ever so severely administered, was unable to provide penalties sufficiently deterrent. Flogging was indeed resorted to very freely and even for comparatively shadowy offences such as vagrancy. The House of Commons occupied itself, rather needlessly, with this point (in autumn, 1846) at the motion of Dr. Bowring, the Member for Bolton, who drew the attention of the Ministry to the allegation that 54 natives had been flogged in Hongkong in one day for not having tickets of registration. The consequence was that the criminals of Hongkong had an easier time for a few months, as public flogging was suspended from 23 January to 8 May, 1847.

The most predominant form of crime at this period was piracy. The whole coast line of the Canton and Fohkien provinces was virtually under the control of a piratical confederacy under the leadership of Cheung Shap-ng-tsai and Chui A-pou, to whom trading and fishing junks had to pay regular black-mail. The waters of the Colony swarmed with pirates, and Hongkong-registered junks were, on escaping the pirates and entering the Canton River, subjected to all sorts of lawless plunderings on the part of the crews of the gunboats under the orders of the Canton revenue farmers. Hence the peaceful trading junk of this period had to sail heavily armed, so much so that there was frequently nothing but the cargo to distinguish a trading junk from a pirate. The worst feature of the case was the fact that lawless European seamen occasionally enlisted in the service of the native pirates and that the leaders of piratical fleets made Hongkong their headquarters, where native marine-storekeepers not only supplied them with arms and ammunition and disposed of their booty, but furnished them

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also, through well-paid spies in mercantile offices and Government departments, with information as to the shipments of valuable cargo and particularly as to the movements of the Police and of British gunboats. A Colonial gunboat, manned by the Police, was procured (5 June, 1846) to cruize in the waters of the Colony and did some little service until the vessel was wrecked (1 September, 1848). Deportation of convicted criminals inspired the Chinese with no terror, as it offered innumerable chances of eventual escape. The last convict ship of this period, the 'General Wood' which sailed for Penang on 2 January, 1848, was piratically taken possession of by the convicts most of whom made good their escape.

The European commerce of the Colony appeared to decline or to stagnate during this administration. The trade in Indian opium, driven away from Hongkong by the measures of Sir H. Pottinger, was for some time conducted at Whampoa and, on being forced away thence, by a crusade instituted through the Canton Consuls at the instance of the Canton monopolists of the sulphur trade, took refuge at Kapsingmoon near Macao. The Kapsingmoon anchorage being unsafe during the N.E. monsoon, the Hongkong merchants were hoping to procure the return of the trade to their port, when the establishment of an opium farm by Sir J. Davis frustrated their design. Arrangements had been made by some merchants to introduce silk-weaving establishments into the Colony, but the scheme was abandoned in despair when it became apparent that the Governor, with his passion for fiscal exactions, would certainly tax the looms. Competition and trade rivalries, between the merchants established in the Treaty ports of China and those who remained at Hongkong, became intensified by bitter feelings of jealousy. It was publicly stated (1 August, 1846) that Canton merchants had been for some time instructing their correspondents in England to stipulate that vessels by which they shipped goods for the different Treaty ports of China should first come to Whampoa and there discharge goods for Candon before proceeding to Hongkong. In retaliation for this measure, and in their despair at seeing free trade principles overwhelmed by a flood of Government monopolies, Hongkong merchants now broke faith with the established free trade creed of their predecessors and began themselves to look out for protectionist measures to re-establish the decaying commerce of the Colony. Free trade was now looked upon as a bright dream of the past, and it was seriously proposed to agitate for an Act of Parliament declaring that for ten years all teas shipped at Hongkong would be protected in Great Britain by a differential duty of one penny per pound on congous and twopence on the finer sorts. This scheme was urged upon the Secretary of State by Hongkong merchants residing in London, and several letters appeared in the *Times* (9 and 24 December, 1846) advocating the imposition of a differential duty of twopence farthing on all teas shipped at Hongkong. The sinister expectation of the promoters of this measure avowedly was that 'the death-blow would be struck to the trade of Canton' (and Foochow). Of course this fratricidal plan of reviving the commerce of Hongkong by killing that of Canton (or any other Treaty port) had no chance of even a hearing in a Parliament the previously divided counsels of which had just converged towards the adoption, from a conscientious recognition of economic truths, of positive free trade principles by the abrogation of the corn laws (25 June, 1846). Lord Stanley emphatically refused (4 September, 1846) to entertain the proposal of a differential duty. As a last refuge, the community addressed (27 February, 1848) a Memorial to Earl Grey praying for a reduction or abolition of the land rent. They were informed in reply (17 July, 1848) that Earl Grey was willing to extend the terms of the leases or even to grant them in perpetuity.

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The fact of a serious decline having overtaken the European commerce of Hongkong gradually forced itself upon public recognition and was interpreted by extremists to involve the Colony in absolute ruin. On 13 August, 1845, all the leading British firms (31 in number) memorialized Lord Stanley on the subject. Sir J. Davis viewed their statements as gross exaggerations and replied by a series of arguments propounded by the Acting Colonial Secretary (W. Caine). Thereupon a deputation (A. Matheson, G. T. Braine, Gilbert Smith, and Crawford Kerr) presented (29 August, 1845) a second memorial in the course of which they stated that 'Hongkong has no trade at all and is the mere place of residence of Government and its officers with a few British merchants and a very scanty and poor population.' The Governor remained unconvinced, and later on (6 January, 1846) published an exhaustive trade report from the pen of Dr. Gützlaff, intended to refute the allegations of the local merchants, who, however, disputed the correctness of Dr. Gützlaff's statistics. This official report contains a rather remarkable admission of the failure of Sir H. Pottinger's commercial policy, in stating that 'in spite of the discouragement afforded by the Supplementary Treaty, the Chinese trade appears to be rather on the increase.' The dispute was continued in the home papers and on 6 April, 1846, the *Times* gave expression to the melancholy views of the European community in the following words: 'Hongkong has quite lost caste as a place for mercantile operations. Many of the merchants have already abandoned the Island. Since the beginning of the present year two firms have given up their establishments, two more of old standing have expressed their determination to quit the Colony, and two others are hesitating about following their example or at most of leaving a clerk in possession to forward goods or letters.' The climax was reached when an American contributor to the *Economist* (8 August, 1846) incisively declared that 'Hongkong is nothing now but a depot for a few opium smugglers, soldiers, officers and men-of-war's men.' These sensational statements, however, represented merely the feelings of disappointment aroused by a natural but unusually prolonged period of depression consequent upon previous unnatural inflation. While friends and foes of the Colony debated the extent and causes of its ruin, Hongkong itself stood smiling like Patience on a monument bearing the bold legend '*Resurgam.*'

As regards the native trade of Hongkong, there were distinct signs visible in 1846 of a speedy revival. Junks from Pakhoi, Hoihow and Tinpak, in the South-West, commenced in 1846 a prosperous trade with Hongkong. The fact that the Chinese mandarins dared not, or on account of the piratical fleets could not, stop this trade, combined with the rising faith in the power of Great Britain produced by the repeated humiliations which Sir J. Davis had inflicted on Kiying, now gave currency to the belief that Chinese merchants residing in Hongkong need not confine their operations (by means of native junks) to the Treaty ports of China. Thenceforth Chinese subjects established in the Colony rejoiced in, and commercially took all the advantages of, the double status of residing under British rule and protection without forfeiting their privileges as natives of China. Canton native merchants now took to visiting the auction rooms of Hongkong and began, for fear of pirates, to charter small European sailing vessels (mostly German or Danish) for the carrying on of their own coasting trade with the Treaty ports on the East coast. Fleets of Chinese trading junks also occasionally engaged small English steamers to convoy them as a protection against pirates. Thus the reviving native trade reacted as a fillip upon the stagnating European commerce of the Colony.

Communication with Canton was at this period a source of much trouble to British merchants. Endeavours which had been

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made, by Mr. Donald Matheson in 1845 and by Mr. A. Campbell in 1847, to persuade the directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company to connect their monthly mail steamers to Hongkong by a branch line with Canton, failed to have any effect till the close of the year 1848, when it was too late. Meanwhile some sixty merchants had made an arrangement with the owners of the S. S. *Corsair* to carry their mails to Canton for a monthly subsidy of £150. In 1847 the Postmaster insisted on the steamer's carrying 'and delivering' Post office letters for Canton at twopence each. When the captain of the *Corsair* refused to deliver the letters to the addressees on the ground that there was no Post office in Canton, Sir J. Davis ordered legal proceedings to be instituted, which resulted (23 February, 1847) in the infliction of a fine of £100. Although the verdict (based on an Imperial Act) was accompanied by a recommendation that the fine be remitted, the Governor declined to exercise his prerogative in the case. The British community, feeling themselves once more sorely aggrieved, addressed their complaints to the Postmaster General in London, and resolved to help themselves by establishing a Hongkong and Canton Steamboat Company as a joint-stock enterprise.

An attempt was made in 1846, with the approval of Sir J. Davis, to introduce British currency to compete with Mexican and Spanish dollars. At the close of the year, the Deputy-Commissary General presented to the Governor a very favourable report on the British coin sent out by the Treasury. He stated that it had proved extremely useful for small payments, that even the Chinese brought dollars to be exchanged for sterling, and that he had applied for more to be sent out to the amount of £10,000. Subsequent experience, however, contradicted the hopes entertained as to the success of a British currency in China and the dollar continued to reign supreme.

Among the more hopeful symptoms of local commerce at this period may be mentioned the establishment (in April, 1845) of a branch of the Oriental Bank Corporation, which put in circulation in 1847, though as yet unchartered, over $56,000 worth of banknotes, to the great relief of local trade. The appointment of three Consular officers is another noteworthy feature. Mr. F. T. Bush acted (since 12 November, 1845) as Consul for the United States, Mr. J. Burd (since 11 March, 1847) as Consul for Denmark, and Mr. F. J. de Paiva (since 12 March, 1847) as Consul for Portugal.

In the interest of sanitation, an Ordinance was passed (26 December, 1845) enforcing a modicum of order and cleanliness. The deadly Wongnaichung Valley (Happy Valley) was drained (23 April, 1845) and the cultivation of rice there forbidden. Otherwise sanitation and cleanliness were left to take care of themselves. The period of Sir J. Davis' administration stands out, however, very favourably so far as mortality returns are concerned. The Colonial Surgeon, Dr. W. Morrison, who succeeded Dr. Peter Young on 15 November, 1847, gave the death rate of the whole population in 1847 as 1.14 per cent. and that of the Europeans alone (1 June, 1847 to 31 May, 1848) at 5.65 per cent., not including deaths from accidents which brought up the mortality of Europeans to 6.25 per cent. Compared with 1843, when the return gave the European mortality as 22.00 per cent., this was of course a great improvement. Fever was the most fatal malady in 1844 and dysentery in 1845. Among the European troops the improvement was, thanks to the new Barracks and Hospitals, the erection of which General D'Aguilar ordered on his own responsibility, even more striking. In 1843 the death rate among European soldiers was 22.20 and in 1845 it was 13.25 per cent. In the year 1845 the rate fell to 8.50 and in 1847 to 4.00 per cent. Strange to say, the Indian troops suffered during this period more than the Europeans. In 1847 the deaths among the

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Madras sepoys amounted to 9.25 per cent. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that on 8 March, 1848, the first surgical operation performed in Hongkong with the use of chloroform (by Dr. Harland of the Seamen's Hospital) was reported as a great novelty.

Sir J. Davis was the first Governor of Hongkong that took a lively interest in the promotion of both religion and education. To promote the better observance of Sunday, he issued (28 June, 1844) a notification ordering strict observation of a Sunday rest to be included in all contracts for public works. This regulation, enforcing entire cessation of labour on Sundays so far as the Public Works Department was concerned, received the full approval of the Colonial Office (8 October, 1844). Sir John was also supposed to be engaged in wringing from an unwilling Home Government their consent to the early erection of the Colonial Church. Yet building operations were unaccountably delayed from October, 1843, to October, 1846. Great was, therefore, the indignation felt in Hongkong when it became known, through a private letter of Mr. Gladstone (of 27 June, 1846) that 'the cause of the delay in the erection of a suitable Church at Hongkong has been the want of any estimate transmitted from the Colony, for without this preliminary step the Treasury will not grant the public money.' It was not till 11 March, 1847, that, as stated in a pompous Latin inscription on a brass plate inserted in the foundation stone, 'The corner stone of this Church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and destined for the worship of Almighty God, was laid by Lord J. F. Davis, Baronet, a Legate of the British Queen in China and bedecked with proconsular dignity, on the fifth day of the Ides of March in the tenth year of Queen Victoria, A.D. 1847.' At a meeting of contributors to the Colonial Church fund (12 April, 1847) an additional subscription was raised bringing up the fund to £1,888 and Government now doubled this sum. Two Trustees (Wilkinson Dent and T. D. Neave) were elected by the subscribers, and four others by the Government. During the progress of the building, services were held at the present Court House opposite the Club. A Union Chapel, in connection with the London Mission, and intended for services in the English and Chinese languages, was built in the present Hollywood Road in spring 1845 by means of a public subscription raised (9 September, 1844) by Dr. Legge. In 1847 and 1848 meetings for Presbyterian worship were held every Sunday in a bungalow immediately behind the present Club House. A mortuary chapel was erected, in 1845, in the new cemetery in the Happy Valley.

In addition to the three Anglo-Chinese Schools (the Morrison Institution on Morrison Hill, the Anglo-Chinese College of the London Mission and St. Paul's College) started under the preceding administration, a number of smaller Schools was established under the fostering care of Sir J. Davis. An 'English Children's School' was opened, in 1845, by the Colonial Chaplain (V. Stanton), and in emulation of it the Propaganda Society started at once a similar School for Roman Catholic children, which was, however, discontinued in 1847. For the benefit of the Chinese population, which had at this period nine Confucian Schools at work, the Governor devised, early in 1847, in imitation of the English religious education grants then hotly discussed in Parliament, a Government Grant-in-Aid Scheme to provide non-compulsory religious education in Chinese Schools under the direction of an Educational Committee (gazetted on 6 December, 1847), consisting of the Police Magistrate, the Colonial Chaplain and the Registrar General. That Sir J. Davis was to some extent a religious visionary, may be inferred from a dispatch (13 March, 1847) in which he commended his Scheme to the Colonial Office by saying that, 'If these Schools were eventually placed in charge of native Christian teachers, bred up by the Protestant Missionaries, it would afford the

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most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island.' *Sancta simplicitas!*

The social and general progress of the Colony during this period centered principally in the year 1845. The erection in 1844 of the Seamen's Hospital (30 September, 1844) and the formation of an Amateur Dramatic Corps (18 December, 1844) were succeeded by the following events of the fruitful year 1845, viz. the first issue of the *China Mail* newspaper (20 February), the completion of a carriage road round the Happy Valley (1 March), establishment of an Ice House Company (17 April), building of a Picnic House at Little Hongkong (26 April), establishment of a Medico-Chirurgical Society (13 May), organisation of Freemasonry and starting of Zetland Lodge (18 June and 8 December), commencement of a monthly line of mail steamers by the Peninsular Oriental Steam Navigation Company (1 August) and completion of a temporary Government House (1 November). The Hongkong Club, also planned in 1845, was opened on 26 May, 1846, in a stately building erected, opposite the new Court House, at a cost of £15,000 by G. Strachan with funds provided by shareholders who appointed a Board of Trustees as a Standing Committee of the Club. Resident members were to be admitted by ballot and required to pay an entrance fee ($30) and a monthly subscription ($4). A fund for the relief of sick and destitute foreigners was established by a public meeting (13 July, 1846) which passed the remarkable resolution that 'the term *foreigner* shall include natives of every country except China.' This public sanction of the local use of the word *foreigner* was dictated by common sense yielding to the force of a usage dating from the time when Englishmen were residing, as foreigners, in Canton and Macao. At a meeting of the above-mentioned Medical Society (5 January, 1847), it was proposed to establish a Philosophical Society for China, and this proposal resulted in the organisation (15 January, 1847) of a China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Hongkong, under the presidency of Sir J. Davis. A public subscription was started (24 May, 1847) for the relief of destitution in Ireland and Scotland and realised £1,000. The private organisation of the 'Victoria Library and Reading Rooms,' in 1848, laid the foundation of a future public library.

At the close of the year 1846 and throughout the early part of the following year dissensions were rife among the officers and civil employees of the garrison. Court-martials were frequent and differences arose even between the officers constituting the Court and Major-General D'Aguilar. Local society, centering still in the grandees of the mercantile community, took a lively interest in the matter adverse to the General, who, as he resented the criticisms of civilians, was at this time as much detested by the community as the Governor himself. But the animosities thus aroused speedily died away. Before the close of the year the breach was healed. The ceremony of presenting new colours to the 95th Regiment (17 February, 1848), on which occasion the General's successor, Major-General Staveley, took over the command of the garrison, was a sort of public festival of reconciliation in which the leading merchants took an active part by presenting to General D'Aguilar a laudatory address of farewell. Next week the community enthusiastically took the General to its bosom again, by a stately banquet given in his honour (24 February, 1848). The day before the great reconciliation scene, the leading merchants presented also a public address to the Senior Naval Officer, Captain MacQuhae, on his departure from the station. What gave a piquant zest to these demonstrations of popular affection for the departing commanding officers of the Army and Navy, was the underlying thought of the difference with which the Governor's impending departure was to be treated by the community.

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When the time came for Sir J. Davis to embark (30 March, 1848) on his homeward voyage, the community, with stolid apathy, watched from a distance the salutes fired, the faint cheer of a few devoted friends, the yards manned by the mail steamer. But there was no public address, no banquet, no popular farewell. The leading paper of the Colony gave voice to the feelings of the public by stating that Sir John 'was not only unpopular from his official acts but unfit for a Colonial Government by his personal demeanour and disposition,' and, with sarcastic allusion to the Governor's fondness for the Latin tongue, closed its valedictory oration with this caustic farewell, '*Exi, mi fili, et vide quam minima sapientia mundus hic regitur*'!

Conscious, no doubt, of having manfully and patiently done his duty, according to his lights, by his God and his country, and viewing the mercantile community as blinded by prejudice and passion, Sir J. Davis could well afford to smile at all this badinage. But he had suffered the mortification, nearly a year before his return to England, of seeing the whole of his administrative policy inquired into, held up to the public gaze, and solemnly condemned by higher authorities than the Hongkong merchants.

A Parliamentary Committee was appointed (in March, 1847) to inquire into British commercial relations with China. Mr. R. M. Martin, of course, came once more to the front. According to him, Sir J. Davis erred, first, in raising undue expectations of the future of Hongkong by assuring Her Majesty's Government, that Hongkong would be the Carthage of the East, that its population would equal that of ancient Rome, and that commercially Hongkong would ultimately supersede Canton. He further erred, according to Mr. Martin, in that he, having raised such expectations, endeavoured by measures forced upon the Colony to fulfil his predictions. 'The constant endeavour to realize those expectations led to a continued system of taxation, an unfortunate desire for legislation, and an unnecessarily expensive system of government. This produced irritation on the part of the merchants who, smarting under their losses, felt more irritable at every transaction; and thus there has been produced an unfortunate state of feeling between the community and the Governor.' Mr. Martin thought that Sir J. Davis would have exercised a sound discretion if he had represented to Her Majesty's Government that it was not possible to raise a revenue without diminishing the commerce or injuring the merchants in their endeavours to make the place more available for trade.

But a more serious and weighty condemnation of the policy maintained by Sir J. Davis, is contained in the evidence given before that Select Committee of the House of Commons and particularly in the final report of the Committee. Whilst Mr. Martin's criticisms, particularly as embodied in his famous report of 24 July, 1844, were too sweeping to carry conviction and have in part been contradicted by the events of history, the evidence given by Mr. A. Matheson, whilst freely exposing the evil results of Sir J. Davis' policy, bore the stamp of a mature and sober judgment, and contained, moreover, a prophecy which history has fulfilled. 'The whole of the British merchants,' said Mr. A. Matheson (4 May, 1847), 'would abandon Hongkong, were it not for the very large sums they had sunk in buildings in the early days of the Colony and which they were reluctant to abandon, though I believe doing so would have been the wisest course and will certainly be the course adopted unless under a change of policy the prosperity of the place revives . . . Let perpetual leases be granted at a moderate ground rent (say £20 or so for a sea frontage lot and £2 for a suburban lot) and let the revenue thus levied be applied exclusively to the maintenance of an efficient Police Force, leaving the other expenses to be borne by the nation, and I feel convinced that in the course of a few years Hongkong will take a new turn

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and become one of our most flourishing as well as valuable possessions.'

The final report of this Parliamentary Committee, though not mentioning Sir J. Davis, and aiming at reform rather than criticism, condemned his administrative policy *in toto*. 'In addition to natural and necessary disadvantages, Hongkong appears to have laboured under others, created by a system of monopolies and farms and petty regulations peculiarly unsuited to its position and prejudicial to its progress. These seem to have arisen partly from an attempt to struggle with the difficulties of establishing order and security in the midst of the vagabond and piratical population which frequent its waters and infest its coasts; and partly from a desire to raise a revenue in the Island in some degree adequate to the maintenance of its civil Government. To this latter object, however, we think it unwise to sacrifice the real interests of the settlement, which can only prosper under the greatest amount of freedom of intercourse and traffic which is consistent with the engagements of treaties and internal order: nor do we think it right that the burden of maintaining that which is rather a post for general influence and the protection of the general trade in the China Seas than a colony in the ordinary sense, should be thrown in any great degree on the merchants or other persons who may be resident upon it. To the revision of the whole system we would call the early attention of the Government, as well as to that of the Establishment of the Settlement which we cannot but think has been placed on a footing of needless expense.' The Committee finally pressed upon the Government the acceptance of the following positive recommendations, viz. (1) that regular post-office communication by steamboats be established from Hongkong to Canton and northern ports; (2) that the dependence of the Governor on both the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office be simplified; (3) that a short Code of Law be substituted for the present system of general references to the laws of England; (4) that draft ordinances and regulations be published for three or six months before being enacted; (5) that a share in the administration of the ordinary and local affairs of the Island be given, by some system of municipal government, to the British residents; and (6) that facilities be given in Hongkong for the acquisition of the Chinese language and encouragement to Schools for the Chinese.

No one ever discerned with greater clearness Hongkong's true path to higher destinies, than this Parliamentary Committee.

After his retirement from the Governorship of Hongkong, Sir John Davis was honoured by being appointed a Deputy-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire (in 1852), a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (14 June, 1854), and a Doctor of Civil Law of Oxford (21 June, 1876). He died on 13 November, 1890, in his ninety-sixth year, full of days and ripe for glory.

E. J. EITEL.

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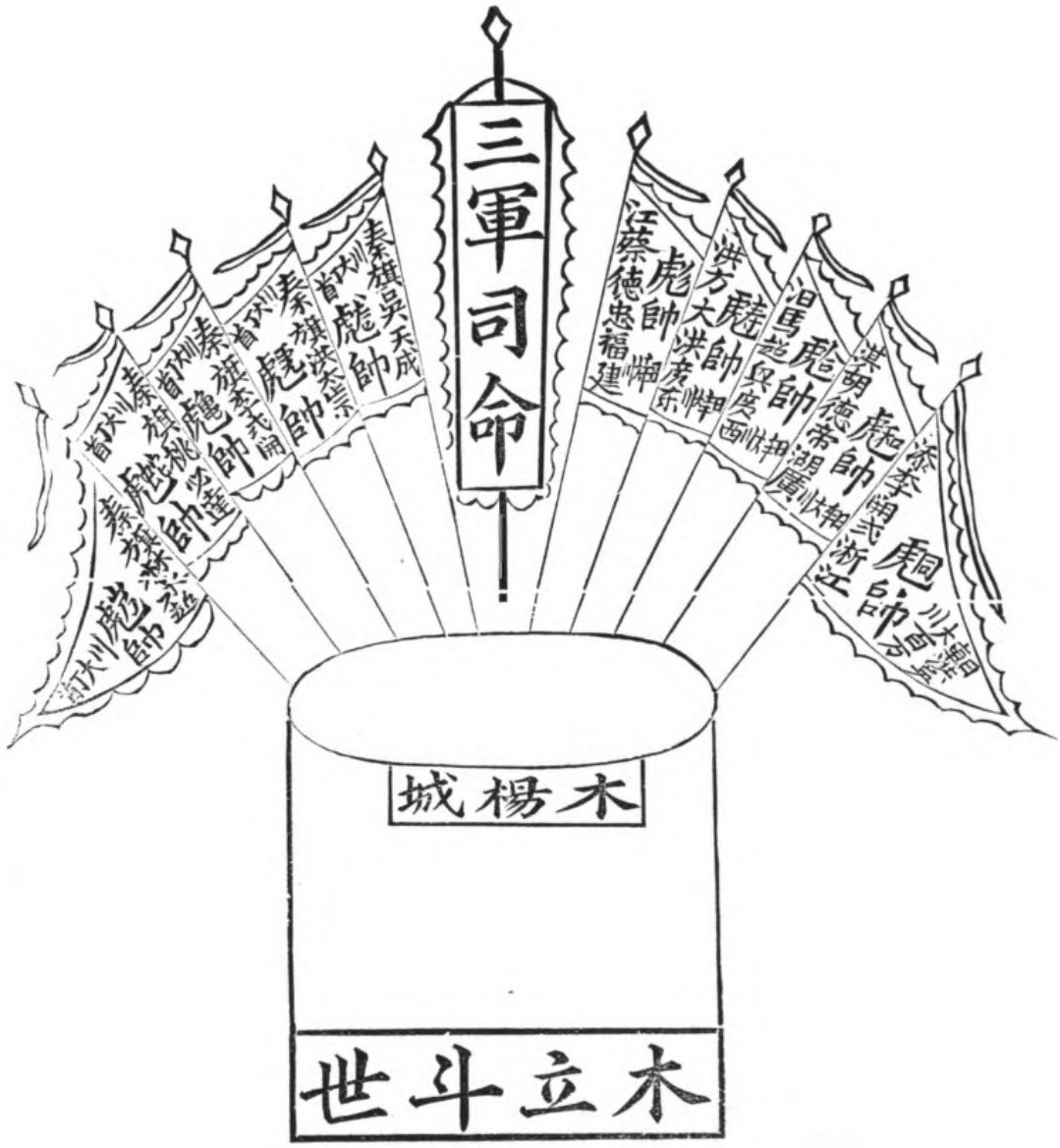

THE TRIAD SOCIETY, OR HEAVEN AND EARTH ASSOCIATION.

(*Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4, p. 230.*)

LODGE-ROOMS, OFFICERS AND INITIATORY CEREMONIES.

It appears that the society when first organized was composed of five sections under five grand lodges, apportioned to various provinces, and, although there is no grand lodge and no great unity amongst the other lodges now, yet the original idea is still shown in the arrangement of the five divisions, with distinguishing flags and

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devices. In carrying out this idea there is a particular coloured flag with its own peculiar characters appropriated to each division. Each of one kind of these flags is placed under the patronage of one of the Former Patriarchs, and each of another kind under that of one of the After Patriarchs whose names are inscribed on them. Besides these names there are certain sentences of five characters which are usually written with superfluous characters, one of which goes to one section and another to another section.

The first division, called the one nine *ti*, or steps, includes Fokien and Kansu. It is under a black flag with the characters 江 *chiang* and 彪 *piao*, ornamental, and the name of the Former Patriarch Tsai Teh-chung or the After Patriarch Wu Tien-cheng, and the sentences 青蓮堂 *tsing lien tang*, Green Lotus Hall, and 鳳凰㠯 *feng wang chün*, Phœnices Association, are assigned to it. The seal of this division is rhombic shaped.

The second division, called the twelve *ti*, is allotted to Kwangtung and Kwangsi. It is under a red flag with the characters 洪 *hung* and 壽 *shou*, longevity, and the name of the Former Patriarch Fang Ta-hung or the After Patriarch Hung Tai-shi, and the sentences 洪順堂 *hung shun tang*, Hung Obedience Hall, and, 金蘭㠯 *chin lan chün*, Sworn Brothers Association, are assigned to it. The seal is triangular shaped.

The third division, called the nine *ti*, is allotted to Yünnan and Szechuan. It is under a crimson flag with the characters 洩 *lei* and 龢 *ho*, united, and the name of the Former Patriarch Ma Chin-hsing or the After Patriarch Tao Pa-ta and the sentences 家后堂 *chia hou tang*, Household Princes Hall, and 連章㠯 *lien chang chün*, Lotus Glory Association, are assigned to it. The seal is square shaped.

The fourth division, called the two nines *ti*, is allotted to Kiangnan and Hukwang. It is under a white flag with the characters 淇 *ch'i* and 龢 *ho*, harmony, and the name of the Former Patriarch Hu Te-ti or the After Patriarch Li Shih-ti, and the sentences 參太堂 *tsán tai tang*, Triad Great Hall and 錦廂㠯 *chin siang chün*, Embroidered Gallery Association, are assigned to it. The seal is in the shape of a parallelogram.

The fifth division, called the four sevens *ti*, is allotted to Chekiang, Kiangsi and Honan. It is under a green flag with the characters 泰 *t'ai* and 龍 *tung* together, and the name of the Former Patriarch Li Shi-kai or the After Patriarch Lin Yung-chao, and the sentences 宏化堂 *wang-fa tang*, Vast Changes Hall, and 得興㠯 *te hsing chün*, Obtain Prosperity Association, are assigned to it. The seal is round.

The characters 龘 龖 龜 龗 龕 dragon, tiger, tortoise, serpent and assemble; 鬳 鬣 鬮 鬲 鬻 duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron; 鬱 鬯 鬷 鬻 鬽 the female principle in nature, the male principle in nature, unity, transformation and completeness; 鬞 鬟 鬆 鬠 鬡 spring, summer, autumn, and winter seasons; and 鬣 鬽 鬾 鬾 鬾 metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, written, as here, with superfluous characters, are also assigned to the five divisions and used according to their number in their respective series.

The nearest approach to a grand lodge in modern times was, probably, that of the Kwang, Huei Shao I Hsing Ta Kung Ssu(1) in Singapore, before the split that occurred in it shortly after the death of the Great Brother, or Grandmaster Ho Im, about thirty years ago. Before his death Cantonese, Fokienese and Chaochiu men held meetings in the same lodge room, on different nights, and all looked to him as their chief. After his death discord broke out amongst the members and splits occurred. This led to great bitterness of feeling and fights between the various sections of the society.

(1) 廣惠肇義興大公司.

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At the present time, it appears by the certificates of membership and seals, that the Kwangtung-Kwangsi is the principal division; but in their lodges they use the flags and devices of the other sections and burn incense to their respective patriarchs, as well as to their own.

If constructed and furnished in accordance with the provisions of the ritual, a Triad Society lodge would have an elaborate appearance. The principal room, where the initiations and other secret work is carried on, is called the Red Flower Pavilion, in allusion to the pavilion of Ch'en Chin-nan, in which the society was instituted and its first meetings held. In this room there should be a *Chung I*, or Loyal Patriot Hall, for the shrine of the loyal patriot Kwan-ti, the God of War; and there should be shrines to Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy; Fuh-teh, the God of the Ground of Ch'utan, or the priests' dwelling; the past members of the Hung family; Ch'en Chin-nan; Duke Tah-tsung, also known as Wan Yün-lung; The Former Five Patriarchs; the After Five Patriarchs; Cheng Kùn-tah; Cheng Yü-tan; Kuo Siu-ying, the Remote Ancestors Chü Hung-ying and Lady Chu of the Chin family; the Less Remote Ancestors Hung-Chi-sheng and the Lady Hung of the Pi family; the massacred monks; and several others who took an active part in establishing the society. There should also be a Kaochi temple, an I Hoh fruit-stall with various kinds of fruit on it, a miniature nine-storied pagoda, a tripod incense vessel with the characters *fan tsing fuh ming*, subvert Tsing restore Ming, engraved on it, a red lantern, an official umbrella, a large seven-stars broadsword, a red club, three feet six inches long with a dragon carried or painted on one end and a phœnix on the other, and a wooden *toú*(2) or peck of rice, called Muyang city, in which are inserted a number of flags representing the five sections of the society, and the flag of the commander-in-chief, as seen in drawing No. 1. On a table in front of the peck are placed, arranged in order from the right a dwarfed cedar tree, a candle, a seven-star or other sword to signify that the Mongols are to fall beneath it and the Mings to be reinstated; an abacus, for reckoning the time appointed for the destruction of the Tsings and the enthronement of a true Ming ruler; a white fan, for signalling to call the Hung heroes together; a red lamp, to give light with which to distinguish the false and true; a foot rule, for members to square their conduct by, and also for measuring the heavens to find a place where heaven and earth will join to form a complete and successful union; a scale, the sign of justice and open dealing, to weigh Ming against Tsing and the loyal against traitors with; a mirror, symbolical of one handed down by Nü Wo, after she repaired the heavens, to show who are virtuous and who are vicious; it was as pure as crystal or jade and possessed the magic power of destroying armies of traitors; a pair of scissors, for ripping open the dark clouds that obscure the Ming sky; a sword; a dwarfed pine tree which with the cedar tree is used like the peach and plums by the heroes Kwan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chung Fei of old, for swearing brotherhood beneath; and members of the same lodge speak of themselves as of the same pine and cedar grove. Besides the articles already mentioned there are sometimes a rosary, a wooden fish, a surplice, and a pair of grass sandals placed on the table. Immediately

(2) The idea of using the peck in initiations is said to have had its origin in the fact that one was presented by Li Shi-min, who afterwards reigned as the Tang Emperor Tai Tsung, to the Shaolin monastery, for the worship of Ursa Major and other religious rites not strictly belonging to Buddhism. At the present day there are pecks containing rice in which flags are inserted and in which a mirror, a footrule, a scale, a pair of scissors, and a seven-branched lamp are placed, and much resembling the Muyang city of Triad Lodges, used in various Taoist religious ceremonies, and in ceremonies of a semi-religious kind, such as adopting children in families.

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inside the door there should be an arch formed of interlocked swords, and beneath the arch a bridge formed of an iron and a copper plank, symbolical of the bridge lowered from the clouds over which the five monks escaped from Shaolin. Sometimes this bridge spans a fiery ditch; but sometimes this ditch is in another part of the lodge-room and is crossed by jumping over it.

Before reaching the Red Flower Pavilion, there should be an ante-room and two other rooms, with inscriptions above each entrance, and during initiations or the transaction of business there should be two guards, with drawn swords, on guard at each door. But, on account of the society being illegal in most places and there being always a desire to keep the work secret, these shrines, except the one to Kwanti, appear only at initiations, and then only on paper. The Triad lodges in Hongkong on ordinary occasions resemble ordinary rooms in which men meet for recreation, and are as innocent looking as those in which, under the guise of literary societies, the Clan-na Gael met to plan murder, a few years ago, in the United States. These rooms are generally on the top floors of houses, and usually have cocklofts with openings in the roof above. When an initiation is about to be held, the proper tablets on which the names of those referred to above as sacrificed to are written, the small paper flags of the club and all the other paraphernalia are surreptitiously introduced into the lodge. The arch of swords, the bridge, and the fiery ditch, like similar objects on the Chinese stage, are represented by very simple contrivances. Thus the arch is occasionally formed of wooden toy swords and only a few of these.

The largest initiations in the colony of Hongkong take place late at night, in temporarily filled-up lodges, on large stages in the quarries near Shaukiwan and in British Kowloon. Some of these stages are more than fifty feet square, and for Triad purposes they are divided into three parts to represent the outer, centre, and inner walls of a city. At initiations there are two men posted to hold a large circle or hoop of bent bamboos at the entrance to each division. These, besides supporting the hoops, are each armed with a sword and act as guards. All entering these lodges have to pass through the hoops and thus to *yap hün*, enter the circle, has become a slang term for joining the society. The inner circle is filled up with shrines and all the other necessary paraphernalia, and there are sometimes more than fifty persons initiated at one time in these lodges.

Many persons, especially women, are initiated without ever going to a lodge. When such initiations take place, one or more of the principal officers of a lodge go to a private house, and, after explaining the object of the society to the candidates, read over the oaths to them and swear them in as members. They afterwards call on the novices a few times to give them instruction in the signs and secret words of recognition.

The chief officer of a lodge is the Ta Tsung Li, Great Superintendent, who is also called the Cheng Shuai, Commander-in-chief, and most commonly the Ta Ko, Great Elder Brother. The next officer is the Hsiung Chu or Lu Chu, Incense Master, who is commonly called the Erh Ko, or Second Elder Brother. In some Cantonese lodges, candidates during initiation have to crawl between the legs of this officer as a typical representation of being born into the Hung family; in such lodges the Second Brother is styled the *Ama*, mother. The other officers are the Pai Shan, White Fan, also called the Hsien Sheng instructor, and the Shan Ko, Third Elder Brother; the Hsien Feng, Vanguard or Champion, who is sometimes styled the Feng Chün, General of the Van; the Hung Kun, Red Club, who inflicts whatever punishment is imposed on members; the five generals; the eight Pa Shous, Guards, and the Ts'ao Hsiehs, Grass Sandals, also called Tieh Pans, Iron Soles, who are the lowest in rank, and of whom there are several to act as messengers and attendants

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in a lodge. During initiations, and at other times when a lodge is in session, the Great Elder Brother is deemed the representative of Wan Yün-lung, the first Great Brother, and assumes his name. In the same manner the Incense Master represents Chen Chin-nan, the Vanguard Tien Yü Hung, the Guards of the first door Wan Tao-lung and Wan Tao-fung, the Guards of the second door Cheng Chi and Cheng Ting, and the Guards of the third door Wu Han-i and Wu Chin-lei. The Guards of the bridge assume the symbolical names of Chieh and Wan, meaning 'combine in myriads,' which is a secret phrase or password of the society. Sometimes, on documents, all these, by virtue of their offices, are described as Presidents of one or other of the Six Boards, Senior or Junior Guardians of the Ming Heir Apparent, and so on, just as if the Mings were actually ruling the country. A similar fiction of a reigning Ming Emperor is also kept up by dating documents in such and such a year of the reign of Tien Yün or Hung Yün or some other Ming emperor instead of in the reign of a Tsing emperor.

An initiation is called *tso hsi*, performing a play, or *fang ma*, loosing the horses; and when one is about to take place, members are invited to *kan hsi*, see the play. As a rule initiations take place at night and last several hours, and usually several persons, sometimes over fifty, are initiated together. Old members are called *hsiang*, incense, and candidates *hsin ting*, recruits. There seem to be very few, if any, persons ineligible for membership. According to one of the Triad poems, entitled Binding the Righteous Brethren, the rich, the honourable, the lowest vagrants, soldiers, officers of state, lawyers, scholars, thieves, mendicants, merchants, traders, travellers, sailors, farmers, and all others who are loyal and patriotic, are invited to join the Hung brethren in bringing back the Mings. Still each candidate has to be proposed by an officer, who guarantees that he is a fit person to become a member and the payment of his entrance fee. This officer is styled the *chin-fu*, maternal uncle of the person he proposes, and he has to instruct the candidate for whom he stands sponsor before-hand, how to act and what to say at various parts of the initiation.

The officers and members of a lodge, with their hair arranged in the Ming style and wearing red turbans, and when practicable some of them wearing Ming official robes, assemble on the night of an initiation, before it begins, and perform the ceremony of lifting the *toú* or peck. The peck containing rice is placed on a table below the principal shrine, which contains the memorial tablets of the past Triad worthies, and then the paper flags are stuck in it. While doing this the officers recite an appropriate verse. They afterwards place the club and other symbolic articles in their proper places on the table and recite a stanza referring to each as it is lifted. The Triad members seem to do but little without verse. Probably the reason for this is that the rhymes assist them in remembering what would be dangerous, and what in some places might even cost them their lives, to commit to writing. Anyhow there is at least one stanza on each article used and on each ceremonial act performed in the lodge. Thus when the incense vessel is lifted, a verse is recited, and then a bunch of three incense-sticks is inserted to each of the Five Patriarchs, while the following verses are repeated:—

Let this first incense rise to heaven's height,
  While we swear opposition to the Tsings,
We will the wrong of Shaolin's fire requite,
  The Mongols slaughter and restore the Mings.

This second incense from our censer rises;
  In this pavilion we to heaven swear
Fidelity in all our enterprises,
  And enmity with Mongols everywhere.

Let our third incense all Muyang pervade,
  And brothers still our patriot force increase;
We have to Heaven and Earth, our parents, prayed,
  That our Hung family may enjoy great peace.

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Let our fourth incense reach stars, moon,
and sun;
'Tis thus we pray before this altar now,
Spread wide the patriot work we have begun,
Make short the days of him who breaks
his vow.

In the loyal Patriots' Hall this incense burn,
Help our Ming Emperor, thou loyal one,
And let prosperity to us return,
As we the oaths consume there in Tsz-yun.

On some of the objects there are long poems; in one instance it consists of one hundred and eight stanzas. As there is a tiresome sameness about these verses, only translations of those that occur in the initiatory ceremony or that are used in answer to test questions or signs, and two or three specimens of the others will be given here.

After the various articles are put in their proper places, the Great Elder Brother takes a seat in front of the shrine, the Incense Master one on the left and the Instructor one on the right, the Grass Sandals stand or sit near and the ordinary members farther off; the Guards, each armed with a real or imitation sword, and sometimes wearing official dresses, take their stand at their respective doors, and the Vanguard waits in an outer room to conduct the candidates for initiation.

As already remarked, the candidates are instructed, before the ceremony begins, as to what answers to give to certain questions to be put to them. No candidate is allowed to wear silken clothing during the ceremony, but members may. On the night of initiation the candidates' queues are partly unplaited and their shoes taken off in the outer room or first circle, the entrance to which is so low that they have to bend their bodies to creep in. There the Guards ask them one by one as they are about to enter, why they come, and they reply to enlist in the army and become brothers of the Hung family. The Guards ask how they know soldiers are required, and they reply they have seen a proclamation calling on men to enlist. In answer to the question 'who asked you to come?' they reply they come of their own accord. The sponsorial uncle then leads them into the next room or second circle, where the Guards ask them whence they come, and they reply from the east, and, asked who their sponsorial uncle is, they give his name. The Guards then tell them they will have hardships to endure and difficulties to encounter in the brotherhood; that they will have food consisting of three parts rice and seven parts sand to eat. They reply, 'what so many patriotic brothers eat we can eat, *Yu sha, Keng sha, Wu sha, Keng liang*, if there is sand we will farm sand, if no sand we will farm waves;' which is Triad cant for 'if there be rice we will eat rice, but if there be no rice we will eat congee.' They then pass on to the next room or third circle, where a Guard asks them which is the harder the sword or their necks, and they reply their necks. The meaning of this is that they will rather sacrifice their heads than divulge the secrets of the society. Their jackets are then unbuttoned, their right arms and shoulders bared, and three, or six lighted incense sticks put in the hands of each candidate. The Vanguard then advances towards them and addresses them thus:—

The family Hung now meet again,
Their obligations to maintain
With incense hand to hand extend
And to the Patriots' Hall ascend.
Look yonder, where in rows do stand
Our Guards and Generals, to command!
When asked you must your name reveal;
Your horoscope you must n't conceal;
When to the Red Pavilion brought,
Give all the information sought.
The Three Rivers will your nature change,
Henceforth you will with patriots range;
All forms complied with, turn and see
Where edge with edge the swords agree.
Beneath the bridge deep waters roll;
Bring three stones to the flood control,
In the I Ho buy fruit to eat,
Red peaches, all as honey sweet,
Next quickly to Yang city hie
And to avenge our princes try.
Our flags we swear to consecrate
With blood of traitors whom we hate.
Give melon(3) seeds as you can spare,

(3) Cant for money. The Vanguard enters and stands at the two planked bridges

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And ne'er forget the oaths you swear;
Your fingers prick and drink the blood,
And join with us in brotherhood.
Incense the new to old endears
In brotherhood, ten thousand years
Our Patriarchs are five, and each
Has officers his will to teach.
Stroll through Yang city, see the sights,
Hear music that the heart delights;
Meet our true prince with banners gay
And shining pearls, a grand display.
Let troops the empire pacify
And civil powers their laws apply.
When heroic Hungs are grand and great,
The Mings again will rule our State.

The Vanguard then conducts the candidates, walking on their knees, to the inner door, which is, like the others, guarded, and the following dialogue takes place.

Vanguard.—Guards, inform the Incense Master that Tien Yu Hung of Kao-chi conducts several thousands of recruits with provisions to join our army and pledge brotherhood with us in the peach garden. They desire to take Hung for their surname. May it please the Incense Master to pray in front of the Five Patriarchs' shrine that they may look down on us and approve of our conduct.

Guard.—The Five Patriarchs command Tien Yu Hung to advance.

Vanguard.—I humbly obey their command.

Incense Master.—Who are you?

Vanguard.—I am Tien Yu Hung of Kaochi.

I. M. Nonsense! There is no person surnamed Tien. Where were you born?

N. I was once a eunuch in the palace of His Majesty Tsing Cheng, and because of my loyalty and patriotism I am allowed back in life to search for heroes to avenge injuries; to restore the Mings to their country and to avenge the burning of the Shaolin-monastery. I worship Heaven as father, Earth as mother, the Sun as brother, and the Moon as sister-in-law. Heaven gave birth to sun 日 and moon (明 Ming) to rule by Hung (Hung Wu?), therefore I call myself Tien Yu Hung. Heaven protect Hung.

I. M. What is the proof(4)?

N. A verse.

I'm Tien Yu Hung Kaochi's delight;
I bring recruits our ranks to swell
And brotherhood to swear, to-night
Throughout the empire Hungs do dwell.

I. M. What are the surnames of Heaven, Earth, Sun and Moon?

N. Of Heaven Hsing, prosperity; of Earth Wang, Success; of the Sun Sun; and of the Moon Tang.

Hsing for Heaven a palace reared;
Wang for Earth the empire cheered;
Sun Pan handled by the Sun;
And the Moon on Monk Tang shone.

I. M. How many roads have you passed?

N. I have travelled ten thousand li.

Ten thousand li across Yüshan,
The sun my way showed past Lan Kwan,
I've read all books on strategy,
I'll enter and the master see.

I. M. How many men came with you?

N. Three.

I. M. Why did you arrive alone?

N. Brother Chieh went before, brother Wan came after, and I walked between.

I grasped a one-legged club full stout;
On Yang-kwan road I felt no doubt;
When brothers asked me whence I came,
I brothers Chieh and Wan did name.

I. M. From what direction did you come?

N. The east.

The sun and moon o'er Mount Wai rise,
So to the east we lift our eyes.
The Fusang cocks the morn proclaim,
And spit bright pearls of world-wide fame.

below the arch of swords; the candidates follow and kneel each with the incense sticks clasped in both hands in front. During the ensuing dialogue the Grass Sandals keep the candidates supplied with incense-sticks as they burn out.

(4) Throughout the remaining part of this ceremony the constantly recurring 'what is the proof? It is a verse,' will be omitted.

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I. M. When did you come?

N. When the sun was red, and the sun and moon shone on the Eastern Sea.

From sun and moon much brightness springs,
An army of brave Hungs do cry,
Restore the Mings! destroy the Tsings!
And patriots we will dignify.

I. M. Did you come by the great road or the small?

N. By the great and central.

On reaching where three roads combined,
I took the middle, heroes to find;
By bonds and oaths to spread the Hung name,
And to restore the Mings, is my aim.

I. M. Since you are the Hung vanguard, tell me what are your books of authority?

N. I have books on civil and on military affairs.

I. M. Whose do you follow in civil and whose practice in military matters?

N. In civil affairs I follow Confucius and in military Yang Yu-chi.

I. M. Where did you study?

N. In the Red Flower Pavilion.

By study in the Red Pavilion,
Knowledge of state affairs I gained;
Filial in poverty I was,
And loyal when rebellion reigned.

I. M. What books did you read and what the theme?

N. The 'Ten thousand thousand pages' the book, and 'The waters of the deluge crosswise flow' the theme.

'The book of myriad pages' Hung's sons read,
And books on war and tactics understood,
'The deluge crosswise flows,' the words that lead—
May our true prince soon reign o'er his own land.

I. M. Where did you practise military art?

N. At Shaolin.

I. M. What do you consider first?

N. The Hung family.

In warfare at Shaolin I drilled,
In military arts I'm skilled;
If we can but the Mings restore,
Hung heroes will to honors soar.

I. M. How many bays did you pass on the road?

N. The hills were high, therefore I saw no bays.

I. M. How many shoals did you pass?

N. The water was deep, therefore I saw no rapids.

I came from beyond the horizon,
And passed by ten thousand high mountains;
The loyal no bays cast their eyes on,
And patriots see no shoal fountains.

I. M. What is a proof of loyalty and patriotism?

N. A loyal minister will not retire,
Nor will he when his heart's with Mings serve Tsings;
All patriots to assist their lord conspire,
And by brave deeds they will restore the Mings.

I. M. Did you come by passage boat?

N. Yes; by a ferry boat.

I. M. Whose?

N. The Hung brothers.

I. M. What passengers came?

N. Twenty-one.

Hung brothers led me to the boat,
Twenty-one men made up the throng,
The Buddhas guarded us afloat,
And fair winds wafted us along.

I. M. Did you see what persons and things were on the water?

N. I saw eight abbots(5), each holding a precious article, floating on the water.

Chungli with magic fan herself conveyed,
Ten thousand li shone Kwai-li's burning gourd;
Chang Kwo o'er ancient roads his journey made;
Tung Pin suspended in mid-air his sword;

(5) Those referred to are the Eight Immortals so celebrated in Chinese story, namely, Chung-li Kuan, Li Tieh-kwai, Chang Kuo, Lü Tungpin, Lan Tsaiho, Han Siangtsze and Tsao Kuo-kin.

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Tsai Ho her basket carried in her hand;
Siang Tsze upon his jade flute music played,
The sound of Kuo Kin's castanets was grand;
Sien Ku bestrode a floating bridge of jade.

I. M. What did you see when you got ashore?

N. The white storks returning to their nests and the Hung heroes assembling.

I. M. Where was this?

N. In the Restore Ming market.

I. M. What is sold there?

N. Five kinds of fruit, five-coloured cloth, five-coloured threads and everything else.

I. M. What else is there?

N. A Ling Wang temple.

I. M. For what is that used?

N. As a place for the assembling of Hung heroes.

I. M. What deity is installed there?

N. There is a Loyal Patriot's (Kwan-ti's) hall.

I. M. What is that place used for?

N. As a half-way meeting place for Hung heroes.

The Ling Wang temple's mulberry flowers are fair,
So myriads come our family name to bear;
Another day, when we our Hung chief meet,
We will all come and pluck the mulberries sweet.

I. M. Did you see a small boy as you passed the Restore Ming market?

N. He is not a small boy, he is a son of Hung.

I. M. What took place with him?

N. I brought fruit for him and he walked away to the Folin mountains.

I. M. Do you know what he does?

N. He guards the Folin mountains.

I. M. He eats people; how could you pass?

N. There was a priest near.

The Hung lad was born on Mount Lien;
What's to fear in his merciful mien?
He is hid in the temple alone,
But one day he'll recover his throne.

I. M. Did you see a girl on the road?

N. Not a girl, but a princess.

The rotten wood in spring will sprout;
The Eight Immortals cross the sea;
On horseback comes our princess out,
Let home midst pines and cedars be.

I. M. What is the proof of pine and cedar grove?

N. 'A hopeful heart fears not nor frost nor snow'
Is an old saying trite and true you know;
To meet our prince we wait beside our door,
And hope to Tsing subvert and Ming restore.

I. M. How was the girl dressed?

N. She wore a white robe, a *wan* character head wrapper, and iron-soled grass sandals. In her left hand she carried a flower basket, in her right she held a sceptre, and on her back were precious pearls. She rode a white horse, and always went or came, but never stood still.

I. M. How many pearls were on her back?

N. One hundred and eight.

I. M. There was a tiger on the road; how did you pass him?

N. I had already asked the god of the land, who, seeing I had the words Loyalty and Patriotism, allowed me to pass throughout the empire.

Tigers come if the gods approve.
To raise up Chu five patriots strove;
All beasts and reptiles take to flight,
When truth and righteousness unite.

I. M. Did you pass a bridge?

N. I did.

I. M. What kind?

N. A two-planked one.

I. M. It used to be a three-planked bridge; why do you say it has only two?

N. Because at the termination of the Ming rule the Tsings broke one plank, and it has not yet been repaired. It is therefore of two planks.

I. M. Of what kind of wood is it?

N. It is not of wood. The left plank is of brass and the right of iron.

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I. M. By whom was it made?

N. By Chu Kai and Chu Fung.

A two-planked bridge for troops to pass,
The right of iron, the left of brass—
Made for the Hungs, by the Chu clan,
Who hasn't crossed is an outside man.

I. M. What was the origin of the two-planked bridge?

N. When Shaolin monastery was burnt, and our Five Patriarchs were injured by traitors, Tah-tsun-ye-ye transformed yellow and black clouds into brass and iron planks.

Yellow and black clouds formed the bridges' floor,
And five escaped ere it dissolved away:
At th' incense pot these five together swore
In the Ming cause to all their power display.

I. M. Do you know that Shaolin monastery was burnt?

N. I do.

A myriad Hungs with hearts all true,
Their patriot flag together raise;
When comes the day for vengeance due,
The clouds that formed the bridge we'll praise.

I. M. How high is this bridge?

N. Three chang six feet. Below are the characters subvert Tsing, restore Ming.

I. M. What is there at the head of the bridge?

N. A temple to the god of the land.

I. M. Who is that god?

N. Kelan, the white-robed deity.

I. M. Is there a pair of scrolls?

N. Yes.

'The wind sweeps all dust away from the happy (fuh) ground;
No trouble or annoyance comes into the virtuous (teh) house.'

There was once an old man on the southern hill,
At the head of a bridge he bold heroes sought.
Heroes come to buy fruit at Fuh-teh's shrine still;
Turn around and a glimpse of the old man is caught.

I. M. What else is there?

N. On one side an I Hoh shop.

I. M. Is there a pair of scrolls?

N. There is.

'Those who contend with Tsing to gain the State are Hung;
Heaven will not allow secrets to be divulged.'

I. M. What is there for sale in the I Hoh shop?

N. Fruit.

I. M. Which fruit is considered chief?

N. Wan-shou, then peaches, plums, dates and cherries.

The wan-shou fruit is deeply red;
The peaches' heart is redder still;
Before the gods we these do spread,
With dates and plums their shrines we fill.

I. M. Whose was the capital of the I Hoh shop?

N. Wu Ch'eng Kuei's.

Ch'eng Kuei's heart was staunch as iron or stone;
With his son he fled to the road alone;
His good fruit was not for profit sold,
What he sought to gain were heroes bold.

I. M. Who sells the fruit?

N. Hsieh Pangheng.

Pangheng near the temple sold ripe fruit,
That he might true-hearted men recruit;
Twenty-one cash he charged for each pile;
Eat peaches and win our prince's smile.

I. M. What is the price of fruit?

N. Twenty-one cash.

On the bridge, with twenty-one cash in his hand,
To seek heroes loyal and brave, he did stand;
When the loyal ate, they became robust,
But when traitors, all their bones turned to dust.

I. M. Who was this fruit handed down by?

N. The Five Patriarchs.

The five coloured fruits that in Muyang we meet,
Our founders did plant for their followers to eat;
The loyal man eats and a brother becomes;
But the traitor who eats to death soon succumbs.

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I. M. How many peaches and how many plums are there?

N. Thirty-six peaches and seventy-two plums.

There thirty-six peaches we always find,
And seventy-two plums of the rarest kind;
Should any one ask the total score,
Say a hundred and eight can empire restore.

I. M. Did you see what there was in the centre of the bridge?

N. Yes, a Kwan-ti temple.

I. M. Was there a pair of scrolls!

N. Yes.

Even the Yellow River has its pure days;
Why not the sons of Hung their good time?

Patriotic and brave was Yün Chang(6) of yore,
Brothers join and his loyalty imitate;
Bring incense and Buddha praise and adore;
And patiently for a Ming emperor wait.

I. M. What is at the end of the bridge?

N. A Kuan Yin temple.

I. M. Is there a pair of scrolls?

N. Yes.

A shaking trembling traceless shadow;
All's complete; observe the sun is red.

From paradise came the goddess most compassionate;
Rise Hungs and the barbarian Tsings annihilate;
Kill all those who beneath the Manchu banners fight,
And help the Chu house to regain its ancient right.

I. M. Did you see how many rails the bridge had?

N. One hundred and eight.

I. M. Did you come over or under the bridge?

N. Brothers Chieh and Wan were on guard on the bridge; I came under it.

I. M. How did you pass such deep water?

N. The tide ebbs and flows, to-day the weather was fairly fine and the water was neither deep nor shallow, but flowed in the shape of an eight, 八. So I took three pieces of red marble to walk on and in twenty-one steps crossed at the foot of the character eight(7).

Eight myriad good brothers crossed over there,
Of twenty-one cash I took the first share.
At the three-planked bridge a long cash was strung;
Unite these and see the character Hung.

I. M. How was it that amongst so many Hung brethren you were first?

N. The Five Patriarchs allowed me to go on horseback or as I wished, so who could hinder me from passing the bridge first?

I. M. Do you know how many long cash there are at the end of the bridge.

N. Take five coloured paper and long cash cut,
Let the Hung oaths tower towards the sun.
If the number of cash be sought, say they're but
Three myriad eight thousand and twenty-one(8).

I. M. Did you come by road or bridge?

N. One can come either way.

I. M. Perhaps you came by passage boat?

N. One may also come that way.

I. M. How far did you come before taking passage boat?

N. About five po three lis.

I. M. What passage boat wharf did you start from?

N. That of the river Wu-lung at Chang-sha-wan entrance, where the white clouds join the horizon over the Fusangland.

From Wu-lung's scenes a charm sublime there springs,
From many a flower that blooms and bird that sings;
There mountain streams like dragons, murmur low,
Or else like tigers, loudly roaring flow.

(6) Yünchung one of the names of Kwan-ti.

(7) In this way they show the character 洪 Hung; thus 氵 three pieces 工 twenty-one steps 八 eight.

(8) The character 洪.

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I. M. Who owns the passage boat?

N. The Hung brethren.

I. M. Who collects the money? (打單)
Ta tan (thieves' slang for, to levy black mail).

N. The brothers Chieh and Wan.

I. M. Who are concealed in the hold?

N. Hung brethren.

I. M. Of what wood is the hold made?

N. Of peach wood on the left and plum-wood on the right.

I. M. Who is in the bows?

N. The old male pilot.

I. M. What is his name? What countryman is he? When was he born?

N. Named Tsiang Teh-t'ai, a native of Ta-chung in Fokien, and he was born on the fifteenth day of the first month.

I. M. Who was in the stern?

N. The old female pilot. Her name is Tao Lin-ching, she is a native of Hai-tang in the Hueichou prefecture, and she was born on the fifteenth day of the eighth month.

I. M. What is considered greatest in the boat?

N. The red flag.

Our red flag images the setting sun;
To sweep the dust our heroes have begun,
The four great worthies come to guard the throne,
While dragons help our chief to win his own.

I. M. What is considered most precious on the boat?

N. Bright pearls(9).

Bright pearls were high on the red mast displayed;
Five-coloured flags the setting sun portrayed;
A fair tide ran, and gentle breezes blew
The boat, as on towards Kaochi it drew.

I. M. How many holds has the boat?

N. Three.

I. M. What is in the fore-hold?

N. Red rice and sweet sugar cane. One to stay hunger and the other to quench thirst.

I. M. What is in the second hold?

N. Five kinds of fruit.

I. M. What is in the third hold?

N. Five shades of red thread and ten thousand other things.

I. M. What is in the cabin?

N. Military books and the precious sword.

I. M. How many awnings are there?

N. Five.

I. M. How many ropes?

N. Thirty-six.

I. M. How many masts?

N. Three.

I. M. How many oars?

N. Twenty-one.

I. M. Why are there twenty-one?

N. There is one for brother Chieh, one for brother Wan, one for brother Hung and one each for the Eighteen Disciples of Buddha.

I. M. How many sails are there?

N. I saw one sail.

I. M. How wide was it?

N. It was pointed all around and three chang six feet wide.

I. M. Who were the trackers?

N. The four Great Protectors of Buddhism. (The four gods who guard the second door in Buddhist temples).

I. M. What gods were on board?

N. The Holy Kwanti, the Prince Kwan Ping, General Chou Ts'ang, the Lady Queen of Heaven, and the Wave-subduing General.

I. M. To where did the boat go?

N. To the junction of the three rivers.

I. M. The water is deep and rapid, how did you pass?

N. The Buddhas assisted.

For leagues and leagues the families were few,
And the white clouds hung low above Changsha;
We sailed until three rivers came in view,
Fair wind accompanied us to Chunghua.

(9) *Chu* pearls, has the same sound as *Chu* the surname of the Ming rulers, and Bright pearls has the same sound as Ming Chu and is used in the double sense.

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I. M. Where did you anchor?

N. At the mart of Universal Peace.

For Universal Peace we steered;
The compass pointing south ne'er lied;
Our cargo in I Ho appeared,
And hence Hung families supplied.

I. M. What is written above the eastern gate of the city?

N. Sun and Moon shine on Hungs.

I. M. Who guards that gate?

N. Han Ming.

Han Ming is the guard of the eastern gate;
Join braves and the Tsings we'll exterminate;
The Five Patriarchs will avenge our wrong
And help to root out the barbarian throng.

I. M. What is written above the western gate?

N. Distinguish the two passages.

I. M. Who is the guard?

N. Han Fuh.

Han Fuh is the guard of the western gate;
Slay the slavish troops of Tsing, whom we hate.
The empire was lost through injustice and crime;
But 'twill be restored at the destined time.

I. M. What is written above the southern gate?

N. The bubbling spring of Pingchou.

I. M. Who is the guard?

N. Cheng Tien.

Cheng Tien is the guard of the southern gate.
Be valiant and riches accumulate;
Eternally lasts a patriot's name;
Brothers follow the four of eminent fame.

I. M. What is written above the northern gate?

N. Illustrious in after years.

I. M. Who is the guard?

N. Li Chang-kuo.

Chang-kuo is the guard of the northern gate,
His family are safe and he trusts to fate;
Though folks live to a hundred, they worry and grieve;
Henceforth help our prince to the empire relieve.

I. M. What is there in the Mart of Universal Peace?

N. A Muyang city.

I. M. Who built Muyang city?

N. Li Shih-min(10) of the Tang dynasty, and it was afterwards repaired by Wan Yün-lung.

Let the Northern Peck, Muyang represent;
The bond of the five was a rare event;
The empire has now what Tang handed down;
Renew and proclaim its ancient renown.

I. M. By which door did you enter, and by which leave?

N. I entered by the eastern door and left by the western.

I. M. Why did you not go by the north and south?

N. Because I came from the east to go west.

I. M. How many enclosures are there in Muyang city?

N. There were formerly five; but since the bond of patriotism three.

Three walls do Muyang's city's bounds define—
Come myriads, aid our patriot design,
Which will succeed when sun and moon do meet(11);
We're Hungs e'er since our royal line's defeat.

I. M. Do you know the height of the city walls?

N. They are higher than sight reaches.

I. M. What bricks are they built of?

N. Of green outside and red inside.

I. M. What is considered greatest in the city?

N. The red lamp.

Our Muyang city is three stories high,
Its entrances four loyal men defend;
If asked the largest thing to specify,
Say ''tis the red lamp in the centre,' friend.

I. M. Who are considered honourable?

N. The Five Patriarchs.

(10) Afterwards emperor under the name of T'ai Tsung.

(11) To form Ming.

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From the Five Patriarchs we all have sprung,
Our five divisions all are surnamed Hung.
If asked which day is reckoned most complete,
Say 'that when the Hung brethren will all meet.'

I. M. What are considered the signals?

N. The five-coloured flags.

The five-coloured flags all match with the red.
All families to live together are led.
Piao, Shou, Ho and Tung with the Hop unite,
To protect our prince and set China right.

I. M. What is considered precious?

N. Red rice.

Yang city is provisioned with red rice,
To feed the Flower Pavilion's patriot band,
For the Hung Prince and chiefs it will suffice,
When all the Hungs in peace enjoy the land.

I. M. What is considered proof of brotherhood?

N. The blood drinking.

Drink blood and with true hearts the Five adore;
Our oath's like that beneath the peach tree sworn(12),
Irrevocable is the oath we swore
And binds us more than if from one womb born.

I. M. How is the oath administered?

N. By breaking a basin.

Dash the basin to pieces now!
Let the brethren in grandeur live,
True and loyal to every vow;
Assistance to the Hung house give.

I. M. What confirms the oath?

N. The beheading of A Ch'i(13). (By cutting the cock's head off).

There is a corpse outside the city gate;
Brothers, these tidings widely circulate,
The base man did in treachery excel
And hence beneath a thousand knives he fell.

(12) By the heroes Kwan Yü, Liu Pei and Chang Fei.

(13) The cock is called A Ch'i seven, in allusion to the traitor Ma I-fuh, who once ranked seventh amongst the Shaoling monks.

I. M. Do you know the name of A Ch'i?

N. Yes; Ma I-fuh.

The traitor Ma you must not imitate,
We killed that man our flag to consecrate;
'Tis hoped from deeds like his you will refrain.
And shun his fate, ere all remorse is vain.

I. M. Where do you reside in the city?

N. At the united Patriots' shop in Loyalty Street.

The patriots' shop's in Loyalty Street,
Where all in harmony combine;
For sale there's everything complete;
The Octagon's(14) a well known sign.

I. M. Do you know how many streets there are in Muyang?

N. Three large streets, twenty-one small streets, and passing through in various directions one hundred and eight other streets.

If asked, in 'Muyang are how many streets?'
Say 'the great and small are crossed by four roads.'
If asked 'which is the widest street one meets?'
Say 'in Loyalty street are the best abodes.'

I. M. Do you know how many houses there are in Muyang?

N. One hundred and eight.

I. M. How many are occupied?

N. The Five Patriarchs occupy five, the rest are kept for the Hung brethren, when they restore the Mings.

There are mansions one hundred and eight,
And all front on the Three Rivers Bay;
Restore Ming with its fashions and State
And at Chinlan(15) a while we will stay.

I. M. How many hearths are there?

N. Five.

I. M. How many wells are there?

N. Five.

(14) Meaning the certificate of membership.

(15) 金蘭 *Chinlan* are two of the characters which distinguish the Kwangtung Triads from those of other provinces.

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I. M. Some have drinking water, which have water and which have none?

N. The eastern *Chia-yi*, or wood, has no water, the southern *Ping-ting*, or fire, has no water, the western *Keng-hsin*, or metal, has no water, the northern *Jen-kuei*, or water, has water, and in the centre there is a dragon spring.

In the east *Chia-yi*(16), or wood, holds sway,
In the south *Ping ting*(16), or fires, dismay,
In the west *Keng-hsin*(16), or metals, lie,
In the north *Jen-kuei*(16), or water, is high,
In the centre *Mao-chi*(16), complete appears,
The Yin year revolves ten million years.

I. M. Do you know if there is a pond?

N. There are three.

I. M. What fish are bred?

N. The two-tailed stone carp.

In the three ponds stone carp we always feed.
And from their tails a letter 'eight' 八 does sprout;
They either hide beneath the floating weed,
Or leap the Dragon Gate, and pearls spit out.

I. M. How many fields are there in the city?

N. Three in front and four in rear, of one mu each.

I. M. What grain is grown?

N. Glutinous, red-eared, and soft red rice.

All things in Muyang city grow;
But red rice makes the finest show.
If asked how many mu appear,
There're three in front and four in rear.

I. M. Have you worshipped the city deity yet?

N. Yes.

I. M. Do you know what is over the temple door?

N. There are the words 'send down blessings from Heaven.'

(16) These are the ten stems of the Chinese cycle of sixty years and the elements they are connected with, and seem to be introduced here as a bit of charlatanic mummery.

I. M. You have been in the Loyal Patriots' Hall; what characters are over the door?

N. The four characters 慈然賢濟 *tz'u jan kwang chi* mercifully frankly give.

Mercifully with an immortal's heart,(17)
So act as ne'er from purity to part;
Frankly before High Heaven to Buddha bend,
Give way for the immortals to attend.

I. M. What objects and how many of them are there in Muyang city?

N. In Muyang city there's a Duke Kwan's shrine,(18)
There Wan Yim-lung, Five Tigers, and Kwan-yin all shine,
There're pens, ink, betel, and tobacco there,
And candles bright, and flowers for gods to wear,
Abacus, mirror and heaven measuring rule,
Bananas, plums, and other fruit to cool.
The Ming star steelyard, shield, bright precious sword,
Scales, scissors, fan, and thread, in the peck are stored.
Sun, moon, and seven-stars flags, on left and right,
And our chiefs' mandate villagers to cite;
Wine, vegetables, beasts for sacrifice,
And red umbrella, in the centre lies.
There're peach and plum trees, with our clan beneath,
And gay five-coloured flags our ranks inwreathe;
There is for use provision adequate,
And strings of lamps the whole illuminate.

I. M. Vanguard, lead in the candidates,
Set Chieh and I guard the Hung gates;
Come where three rivers do unite,
To Muyang city come to-night;
In pairs the candles are alight,
Like Pleiades the lamps are bright,
Within the city are flags and arms,
In the pavilion fruit that charms;
Three Buddhas Kaochi's temple grace,
And the Patriots' Hall a warrior race.
Come candidates, attention pay,
To what your teacher has to say.
Come jump the fiery ditch, and find
Peace, harmony, and fame combined.
When asked concerning Hung and Chu,
Restore the Mings must be your cue.

(17) In the original the characters *tz'u jan kwang chi* each begin a line.

(18) Kwan-ti the god of war.

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The Five Patriarchs command you to conduct the candidates into the city. You must not bring traitors.

N. I obey.

The Patriarchs a banner gave —
Our brothers all are true and brave;
Now come with me you candidates,
Each son of Hung for vengeance waits.

The Vanguard then leads the candidates farther into the lodge, until they are under the bridge of swords, where they remain still on their knees and grasping the incense sticks while the Incense Master delivers the following address, or prayer:

In adversity and prosperity we await the true decree that Heaven, Earth, and every part of the universe may aid in restoring the Ming and exterminating the barbarian Tsing dynasty.

We humbly pray ye Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth; ye Spirits of the Hills and Streams, and Land and Grain; ye Six Malignant Spirits; ye Spirits of the Ground and of the Veins of the earth; and ye Five Dragon Spirits of the five regions. Together with Liu-ting, Liu-chia, the Attendant Spirits, and all the Holy ones who pass through boundless space, draw near us now, we entreat ye all.

Since the creation everything has prospered, and what the ancients knew they transmitted for the instruction of succeeding ages.

You again assemble around your Incense Master, who introduced you among the patriots. We announce and swear to Imperial Heaven that we will live and die together. To-night we conduct several novices into this Heaven and Earth Association(19), to take Hung for their surname, Chin-lan for their name, and our family for their family. Like those of old in the peach garden, we pledge brotherhood, considering loyalty and sincerity the basis, kindness and righteousness the ruling principles, and filial love and obedience of primary importance. After joining the Hung family we are to regard each other as members of the same body; waiting for mutual assistance and relying on each others' faith and generosity, even more than if born of the same parents. No distinction of thine and mine can be allowed here.

To-night we worship Heaven as our father, Earth as our mother, the Sun as our elder brother, and the Moon as our sister-in-law. We worship the Five Patriarchs, the First Patriarch, Wan Yün-lung, the elder brothers Chieh and Wan, and the whole line of past members of the Hung family. To-night we kneel in front of the incense vessel, cleanse our hearts, and swear, cut our fingers, mix our blood, take the mingled-blood drinking oath, and swear—to live and die united for the good of our sworn brotherhood.

All must look on the *Ch'ow*(20) hour of the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the *Chia-yin* year as their time of birth. In replying to questions, when verbally put the ritual must be adhered to, and when put by hands only three fingers should be used.

Further as throughout the two(21) capitals and thirteen provinces all are as of one and the same body, so all should enjoy each other's happiness and share each other's troubles(22), and never show estrangement.

Now in this . . . year of the reigning emperor we see that at Court the prince is no prince, and the ministers no ministers; that the empire is greatly changed, and the hearts of the people confused; and that there is a heavenly manifestation of an early restoration of the Ming and the extirpation of the barbarian Tsing dynasty. We therefore resolve to carry out the decree of our first Incense Master, Chen Chin-nan,

(19) Hsing Wang-hui.

(20) From 1 to 3 a.m.

(21) As during the Ming dynasty, when the empire was divided into thirteen provinces.

(22) The expression used is, ride each other's horses.

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and establish a pavilion, and inside erect a bridge, open a Universal Peace market, practise plays, and send forth Tien Yu Hung, to travel over the five lakes and four seas, to seek and bring together valiant heroes, and to lead them into Muyang city, to join hands, burn incense, and swear an oath as unalterable as the hills and seas.

Those of you who are novices are bound to perform your duty in your allotted sphere, and act in obedience to Heaven. Those who obey Heaven prosper and those who disobey Heaven perish. Restore, then, the empire to the Ming line and avenge the wrongs of former generations. Avenge the wrong inflicted by burning the Shao-lin monastery! Avenge the great defeat of the patriarch Wan! When these wrongs are avenged, the Mings restored, and the empire turned over to a true Heaven-sent ruler, those who assisted their country in establishing universal peace shall be ennobled for a myriad ages, and their posterity shall flourish. While those who are traitors shall perish beneath the sword and their race become extinct. Only the loyal and patriotic shall enjoy everlasting felicity!

See our embroidered quilt 's on young Hung laid;
All know our quilt of colours five is made.
First nature moved and brought forth Heaven and Earth,
From which sprang Hungs, all one in pulse from birth;
The universe to Mings will give their right,
To help the cause step in, with Hungs unite.
Consider all things well ere you decide,
And act as opportunities shall guide.
The unalterable oath, pray, ne'er forget—
Look up and see the god above us set.

Holy Fuh-teh, protector of the people, excellent and famed for a thousand ages for thy abundantly displayed divine graciousness; and faithful Chung-i, the ten thousand years hero, raiser and assembler of the valiant, we now in compliance with our Five Patriarchs' command swear brotherhood in the blood-wasting oath of our society. Our brother Hung Ting now introduces a candidate named . . . into the Hung family. May the gods, in their wisdom and glory, make matters clear to the thoughtful and to all believers, no matter how unworthy in their human relationship, who dwell in this central land. We accept our birth from Heaven and Earth and feel grateful to the sun and moon for shining on us. We venture now to imitate the righteous compact formed in the peach garden in the time of the Three Kingdoms, and the swearing of the blood-drinking oath of the Five Princes. We humbly pray and trust that all the intelligent and discerning gods will look down on us while we take the thirty-six oaths instituted to make manifest the truthfulness of our hearts.

Two Grass Sandals now step forward and receive from the Incense Master a scroll of yellow paper, nearly six feet long by two feet wide, on which the thirty-six oaths are written. This piece of paper is usually embellished with a picture of two dragons contending for a pearl on the right side, and by one of two phœnices contending for a pearl on the left side. The upper and lower borders are generally adorned with rude drawings of flowers and birds. The words 'subvert Tsing restore Ming' are written, one character in each corner, on the back. After receiving this scroll they open it, and one kneels on his right knee and holds one end of it in his right hand, while the other kneels on his left knee and holds the other end in his left hand. The Incense Master and all the other members kneel while he reads off the thirty-six oaths, which are as follow:—

1. After entering the Hung doors, esteem filial piety and obedience to parents as most important. Dwell in harmony with your neighbours. Do not in any way oppose your parents, nor commit adultery, nor act lewdly, nor offend against propriety or disturb your neighbours. May those who disregard these injunctions die by being sliced with knives into ten thousand pieces.

2. After entering the Hung doors, your brethren's parents become your parents, and

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your brethren's wives and daughters become your sisters-in-law and nieces. If any commit adultery or act improperly with them, may they die by a thousand knives or perish by ten thousand wounds.

3. After entering the Hung doors, you must be loyal to your chief, and not blab to your father, son, brother, or other persons, nor tell them when Heaven's time for action comes. May the Five Patriarchs look down on and be witnesses against those who disregard this injunction.

4. After entering the Hung doors, fidelity and constancy are most essential. You must not for the sake of reward get outsiders to arrest a brother, nor inform against him, nor point him out to the government soldiers that they may arrest him. May Heaven and Earth join to extirpate those who offend against this injunction.

5. After entering the Hung doors, the virtuous, worthy, upright, and just men, whom all salute as Great Brothers must not presume on their greatness to oppress the humble. When the brethren have business, it must be transacted straightforwardly and justly. May those who disobey this injunction die beneath a thousand knives or perish of ten thousand wounds.

6. After entering the Hung doors, in your intercourse a patriotic spirit and mutual respect and love must be shown. None must presume on their wealth to insult the poor, nor on their strength to insult the weak. None must regard with scorn or maliciously injure a brother. May those who disobey this injunction die in the uproar of battle.

7. After entering the Hung doors, you must not cause shame and ridicule, by telling outsiders our ritual, signs, test words, and responding verses. May thunder strike and fire consume those who disobey this injunction.

8. After entering the Hung doors, all brethren must elect the wise and discerning to be Instructors. Be not remiss in this, for skilfully written books and secret papers are required. May the gods look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

9. After entering the Hung doors, all brethren are expected to subscribe money for the festival on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month, for Duke Tah-tsung's birthday anniversary, on the ninth day of the ninth month, and for sacrificial clothing for the relief of neglected spirits. May the Five Patriarchs look down on and judge those who refuse to subscribe.

10. After entering the Hung doors, all brethren are warned that if on vessels or on the highway they see the secret sign of the Hung family shown by a brother, they must not steal from him in open day nor rob him by night. May those who disobey this injunction perish from ten thousand wounds.

11. After entering the Hung doors, no matter whether industrious labourers, diligent students, scholars, farmers, mechanics, merchants, physicians, diviners astrologers, geomancers, physiognomists, actors, singers, executioners, lictors, Confucianists, Buddhists, or Taoists, you must not get drunk and by fighting and riotous conduct cause trouble. May the gods look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

12. After entering the Hung doors, you must be frugal and complaisant in controlling your families. One brother must always repay what he borrows from another. May the Five Patriarchs look down on and judge those who borrow and do not repay.

13. After entering the Hung doors, how do we know that amongst so many members something may not happen to some of us? If any day a brother gets into trouble and any of you are able to save him and do not, nor inform him that he may escape, may thunder from every point annihilate you.

14. After entering the Hung doors, it is the duty of the Iron Soles, if a letter arrive saying that brethren in a distant place are in trouble, to take it at once into our family. No matter whether it blows or rains, or if it is late at night, the information must be

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communicated. May those who disobey this injunction be annihilated by thunder from every point.

15. After entering the Hung doors, if you have to keep guard or watch over a place, you must not steal, nor allow others to steal. If any of you act unlawfully in this, may thunder from every point annihilate you.

16. After entering the Hung doors, if you have no trouble you must not, in order to obtain subscriptions, pretend you have, nor swindle your brethren, nor must you presume on your strength to compel them to lend to you. May those who disobey this injunction die from blows with clubs.

17. After entering the Hung doors, if a brother happens to go to your house, detain him to rest and supply him with drink. Show him no disrespect. Whether of the same village or of different villages, we are all of one body. May the gods look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

18. After entering the Hung doors, if you meet a brother in difficulties rescue him, and if in sickness assist him, and should a brother's great reckoning (death) come, subscribe money for his coffin. May thunder from every point annihilate those who disobey this injunction.

19. After entering the Hung doors, if you hear or know of a letter arriving for a brother from a brother in another province, you must immediately inform him, and if money or other valuables be sent, you must not stealthily appropriate it. May those who fail to deliver to the proper person properly what is so sent, die beneath a thousand knives of ten thousand wounds.

20. After entering the Hung doors, if your circumstances change (i.e. if you happen to be robbed), you must at an early date give information and show the secret signal; but without causing any alarm. May those who rob a brother of the Hung family perish by clubs in a fight.

21. After entering the Hung doors, you must carefully conceal the purse and little ticket (certificate of membership and books of the society) and bear in mind and take heed that you do not divulge the secret signs given by the mother (by mother we mean the Incense Master). May the Five Patriarchs look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

22. After entering the Hung doors, you must not disregard the sympathy you felt at the time of pledging brotherhood. May Heaven and Earth join to annihilate those who devour their brethren, or swindle a brother, or intrigue to obtain a brother's property.

23. After entering the Hung doors, you are taught to get on in life by just trade. If a brother has money and refuses to lend it to you, you must not harbour resentment. You must not force a brother to buy of you or sell to you. May the Five Patriarchs look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

24. After entering the Hung doors, you are taught that in the affairs of the Hung family, a chief manager in his transactions must not borrow the public funds for his private use, nor misappropriate the entrance fees of new members. May thunder from all points annihilate those who so misappropriate the funds.

25. After entering the Hung doors, you must wear mourning for a parent three years, after which, if your mother be alive, you may undertake the management of matters. May those who disobey this injunction be drowned in rivers or seas and find interment in fishes' bellies.

26. After entering the Hung doors, on the completion of ten months, you are eligible for a minor office and after two years for the office of Vanguard. Those who are loyal in bringing in members must not accept bribes. May thunder from all points annihilate those who disobey this injunction.

27. After entering the Hung doors, if anywhere the brethren observe the sign that the Hung family are going to fight with non-members, they must assist. If any join

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in the battle and retreat, or pretend they did not know of the fight, may they die of ten thousand wounds from a thousand knives.

28. After entering the Hung doors and swearing our fearful oaths, you must not return to your homes and prepare offerings of incense in the presence of Heaven, to the powerful spirits to remove your guilt. Heaven must extirpate those who disobey this injunction.

29. After entering the Hung doors, if any of you appropriate the new members' first month's subscriptions, instead of sending them to the Incense Master, may you meet the fate of Ma I-fuh and perish beneath a thousand knives.

30. After entering the Hung doors, under every circumstance you must behave consistently as brothers. Should a brother entrust his wife or son with you, you must not wickedly appropriate her or him to yourself. May thunder kill and fire consume those who disobey this injunction.

31. After entering the Hung doors, you must not by cross words or crooked talk ruin the Incense Master; nor may an Incense Master wickedly scheme to injure other brothers. May the Five Patriarchs look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

32. After entering the Hung doors, you must not to obtain your desires injure a brother. If a brother has money to lend and refuses to lend to you, you must not scheme to injure him. May those who disobey this injunction be unlucky and unprosperous.

33. After entering the Hung doors, do not in all things put reliance in scheming talebearers, nor listen to the talk of mean persons. If a brother breaks the laws, let all the brethren come and settle the matter in public, without, by using cross words and crooked language in front of the Incense Master, adding fuel to the fire. May the gods look down on and judge those who disobey this injunction.

34. After entering the Hung doors, traitors and turn-coats are cudgled, but the loyal and patriotic are not beaten. If a brother offends, let all the brethren discuss his case and punish him, and if he harbors resentment or disobeys this injunction, may the gods look down on and punish him.

35. After entering the Hung doors, if a member offend in anything he must suffer punishment himself, and not turn round and incriminate others. May those who disobey this injunction be annihilated by thunder from every point.

36. After entering the Hung doors, you must not marry, commit adultery with or kidnap and sell deceased brothers' widows, so that, in after days, your children and grandchildren may marry with theirs according to propriety, and be fortunate, prosperous, and ever rich and honourable, with prosperous children and grandchildren to succeed them.

The loyal patriot joins our band
  And long lives happy with his wife,
When joins one of the traitor brand
  Serpents or tigers take his life,
Fall by the knife all men forsworn!
  Let perjured women in childbirth die!
Don't think these oaths of force are show;
  There are discerning gods on high,
Witnesses be ye gods, we pray,
  Protect our brotherhood for aye.(23)

The members and candidates all rise, and the latter are conducted to the tripod incense vessel, in front of the Five Patriarchs' shrine, where each candidate inserts an incense-stick in the vessel and says:—

By this incense-stick in this censer, I swear
To all Mongols kill and never one spare,
Through our brotherhood the Chus shall command,
And the Mings inherit and rule their own land.

(23) The oaths, although always the same in number and substance, sometimes differ in word and in arrangement; this is no doubt owing to their being so often written from memory.

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Each inserts another incense stick and says:—

Let the incense from this censer ascend
And blessings and honor our business attend;
All the Mongol Tartars exterminate,
And on Hungs imperial favours wait.

Each then inserts his last incense-stick and says:—

Let this incense ascend and all heaven pervade,
While we join 'gainst Tsing in a sworn crusade;
We combine like those in the peach plot of yore,
To the loyal to peace and enjoyment restore.

Each then takes back his three incense-sticks and the Incense Master says:—

Come stick your incense in and swear—
And that you break no oath beware;
Swear you'll a Chinese prince protect,
And ne'er show treacherous neglect.

Each candidate then dips his incense-sticks in a bowl of water near the incense vessel and as they are extinguished in the water says, 'May my life go out like the fire of these incense-sticks if I prove a traitor or false to my oath.'

The thirty-six oaths are then placed in the incense vessel, and the candidates are sworn by the breaking of a basin. The Incense Master takes a basin in his hand and says:—

Yon incense vessel stands in Heaven's sight;
Thirty-six oaths are placed inside aright;
Let traitors all fear this smashed basin's fate.
Let thunder all the false exterminate!

He then dashes it on the floor and says, 'May such be the fate of all traitors!' He next sets fire to the paper on which the oaths are written and says:—

Oaths burn together, let the gods espy,
And then with Buddha mount the western sky:
The true and patriotic, pray defend,
But let the treacherous meet untimely end.

A cock is then brought out, and members and candidates proceed with it to an open skylight, or smokehole, or other place open to the heavens, and the Incense Master says:—

A phœnix' comb his head arrays,
His tail's like drooping spears;
Much rich embroidery he displays,
And splendid he appears;
But he's nor patriotic nor true,
And by the sword he'll fall;
So may all traitors meet their due,
And perish one and all.

The cock's head is then cut off, as an intimation that those who prove false to the cause and their oaths will perish in a similar manner, and while the Incense Master drops some of the blood into the bowl of water in which the incense-sticks were extinguished he says:—

This rooster is no common cock,
To crow to man in the morn was his part;
To attest by his blood we hither flock,
We drink and all feel one in heart.

A needle is then produced with which all candidates and members prick their left hand second fingers, and drop the blood which flows from the wounds into the bowl containing the water and cock's blood, or sometimes into a bowl containing wine. While they prick their fingers, the Incense Master says:—

The needle bring, your fingers prick—
All brothers know the place to stick—
It enters white, but comes out red;
Within Hung's doors you have been led,
To your true feelings manifest
And here, in front of Heaven, attest,
That you'll exterminate the Tsings
And re-instate the Mings.

The ashes from the thirty-six burnt oaths-papers are then collected and put into the bowl containing the water, or wine, and blood, which is then handed around and sipped by each candidate and member, to confirm and consolidate the oath of brotherhood. Sometimes three small bricks, made of charred fowls' feathers, are stirred in the bowl, to give a charm, if not a flavour, to the uninviting beverage. After this the candidates

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are hailed as brothers and the Great Brother gives to each of them four cash, wrapped in red paper. In return they each pay an entrance fee of one dollar. They are then enrolled as members. In most lodges a certificate of membership, printed on cloth or paper, and bearing secret symbols of the society and the name of the lodge, is given to each member on the night of initiation. In Hongkong there are some lodges in which these certificates are not given. In some a card-board ticket, two inches long and one inch wide, with a cash and the name of the lodge issuing it printed on it, are given to each member. These are usually available for only one year, but are renewed if the member keeps himself in good standing by contributing his share to the expenses of the lodge and to charitable purposes. In other lodges the member's name is entered in the roll-book and written on a slip of bamboo, from seven to nine inches long and one or two inches wide. When a meeting is called, the Grass Sandals take these around to the members with the time of the meeting written on them, and a fine of twenty or twenty-five cents is imposed on each member who neglects to attend in answer to the summons. After enrolment, the Twenty-one Rules, the Ten Prohibitions, and the Ten Punishable Offences are read over to the members. The Twenty-one Rules or laws of the society are: (24)

He who commits crime and imputes it to a brother, shall be caught and put to death, or, if this sentence be commuted, have both his ears cut off.

He who commits adultery with a brother's wife, or fornication with a brother's daughter, shall be put to death without mercy.

He who kidnaps a brother abroad shall have both his ears cut off.

He who for the sake of reward obtains a brother's arrest shall be put to death.

He who obtains the conduct of affairs by falsely pretending he is an Incense Master shall be put to death.

He who loses his book(25) of ceremonies or his certificate for outsiders to find, shall have both his ears cut off and receive one hundred and eight blows.

He who gives information of the society's affairs to outsiders, shall have both his ears cut off, or receive one hundred and eight blows.

He who being a new member usurps the conduct of affairs shall have an ear cut off.

He who speaks malignantly of his parents shall have both his ears cut off.

He who relying on his strength insults the weak, or on his great size oppresses the puny, shall have both his ears cut off.

He who secretly injures the reputation of the Incense Master, or speaks cross or uses crooked language to him, shall have both his ears cut off.

He who hides himself when the brethren have a fight on hand, shall have both his ears cut off.

He who when able to save a brother fails to do so and pretends he knew nothing about the matter, shall have both his ears cut off and receive one hundred and eight blows.

He who steals his brother's property and refuses to restore it, shall have both his ears cut off.

He who secretly injures a brother or squanders his money, shall have an ear cut off.

He who when a letter comes from another province calling out the brethren, does not respond to the call shall be put to death.

He who when non-members(26) banter him and test him with their talk, gives them

(24) The expression in these rules for put to death is take and bathe, or drown, and for cutting off ears, removing the fair wind, *shun fung*.

(25) The expression used for book of ceremonies is 'little jacket' and for certificate, 'purse.'

(26) Non-members are called wind or leper sons, *fung tsz*.

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information, shall have both his ears cut off and receive seventy-two blows.

He who having the management of matters acts improperly and uses the society's money as he pleases, shall have both his ears cut off and receive one hundred and eight blows.

He who does not pay his entrance fee within one month of admission, shall have both his ears cut off and receive seventy-two blows.

He who sponges on or cheats his brethren shall have both his ears cut off.

He who breaks our rules and refuses to submit to punishment, should it be decided to write to others to inflict it, shall have both his ears cut off.

The Ten Prohibitions are:—

1. If a brother has a comely wife, you must not lust after her; if you do so, for the first offence your ears will be cut off, and for a second offence you will be put to death.

2, If a brother's father or mother die and he has no money to defray the funeral expenses, he must ask the brethren to subscribe and none must refuse. Those who refuse will have their ears cut off for the first offence, and if they offend again will be more heavily punished.

3. If a brother in difficulties come to you, you must not refuse to receive him. If you insult him, or pretend to know nothing of him, your ears will be cut off for the first offence, and you will be more severely punished if you offend again.

4. If a brother be in a gambling house, you must not let him lose all his money, nor obtain it clandestinely. Those who do so will receive one hundred and eight blows.

5. After entering the Hung doors, you must not secretly give our books to outsiders. Those who do so will be put to death.

6. If a brother be in business or goes abroad and a brother entrusts him with a letter containing money, he must not appropriate it to his own use, nor take it by swindling. Those who do so, will have their ears cut off for the first offence.

7. If brethren are going to fight with outsiders and give you notice, you must go to their assistance. Those who pretend they do not know and fail to assist, will receive one hundred and eight blows.

8. After entering the Hung doors, you must not presume on your greatness to oppress the mean, nor on your strength to insult the weak. Those who do so, will have their ears cut off and receive seventy-two blows.

9. If a brother be in distress, you must lend him money, but those who borrow must repay. Those who presume on their strength to borrow without repaying, will receive one hundred and eight blows.

10. If a brother be in trouble and the officials offer a reward for his arrest, you must inform him and save him, and not pretend ignorance of the matter. Those who do not comply with this rule, will receive one hundred and eight blows.

The Ten Punishable Offences are:—

1. The punishment for being unfilial and disrespectful to parents is one hundred and eight blows.

2. The punishment for divulging important affairs is one hundred and eight blows.

3. The punishment for pretending there is business when there is none is one hundred and eight blows.

4. The punishment for swindling a foolish brother is one hundred and eight blows.

5. The punishment for combining with outsiders to injure a brother is one hundred and eight blows.

6. The punishment for keeping the brethren's money accounts in a muddled manner is one hundred and eight blows.

7. The punishment for getting drunk, fighting, and breeding trouble is seventy-two blows.

8. The punishment for concealing and failing to deliver money entrusted to you by a brother is a severe one.

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9. The punishment for taking part with your relations against your brethren in a fight is seventy-two blows.

10. The punishment for gambling beyond one's means is seventy-two blows.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the punishments mentioned in the fore-going rules are almost a dead letter amongst the members of the brotherhood. Were it otherwise, there would be a dearth of ears and soreness of bones amongst those who escaped the death punishment, supposing their conduct towards each other to be what it actually is now.

The remaining part of the night is spent in giving instructions in signs and test-words, which will be explained further on, and in reciting verses and ballads applied to the numerous articles and acts of the society, of which the following are specimens.

A Hymn to the gods of the ground on the night massacre on the Huang-ch'üan road.

Their priestly robes in blood were dyed,
  Their tears in torrents ran:
'T was Silu state the cause supplied,
  From which their woes began.

All offices they had declined,
  That they might practise good:
The Tartars, cruel and unkind,
  With fire burnt all they could.

Thus a deluded prince's deed
  Caused long and lasting hate:
By secret flight some monks succeed
  In 'scaping from their strait.

The Tsing troops followed in hot chance,
  And capture certain seemed,
When chance their guide, they reached a place,
  Where Kwo Sin-ying's sword gleamed,

And there our sister's peach-wood sword,
  In numbers, soldiers slew.
The priests to safety thus restored
  Bore eastward to Huei-chow.

To where they saw the clouds dispersed
  And Kao-chi temple near,
While yet the injuries they rehearsed
  That did their hearts so sear.

The wrong inflicted at Shaolin.
  Has ne'er been wiped away;
And for the Chang-sha-wan Bay sin
  Our tears still flow to-day.

The Wulung river ran blood red—
  Still redly it does glide—
The moon's pale light on the river's shed
  Again 'tis rising tide.

Lift up your head! Look yonder, see
  Our prince's star shines bright!
Hungs help our prince and heroes be,
  In the just cause we fight.

Yon lonely pine tree stands and cries,
  'Brave Hungs be mustering;'
And sough by sough it winks and sighs
  'Exterminate the Tsing.'

Long since five men swore brotherhood,
  And called brave men to fight;
And grass with them for incense stood
  In their religious rite.

Come now, unfurl our banners gay,
  While gongs and drums we beat,
Some lie in ambush, and some stay
  To guard the bridge and street.

We brothers all by oath are bound
  To act with courage true;
All roots remove and weed the ground,
  Leave naught to sprout anew;

Let's act in union with Heaven's will
  And Gods will us sustain;
Remove the Tsing, all rebels kill,
  And Mings enthrone again.

The Ten Precious things:—

A precious thing was once our lantern red,
Its brilliant light illumed the sky o'erhead;
Beyond the Chin-chung hills, it shed its light,
Ere 'mongst the Chin-chung hills 'twas lost to sight.

Precious the club with dragons two emboss'd,
In Kiangsi on the Wu-fung hills 'twas lost,
There where the dragon cliff its green shade cast,—
Two centuries ere then to the monks it past.

Precious the sandals made of straw, five pair,
One saved our prince in the Wu-lung affair,
The last from shipboard barely brought away,
Just reached Chang-tzu through whom it hidden lay.

Precious to monastery the cloud planks were,
Till eastward lost in Shao-lin's fiery glare.
Next from the Dragon Headland in Fuh-kin
Their brilliancy a myriad miles was seen.

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Precious the surplices that our monks wore;
Lost when from Shao-lin's flames they westward bore.
In Kiangsi lost, where, somewhere in Pailien,
In Yŭn-hua's house concealed, they last were seen.

Precious the rosary the monks aye wore;
Obtained amongst the hills by Wu-lung's shore.
That time three stones were brought our prince to save;
Though years have passed, we honor still the brave.

Precious the sun and moon's bright mirror, too;
In Hung-lou monastery 'twas lost to view;
By it the mysteries of Heaven were read;
Its ruddy light a thousand miles was shed.

Precious the incense vase, a counterpart
And symbol of a faithful loyal heart;
It was obtained at Pailien in Kiangsi,
To consecrate our flag of victory.

Precious the tripod erst used at Kao-chi,
And subsequently lost at Hang-chou-wei,
Floating the motto which we swear it bore,
Which is, 'the Tsings o'erthrow, the Mings restore.'

Precious the peach-wood sword, from out the grave
It sprang, our sisters in their peril to save;
Lost since beneath the precipice; should fate
Restore us this, the Tsings we'll extirpate.

WILLIAM STANTON.

(To be continued.)

A TRIP ON FUHKIEN WATERWAYS.

Of the many routes offering to the overland traveller from Amoy to Foochow, the least traversed is probably the one treated of in the following notes. The highroad along the coast-line of Fuhkien is well known, and has been ably described by Mr. W. Y. Chennel, who performed the journey in 1891. But the water-route—the plan of ascending the North River as far as Ningyong, thence crossing the mountain range to Yungan and descending the Min to Foochow—has been, so far as I have been able to ascertain, but rarely followed; nor has, I think, any account of such a journey been published. The last foreign voyagers upon these rivers—with the possible exception of some missionaries, though I believe none have made the complete journey,—were Messrs. Cass and Spinney, who made the trip in 1877. It was largely owing to the description given by the former of these gentlemen of the great interest and beauty of the journey that our party of three—Messrs. Thomson and Tongalin of Amoy, and myself—decided to pass a few weeks of leisure in traversing so inviting a portion of a little-known but fascinating province; and thus perhaps, while enjoying a pleasant holiday and all the novel experiences of interior travel, add a little, even if in a simple and unscientific manner, to the knowledge of a remote and seldom-travelled region. Our little party carried no scientific equipment; we started with no stern resolve to discover and record all that would be discovered and recorded. The notes that follow are but desultory ones, taken casually and as occasion offered on the roadside, or on the gunwale of a rapid-boat. Such as they are, however, they are put before the readers of the *China Review*, in the hope that they may prove of interest to some who know, or who may wish to know, of this beautiful and interesting part of China.

Amoy to Chioh-bé. — The expedition weighed anchor at 3 p.m. on the 24 February, 1894, the first stage of the journey—Amoy to Chioh-bé—being performed in the comfort of a friendly houseboat. A strong north-easterly breeze carried us rapidly past the island of Kulangsu into the delta of the North River, as it is called locally, but of

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which the great name is the *Chiu-lung* or Nine Dragons River. Passing on the left the district city of Hai-tông, the port of Changchow, and perhaps the Zaitum of mediæval times, at 5 p.m. we dropped anchor at Chioh-bê or, according to the Mandarin speech, Shih-ma, 'Stone Jetty.' This is a large and exceedingly filthy place, with large pottery works, and a considerable boat population. Here we hired two boats to take ourselves and belongings up the river to our next stopping-place, Pho-lam (P'u nan).

Chioh-bé to Pho-lam. With a fresh breeze behind them the light-draught passenger-boats carried us up rapidly with the tide, and by midnight, after 1½ hours sail, we anchored off the ancient and curious structure known to Europeans in Amoy as Pho-lam Bridge, but of which the real name is Kang-tang-kio (Chiang-tung-ch'iao). Close to the bridge—which is made like many Fuhkienese bridges of the huge granite slabs which modern Chinese resources could not attempt to get into such a position—are the ruins of many villages, once flourishing on the river banks, but which were devastated in the Taiping rebellion. In one of these is a ruined pavilion or *t'ing-ch*, said to have been used by Chu Hi, the great classical commentator, who at one period of his career held office in Fuhkien. The scenery above the bridge is picturesque, the river is shallow and sandy, and with the exception of a few wayfarers there is no sign of population upon the banks. Over the intervening plains on either side, green with wheat and barley, are to be seen the hills beyond Changchow and Ch'ang-t'ai. Similar scenery prevails all the way to Pholam, a busy town of probably some 6000 inhabitants. This we reached soon after noon on the 25th (Sunday), and repaired to the Chapel in search of accommodation. The native pastor conducting the service which was going on at our arrival was to be our fellow-traveller for a portion of our journey up the North River—an arrangement kindly effected for us in Amoy by the Rev. John Macgowan, and when it is realised that we thus procured an honest and reliable native coadjutor, anyone experienced in Chinese travel will recognize its value. The pastor had hired a large boat to take us on to Sin-hi (Hsin-hsü), the next stage. A start could not be made till the Monday morning, and the afternoon was spent in exploring the purlieus of Pho-lam. There are large and beautiful orange-groves on the left bank of the river, and patches of plantains are numerous. The river shore was busy with boats loading paper, one of the staples of North River traffic. The night was passed on the boat. It was a comfortable and roomy craft with a removable mat covering; mat screens divided the interior into three compartments. In one reposed ourselves, in another the pastor and our sole attendant —a Foochow man named Li Shêng, whose value consisted in a knowledge of the Amoy and Mandarin languages as well as his own dialect, a knowledge, it must be confessed, in the case of the two former, more peculiar than extensive,—and the third was the mysterious and impenetrable apartment devoted to the boatman's family.

Pho-lam to Tin-hi, 7½ p'u=75 *li.*—At daylight our men commenced poling up the sharp bend of the river above Pho-lam. The scene at once became a beautiful one. Orange-groves grow down to the water's edge; clumps of bamboos occur frequently on either bank and are thrown into strong relief by a background of low hills, the whole forming, with the foreground of limpid water glistening in the sun, a most pleasing picture. Numbers of boats pass us piled up with grass, evidently produce from the mountain regions into which we are soon to penetrate. After two or three hours poling, the river suddenly narrows and we enter a deep gorge, the high hills rising on either side directly from the water. The road winds along the hill side and is marked by a thin stream of travellers. There are no signs of houses, the only buildings being here and there a wayside joss-house and

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that inseparable concomitant of Fuhkien landscape, the *ch'iang-lou* or gun-tower. The hills were covered with undergrowth, with now and again a patch of pines or a banyan tree. At mid-day we encountered our first rapid. It was only a small one, but the boat was heavy and some time was needed to pull it over. Here the river was wider, and a strip of sandy plain intervening between it and the hills on the left bank was utilized to grow sugar, paddy and corn. Another gorge was passed through before we negotiated the next rapid, this time of quite respectable dimensions, just before night-fall. At dark anchor was cast in a most romantic spot. The river widened into a basin with narrow openings at either end; these were hardly visible in the failing light and as we laid with the boat's head fast to the bank, it seemed as if we were the only living things on the bosom of a mountain lake. The hills towering round with their thick vegetation reminded one irresistibly of many similar spots in North Formosa. Soon after starting on the following morning a large rapid was encountered, the importance and danger of which are marked by a small temple on the river bank, where joss-sticks may be burnt by the pious boatman. Within sight of the rapid is one of the curious circular village-compounds common in this district, with its walls pierced for musket-shots—a description of fort often only too necessary to the lawless clansmen of these little-governed regions. Rapids now began to get frequent, and most of this day was spent by our men straining at the twisted-bamboo rope, whose tough strands are best calculated to stand the incessant wear and tear of this kind of work. By noon we began to draw near Sin-hi. The scene became more animated. The river was thick with timber rafts and boats going down with charcoal, etc. In the bend of the river below Sin-hi were some high hills—some at a guess 3000 feet high. At 1 p.m. we drew up to the bank below the little village of Sin-hi. The population probably does not exceed 150. There is a new Christian Chapel there, a neat building, well-kept and affording excellent sleeping accommodation. Owing to lack of transport coolies, the next stage—the portage to Wha-hong—could not be begun till next day and the afternoon afforded time for local explorations. Sin-hi is in a hilly district, and I should imagine lies two or three hundred feet above the sea-level. Sugar and paddy are grown in the valleys, but there were no signs of opium. On the hill-tops are several *chai-tzu* or fortified compounds and a few private dwellings similarly protected: these probably from their more affluent air, belonged to returned emigrants who found it necessary to protect their riches, hardly earned abroad, with force of arms. We entered one of these enclosures, and looking round were amused to find the ingenious native mind had utilized the ubiquitous kerosene-oil tin as armour plating to the front door. The Chapel where we spent the night is very pleasantly situated on a hill just above the village. There are about 80 Christians in the place.

Sin-hi to Wha-hong, about 25 *li*.—At Sin-hi the North River becomes impassable for boat traffic, and all the merchandise coming up or down the river has to be carried by porters over the mountain between Sin-hi and Wha-hong. The nomenclature of this latter place is somewhat confusing: it is locally called Té-hong, but the official name is Hua-fêng, or as pronounced in the Amoy dialect, Wha-hong. We made a start from Sin-hi at 9 a.m., the usual delay having occurred over the weighing of the baggage. Six coolies carried our impedimenta; the custom is to pay by the *catty*. Our party here was augmented by a native colporteur attached to one of the Christian missions; the native pastor was to leave us at Wha-hong and Mr. Kok—as our new friend was called—was to continue the journey with us. A few minutes walk brought us to Nieh-tao, the next village, and the place of shipment for goods brought over the

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portage. The hurry and bustle here was simply wonderful. An incessant stream of coolies poured in carrying paper, charcoal, tea, wood, etc., and hurrying trains poured out with bags of salt and rolls of matting. From Nieh-tao at the mountain foot to Wha-hong on the other side, the path was similarly crowded with this panting stream of humanity, swarming up and down the mountain side like ants in and out of their hill. The top of the pass—perhaps some 1800 feet—was reached in an hour and three quarters. The ascent is easy and the road excellently paved. The view is very fine from the road on the farther side. Range upon range of mountains succeed each other on every side as far as the eye can reach, while far below, the rocky Yün-shui-ch'i or River of the Cloudy Water winds round the foot of the mountain. The mountain side is mostly covered with undergrowth and wild shrubs, but here and there are patches of tea and a few tiers of paddy. The descent is gradual to the plateau in which lies Wha-hong. Before reaching the city, the Yün-shui-ch'i is crossed by a good wooden bridge, which bears many 'meritorious records' of repairs. Indeed the whole of this road is most marvellously well kept, and argues that the trade in this part is still of a considerable value and not in that unhappy condition we are to find it further inland. Wha-hong has perhaps 4000 or 5000 inhabitants, and its staple trade, is still the much abused and deteriorated 'Amoy' tea. There is a fine new Chapel here which was to be opened shortly after our visit. The afternoon was occupied in presenting letters of introduction, kindly given us by Messrs. Orr and Cass of Amoy, to several tea firms. A crowd followed us on our visit and swarmed in with us. But, as usual, it was good-natured and we gathered quite a mass of information as to our route from an intelligent member of it—an actor who had come from Foochow viâ Yungan. In the evening quite a reception was held in the Chapel, our friends returning our calls and bringing other friends with them. These included the local pedagogue and a stout purveyor of drugs, with whom we held long and interesting conversation. At night our follow-traveller, the pastor, informed us he had engaged a rapid-boat to take us on to Chang-p'ing, and bade us farewell, for here he had to branch off *en route* to his destination, Lung-yen Chow.

Wha-hong to Chang-p'ing Hsien, 12 p'u =120 *li*.—On going down to the boat to make arrangements for the night, we realised that for the first time on the journey we were to experience discomfort. The craft was a sharp-prowed rapid boat, about 45 feet long, 3 feet deep, and 4 feet wide at the bottom. Rough planks were placed transversely across the gunwale; on these we were to repose, a mat forming a semi-circle perhaps 3 feet high in the centre was the roof over our heads, and down below in the hold lay the baskets containing our possessions. After some difficulty, another boat was procured which carried the colporteur, Li Shêng and the luggage; and the average space per man was thus somewhat increased. However the inconvenience of cooking one's own dinner in a cabin of which the roof was only 3 feet distant from the floor was felt keenly for a time, especially as the boatmen were boiling their bamboo-rope in oil forward, and the smoke blew directly under the mat into our eyes, causing them to smart considerably. Matters were complicated by a heavy rain-storm during the night; but from this we suffered little, the roof—of rushes interwoven on a frame of bamboo network—affording good protection. At 6 a.m. on the 1st March we started and plunged at once into the roar and excitement of the rapids. There are two very large ones quite near to Wha-hong, of very different calibre to any we had negotiated before. The excitement in ascending these was intense. The roar of the water, the foam bubbling up to the gunwale, the shouts of the men as they pant and strain at the rope, the boat seeming almost to stand

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on end as it is dragged up a cascade some 3 feet high, all made a scene not easily forgotten. The usual plan on approaching a rapid is for the whole crew, with the exception of the *taikong* or helmsman, to go on shore with the tow-rope, the taikong standing at the bow with a pole to guide the boat through the rocks. Sometimes, when the current is not too swift to allow of his standing, a man goes overboard and pushes, standing up to his neck in water, at a short pole passed through holes in the prow. Thus we were dragged and poled through apparently the most impossible channels. Jagged rocks were on either side with the stream hissing and gurgling between them, here and there the water would make a great leap, describing a curve over some big rock, and by the force of its fall making a hollow basin of water where it dropped. Rapids occurred every few hundred yards, but in the moments of lull one had time to look at the scenery. We were still hemmed in by high hills, generally covered with forest, but here and there was a clearing and a patch of tea; between them ran the river, its clearness in quiet places contrasting vividly with the froth and bustle of the rapids. The boat's crew consisted of 6 men, hearty, athletic fellows all of them, as they had need to be, leading this life of incessant strain upon nerve, wind and muscle. We here first noticed the change in dialect; the boatmen were Chang-p'ing men, and, although they knew enough Amoy to get on with, their speech among themselves was almost incomprehensible to Mr. Touzalin, our expert in the latter dialect. A great number of boats laden with paper, and numberless timber rafts came down the river during the day. The difficulty of navigation here will be understood when it is stated that there are 36 large, and 72 small, rapids between Wha-hong and Chang-p'ing. We stopped for the night at a small village about 20 *li* below Chang-p'ing, and by 6 a.m. on the 2nd, were again under way and nearing the city. Here the scenery becomes tamer, the rapids smaller and less frequent. Instead of mountains, small hills line the riverbanks. Villages of some size come into sight and we are visibly getting into civilization again. Many rafts pass us going down the river, and along the banks are many wood-yards where rafts are being made up. Two *li* from Chang-p'ing we landed on the right bank and walked into the town. The path lay through a little wood, in the centre of which stands a fine pagoda. This pagoda had been visible to us some time before we could see anything of the town, and we noticed throughout the journey that the approach to each place of importance was marked by a similar beacon —a token to the weary traveller, as he toiled up the rapids, of rest to come. A bridge of boats brought us over the river to the city. The chapel, as usual, the only clean quarters to be had, is a large, commodious building near the South gate. Here we ensconced ourselves, the cynosure of wondering eyes, while the colporteur went forth to hire boats to carry the party to Ningyong. During his absence, a native Christian of the town, a druggist, called and offered us his services as guide. In his company we explored the place. Chang-p'ing is situated in an amphitheatre surrounded by hills; the city is well-built, the streets clean and wide, but their comparative emptiness, and the ruined, deserted suburbs outside the wall, tell a tale of decayed trade. I should not estimate the population at more than 7,000, though our guide informed us, in the Chinese haphazard fashion, that it was *Yi wan to*, 'more than 10,000.' On our return the colporteur told us that the local salt regulations necessitated that each boat going up river should carry at least five piculs of salt—the extra men and expense thus entailed being at the cost of the traveller. At this rate quite a flotilla would have been needed to carry us and our luggage; so a card was sent in to the Salt Likin Deputy, and an interview requested in the hope that matters might be

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arranged. We were received most affably by this dignitary, who was known locally as Fang *Shih-yeh*, or Mr. Secretary Fang. Our request was granted at once: we need carry no salt; a few polite enquiries were interchanged and we left with the necessary permit. The evening was unusually warm for the time of year, the thermometer marking 75° at 5 p.m.

Chang-p'ing to Ningyong, 120 *li*.—Early on the 3rd March we embarked on our last up-river stage. We had, as before, two boats of similar build to the Wha-hong ones, but shorter. By spreading mats on the bottom instead of on planks laid across the gunwales, it was possible to stand up in the boat and lead altogether a more comfortable existence. The first rapid was reached in a few minutes. A long string of rafts was coming down the river and on the left bank baskets of charcoal were being made up for shipment. This part of the river is quieter than lower down: the rapids are smaller and far less frequent. One of them, however, which we reached in the afternoon, is very narrow, a mere rocky brook, in fact. Here we had to wait 1½ hours for some long rafts to pass. Towards nightfall the river began to narrow very visibly, became very rocky and winding, and it was easy to see that it could not be navigable many miles further. At night there were some fine sky effects, caused by the firing of brushwood on the hill-tops. As we continued the journey next morning, the compass now pointing out the course as due north, the hills still seemed to get higher, and had fair-sized forests of tall pines at the foot. Rain set in steadily at 8 a.m., but as far as could be seen through the mist, the scenery seemed finer than any we had yet encountered. Some very high peaks could be seen through the clouds, the cover on the hill-sides was very thick and the foliage very variegated. The river was now a narrow channel between rocks; at times so narrow that the boats could barely scrape through. The hills shelved down precipitously to the water; and as we passed close to them we could see that they were covered with beautiful flowering shrubs—wild pink camelias, gardenias and oleanders, with thousands of others, which made us regret that we were no botanists and were unable to name them. Similar scenery prevailed throughout the day. Owingno doubt to the bad state of the weather no rafts or boats were coming down. By 3 p.m. the downpour had become so serious that we were obliged to anchor for the night and make ourselves as snug as circumstances allowed. The night was a very wet and comfortless one. It was impossible to keep out the rain; it poured down the boat's sides, flooding the bottom, and a steady dripping upon one's face from the mat roof, as one lay in waterproof bedding endeavouring to sleep, did not improve matters. The morning of the 5th March dawned with a steady drizzle, but the boatmen were able to proceed, and by noon we were approaching Ningyong. The river winds a good deal just below the city; and about 5 *li* from it is a long and difficult rapid. The usual pagoda told us we were nearing our destination; then, passing a covered wooden bridge and a long series of rafts we pulled up under the city wall. Letters of introduction procured for us excellent quarters in a tea hong on the river bank, where we received the greatest kindness and hospitality. Our rooms projected out over the river, the flooring being supported by long poles driven into the river bed. It is here that the North River ceases to be navigable; the stream as it is here seen, forming a highway, perhaps 30 yards wide, under the wall of Ningyong, is only a few inches deep and above the town it is not much more than a trout brook. Our water journeying was now ended for a time; the next stage was to be a *han-lu*, or 'dry,' one, over the redoubtable Ma Shan or 'Horse Mountain' to Yungan. We decided therefore to stay a day in Ningyong at the solicitation of our kind host, the tea-merchant, and see what prospects of sport or

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other attractions the place offered. A melancholy afternoon was passed in walking over the town—melancholy, not from the natural surroundings, which are beautiful enough, but from the conviction which forced itself on us that we were exploring a place whose glory had departed. Rows of empty tea-godowns, streets of deserted houses, the absence of shops, the want of life in any shape, and the semi-ruinous condition of the temples and public offices, buildings still bearing traces of an unusual sumptuousness in their construction, all bear witness that the prosperity of Ningyong has gone from her. Nor is this hard to understand when, as explained by our host, this district with Chang-p'ing and Whabong in their palmy days produced 400,000 half-chests of tea and now the total annual outturn is not more than 80,000 half-chests. The city is situated in a small amphitheatre surrounded by hills, which in many cases rise almost directly from the walls. The colporteur told us, as an instance of the depths to which this once prosperous place has sunk, that there are more shops and more people on the island of Kulangsu at the port of Amoy than in Ningyong. This estimate would put the population at under 5,000, a number probably covering the truth at the time of our visit in the off-season; but when the tea is in full swing, and pickers, dealers, and all concerned in the trade are in residence, these figures might fairly be doubled. A native sportsman arrived at our quarters early on the following morning, carrying a primitive native gun and having two native dogs at his heels. At our host's request, this worthy, a farmer in the adjacent mountains, was to conduct us to a likely spot in search of a wild boar. In view of the shortness of the notice, the chances of getting a 'pig' were small, but the search would show us something of the surrounding country and give us a chance of trying the quality of the Ningyong mountains. Our party was augmented *en route* by several other native 'sports' with their attendant dogs, and by the time we reached the foot of the range running to the north-east of the town we mustered about a dozen guns. The ascent to the top was a most arduous piece of work, better suited to a mountain cat than a heavy-booted European; the last 500 feet of an ascent of some 3,000 was up what was almost sheer precipice, the only hold for hand or foot being the charred stumps of the forest growth which had been burned from the mountain side. One slip or a failure of a foothold and the consequences would have been a descent under conditions which it is not agreeable to contemplate. Some three hours of this work brought us to the top of the range, where we were posted at intervals of a few hundred yards, each gun commanding the top of a valley. The hunters blew horns and shouted at the bottoms of the valleys and after several hours, numberless false alarms, and much useless following up of conflicting traces, a large boar was put up. He made up-hill towards one of our Chinese companions, who fired at long range, far above the capacity of his home-made weapon. The animal turned and pelted down-hill; all the reward of our labour was one glance of his black back as he plunged into the brushwood hundreds of feet below; darkness was coming on us and we had to get back to quarters, not richer by a pig, but with our first experience of a hunt organised and carried out by Chinese. The descent was made by a good paved road running along the top of the range and down to the town. Several callers dropped in during the evening, among them being three gentlemen from the Magistrate's Yamên. In the course of conversation with these officials and some local tea-merchants who were also present, we gathered a few notes about the trade of Chang-p'ing and Ningyong. The estimates are only in round numbers, but they may serve to give some idea of the trade. We were told there was a great consumption of opium in the two towns, the

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percentage of smokers being 40 per cent. of the population. The drug used is still largely foreign, but only now in the proportion of 6 to 4 of the native opium. This native opium is not grown locally, these mountain regions being unfitted for the production of any plant requiring carefully prepared and rich soil, but is brought overland in trains of 20 men at a time from Szechuen and Yunnan viâ Kiangsi. The yearly value of the opium thus brought for consumption in the Ningyong and Chang-p'ing districts is stated to be $100,000. Considering the spare population and poverty-stricken condition of these districts, this sum is not inconsiderable for native opium alone. In Ningyong a picul of native opium is worth from $300 to 400 and more. Opium also comes by this route for consumption in the Changchow and Lung-yen Departments. Piece Goods are carried overland in large quantities from Swatow for the markets in this neighbourhood, the *likin* charges being less on the interior roads than if the goods were sent up by water from Amoy. The quantity of tea bought annually in Ningyong twenty years ago amounted to more than 90,000 half-chests, the annual output is now under 10,000 half-chests and that of the poorest quality. Heavy and unceasing rain detained us in Ningyong the whole of the 7th March. The baggage-coolies would not face the ascent of the mountain in such weather, declaring that the paths would be nothing but torrents of water. A tea-merchant came in during the afternoon and asked us to go to his house and inspect a piece of iron ore he had there. He told us that the mines whence it came were 40 *li* distant from Ningyong. We made many enquiries about these mines, as there is a tradition current in Amoy that the Dutch when trading there and in Formosa had an interest in them. But we could obtain no confirmation of the story. All we could ascertain was that the mines had been long disused, and of their history nothing could be ascertained.

Ningyong to Shui-k'on, 120 *li*.—The morning of the 8th was fine and we bade farewell to our Ningyong friends and after the usual delay in weighing and re-weighing the luggage started to cross the Ma-shan. Six coolies carried our rather numerous packages, and they, with the colporteur, Li Shêng, and a shabby looking individual in a military jacket who said he had been sent by the Yamên for our protection, formed the party. A walk of two hours on a path winding round the bases of low hills brought us to the mountain. We commenced the ascent at 10 a.m. The scenery at once became very fine, though owing to the mistiness of the morning much of the view was lost. The path was beautifully paved with large stones, somewhat slippery for leather boot-soles, but this difficulty was easily overcome by fastening a pair of Chinese straw-sandals on over our boots. A fair number of villages sprinkle the valleys and sides of the lower hills: these are of the usual fortified description, and many of the hill-tops in the distance are crowned with the 'camp of refuge' or *chai-tzu*. The road passes at intervals through patches of pine forest, fine, large timber as a rule; in other places the mountain side is brown and bare, with a solitary palm-tree here and there, looking chill and out-of-place in its somewhat wintry surroundings. The temperature which at starting had been 62° rapidly began to drop. At 11 a.m. the rain began to fall steadily and, when, breathless and soaked through, we halted at noon in a miserable little charcoal burner's hut on the wayside, the thermometer was found to register 41°. An icy wind caught us as we turned the corners in the path, turning the skin blue where it touched, and it was with strong feelings of relief that we reached the highest point of the pass at 1 p.m. As far as could be gathered from a somewhat uncertain barometer, we were about 5,200 feet above the sea-level, and as the road at its highest point passed through a narrow cutting, the great peak of the Ma Shan towered

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some 4,000 feet over our heads, the apex lost in a mass of clouds and mist. The elevation was sufficient to cause distress to the coolies who of course had the additional strain of heavy burdens: several of them had to stop at the summit of the pass to wipe away the blood that streamed from their noses. Just beyond the summit is a small village, very poor and dirty; but our wet and by this time somewhat depressed party crowded into the wretched apology for an inn and got such comfort as could be obtained from burning damp wood in the tiny clay stoves. The mountaineers have here the baskets filled with charcoal embers, common enough, I believe, in Foochow, but not seen in the Amoy district. Every man, woman and child was provided with one, and we were glad enough to borrow a few and dry and warm ourselves as much as the feeble glow allowed. After an hour's halt, the rain shewed no signs of abating, and the cold seemed to get more severe. The only thing was to push on and trust to providence for a night's lodging. The descent began very soon, and had the weather been good, this would have been by far the most beautiful and enjoyable part of the journey. The paved path winds gradually down the mountain side: trees, covered with flowers of all shapes and colours, joined their branches forming an archway overhead, while beneath our feet was strewn quite a carpet of blossoms beaten down by the rain. As far as could be seen through the mist, the woods through which we were passing extended up and down the mountain side for thousands of feet above and below us. At intervals there would be a break in the line of trees while we crossed some picturesque wooden bridge which covered some waterfall still more picturesque. For 15 *li* the road continued of this description, but as we approached a village called Chiu-pei where we were told quarters might be found, we came upon a flat ridge of some extent covered with paddy-fields. At Chiu-pei to our great surprise and joy we discovered a most respectable hostel, and a clean wooden barn furnished with the usual beds of boards laid upon trestles was placed at our disposal. During our walk across the mountain top we had met but few travellers, but those who were out in such weather were lusty mountaineers, woodmen and charcoal burners, whose rosy cheeks were in great contrast to the ordinary colour of the Southern Chinese. There are many villagers of Chehkiang, settlers on these mountains. Entering into one of these and asking the way in the usual medium—Amoy—we were astonished to hear the man say in very comprehensible 'mandarin' that he did not understand. We then entered into conversation and were told that this village, like many others on the top of this range, was composed of immigrants from Chehkiang. The difference of physical type was very marked, the men being taller and heavier, with the regular northern cast of countenance. The purity in which they have maintained their dialect is accounted for by the bad terms they are on with the original inhabitants. These have no lot or part with the interlopers: an occasional raid and mutual bloodshed form the only intercourse. An instance of strained relations existing was shown by our Chehkiang guide directing us to the other village, but refusing to enter it with us. The morning of the 9th saw us continuing the descent. Rain was falling at the start and continued to fall the whole day. The road wound round as before, but as we got into lower levels, cultivation became general and there were many villages on the way. One of these named Liu Tien was quite bustling and full of life; we looked with interest into the little inn here, for it was in this place that Messrs. Cass and Spinney slept when they crossed the mountain in '77. The present proprietor is a new-comer and had no recollection of them. In fact when we asked him if he had ever seen a European before, he answered 'Yes, once, but he was not like you; he had a black face!' It

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was 2 p.m. before we reached the river on which Shui-k'on is situated, and here we first touched level ground again. The length of the descent may be gathered from the fact that it had taken ten hours walking down a good path to accomplish it. From a calculation made by the colporteur and Li Shêng of the distance from village to village, we arrived at the conclusion that the length of the road we traversed from summit to base must have been just about thirty miles. A pretty walk of an hour or so along the river-bank brought us to Shui-k'on, a small townlet on a branch of the Min, where we were to take boat for Yungan. The principal merchant of Shui-k'on is a native of An-ch'i in the Chinchew Prefecture. He put at our disposal a large tea godown which at this time of year was of course empty. His servants and retainers were mostly from his native place, and it was quite refreshing to hear the Amoy dialect again, for since Wha-hong there had been a great confusion of tongues. From the godown windows we could see the opium growing in fields on the opposite bank of the river. The plants were about ten inches high, showing that the difference in latitude had now become marked, for opium in Amoy at that season would be twice the height. The river here is called the Nan-Ch'i or South River. It rises somewhere in the Ma-Shan range and flows down to join the Ta-ch'i or Great River, as the Min is there called, at Yungan. At Shui-k'on the river was about 40 yards wide at the time of our stay there, but it was undoubtedly much swollen from the recent rains. Here we had our first experience of disagreeable mobbing. News of our arrival spread like wildfire, and the whole population pushed into the godown, handled us and fingered our possessions with that utter want of realization that there is such a thing as trespass which is so characteristic of the Chinese. We were old enough travellers to know that this familiarity must be borne with equanimity, and fell back upon our usual expedient of cross-questioning some of the less stupid-looking. This had the usual happy result: when it dawned upon their cautious Eastern intelligences that something was being got out of them, they decamped. Shui-k'on is a small place and our host probably engrossed its trade. The environs are highly cultivated. Corn of all sorts, opium and tea grow in large quantities in the neighbourhood, and now that we were once again in the plains, the general prosperity was in great contrast to the poverty and loneliness of the mountain towns.

Shui-k'on to Yungan, 30 *li*.—We left Shui-k'on at 9 a.m. on the 10th March in two open boats, or rather canoes. These were about 20 feet long, with a beam of 4 feet in the centre, and tapering at either end to a sharp bow and stern. Two men poled each boat, but the work was light, the force of the current carrying us along at about five miles an hour. There are some small rapids on the way and it was quite a pleasurable excitement to shoot over these in our narrow craft. The country on both banks is flat, and was covered as far as one could see with corn about half-grown. Yungan was reached in two hours, the first sign of the city being a tall yellow pagoda on a hill. On fastening up on the river bank just above the city a crowd gathered round at once. The crowds this side of the mountain were not good-natured and smiling like those on the Amoy side, but were sulky, objectionable and pushing. A tout came up at once and offered to get us a boat to carry us through to Foochow. We followed him into the city and inspected a number of large boats. Some of these were immense, and capable of carrying 100 Chinese passengers besides a hold full of cargo. We finally concluded a bargain with a boat we were told was to start for Foochow the next morning. This was the best that could be done, though we were anxious to start at once as the mobbing was getting serious and disagreeable. We transferred

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the baggage to our new craft and barricaded it as well as possible. The boats alongside made quite a good thing of it by letting on sight-seers at two cash a head to stare at the barbarian at his meal. Some clambered on to the roof of our boat and punctured holes in the matting to make peepholes from whence they could stare at us. However a threat to go at once to the Magistrate and obtain protection if the boat were not left alone, rid us of the more pushing of these interlopers. The afternoon was spent in wandering round Yungan. It is a very large city, and the suburbs must contain a very considerable population. There is a large trade, the principal product being paper, which is made in the country districts and brought into Yungan for shipment to the large towns on the Min. In the river bed are several piles of masonry, the only remnants now left of two fine bridges which once spanned the stream, but which were both carried away by floods a few years previously. The only bridge now is a wooden one. The Min here is a chocolate-coloured stream about fifty yards wide; the Nan-ch'i is quite clear, and it was interesting to notice the mingling of the different coloured waters just below the city. Yungan boasts of several pagodas and numerous fine temples. These are remarkable for the curious paintings on their interior walls—elaborate representations of landscape, animals and human figures in the best style of Chinese art. We were told that these were all done by local artists and that Yungan had a great reputation for the skill of its mural decorators. A great feature of the town is the extent of its shipping. The musical chant of the boatmen, as the numerous craft arrive and leave in an incessant stream, is heard all day long, and boats of all sizes line both banks of the river. Our boat did not leave on the following morning according to contract, the captain, or *lao-pan* as he is called on the Min, not having returned from his home in the country. He was expected momentarily, so we could not wander far, but occupied a morning in strolling about the grounds of a temple situated on an island at the junction of the two rivers. The temple is a conspicuous object on entering Yungan and rejoices in the name of Kuei Shan Miao or Tortoise Hill Temple. On either side of the front entrance two very good representations of elephants are frescoed on the wall. On our return the *lao-pan* had not arrived, so we set out to explore the boat-building yards which are a feature of Yungan. The cheapness of these boats is marvellous, the materials for their construction being close at hand, and they must be a most profitable investment for their owners. A craft of sixty feet long and having a capacity of four hundred piculs only costs here about $100 to build, mats, sails, and fittings costing perhaps another $20. Such a boat will make four return voyages to Foochow in a year, and two years' successful trading will pay for the whole initial outlay, as well as the expenses of working. As a set-off against this, however, must be put the risk of losing both boat and cargo in an accident in the rapids—a contingency which we gathered was not unusual. The *lao-pan* arrived at nightfall, but when he discovered that during his absence his boat had been chartered to foreigners, he gave vent to his dissatisfaction in no measured terms, and refused point-blank to start the next morning. As half the stipulated fare had already been paid, as provisions were run out and we had been for two days on an entirely Chinese diet, and as time pressed, we having already been several days longer *en route* than we had anticipated, our choler rose, and it was resolved that start the following morning we must and would. Li Shêng was hailed, a card handed him, and in very audible tones he was told to take our passports into the Magistrate's Yamên, and request an interview forthwith. But our retainer had not got further than the stern of the boat when the *lao-pan* repented him of his evil humour and promised to start at

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daylight. He then with the whole boat's company, settled down to a night's debauch of opium, and we had to endure as well as might be proximity of the evil-smelling fumes.

Yungan to Yen-p'ing Fu, 320 *li*.—As an inevitable consequence at 8 a.m. on the 12th March the whole crew was asleep and required an hour's vehement apostrophizing before we could get them awake, fed and under way. This finally accomplished, we took a last look at Yungan and were fairly started on our journey down stream. The crew consisted of five oarsmen and two steersmen. The steering-sweeps are a remarkable feature of the Min boats. They are 40 or 50 feet long, of great weight and power, and each boat is provided with two, one at bow and one at stern. The upper end is heavily weighted with stones to enable the steersman to get a better leverage. The oarsmen keep up an incessant chant, sounding something like 'Ai-ai-i-yoh-yoh,' 'ai-ai-i-yoh-yoh,' repeated *ad libitum*. The Min below Yungan is picturesque, but here, as elsewhere on the Great River, we missed the grand beauty of the North River. Many have sung the glories of the Min; it is a common place in South China to refer to Foochow all seekers for fine scenery; but in no part of all its length that we traversed could we find ought that would in the smallest degree compare with the weird mountains and wild, rocky waters of the North River. It soon became evident that our crew were hopelessly sodden with opium, were not only unwilling to work, but were incapable of any prolonged exertion. They halted on every conceivable excuse to squat listlessly over their opium pipes, and any expostulation was replied to with that lack-lustre stare and deadly apathy which make the opium-smoker the most irritating to deal with of all mortals. By night we only reached Sha-k'on, 85 *li* from Yungan. During the day we passed no rapids. The river is nearly 100 yards wide, and there are a good many large rocks in places. The current is fairly rapid, but our delay at Yungan had lost us the force of the freshet caused by the recent rains. The trouble continued with our crew; no work could be got out of them, and we resolved to push them on as quickly as possible to the next large town, and there change into another boat. Our slow progress enabled us to go on shore frequently, as the boatmen were always pulling up to the bank on some excuse. A remarkable point to notice is the amount of Mandarin spoken along the shores of the Min. No matter how remote or miserable was any village that we entered, some one conversant with the *kuan hua* invariably turned up immediately. Whether this is owing to the large traffic on the river rendering it necessary for the dwellers on the bank to have a knowledge of the *lingua franca*, or to immigration from the northern provinces similar to that at Yen-p'ing-fu, we were unable to determine. The journey to our next stopping-place, Sha-hsien, was monotonous; there were no rapids to shoot, or scenery or points of interest to notice. At Sha-hsien we halted only long enough to hire another boat and transfer to it ourselves and our belongings. Our only impression of this city is its enormous size, its wall running down the river-bank for about half-a-mile. Our new crew worked splendidly. Leaving Sha-hsien at 10.30 a.m. on the 14th March, at 6 p.m., we stopped at Yen-p'ing-fu for the night. As before, the route has no special feature worthy of record. The outlook was of the ordinary willow-pattern style which may be seen in its fullest development a few miles from Foochow, and so it continued during the whole of our down-stream voyage. At Yen-p'ing we went on shore and wandered the streets in search of provisions. It was after dark, so but little idea could be gathered of the city, which, however, is well known to be large and wealthy. Yen-p'ing-fu was peopled by settlers from the north of China some time, I believe, in the Yuen dynasty. The language is a form of Mandarin, and the

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inhabitants have a name for disliking the foreigner.

Yen-p'ing-fu to Foochow.—The river between Yen-p'ing and Foochow is so well known that it needs but little description here. The boat traffic is immense, there are a few rapids, but none apparently very dangerous, although on one of them we saw a large boat wrecked and her cargo was being salved from her in sampans. From Yen-p'ing to Foochow our boatmen worked continuously for thirty hours—the time it took to do the passage. Such a feat is a remarkable one even for Chinese endurance and the poor fellows were glad enough when at 11 a.m., on the 16th March, we moored off the Custom House jetty at Foochow.

CECIL A. V. BOWRA.

August, 1894.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

NOTES BY MR. E. H. PARKER.

CHINESE EXAMINATIONS.—Many enquiries have been made of late by students desirous of thoroughly acquainting themselves with the Chinese Examination system. It will therefore be learnt with satisfaction that the Reverend H. Havret, S.J. of Shanghai, has a study upon the subject almost ready for the Press. It has been our privilege to see the advance sheets of the work, which is of the most thorough-going description, and makes the whole system perfectly clear.

The first part is called 'The Examination for the Baccalaureat,' and the first chapter treats of the different names applied to the candidates, the measures taken to preserve order in the Examination Hall, the place of examination, the sureties, the nature of the papers given, the privileges of bachelors, the examiners, and the progress of the examination. In this chapter there seem to be no errors of statement, or of any kind, unless it be one or two slight irregularities in spelling, such as *li* 劣, *chen* 生 and *ling* 林, which are evidences of defective Nankin pronunciation. The second chapter gives a facsimile of the surety's certificate, describes the nature of the various punishments, enumerates the causes which debar a man from the examinations, enters into the question of names and taboos, illustrates the responsibilities of the sureties, and defines the 'parish settlement' principle. In this chapter, page 30, what purports to be a 'decree' must be an 'instruction' from the Council or the Board, for the words 可也 can never be used by the Emperor to a subject; still less can the word 希 in the sense of 'I hope you will.' There are also some further slight defects in spelling, such as *ming* 民 on pages 24, 28, 29, *tch'eng* page 26, *k'ieng* page 29: and, what is not a mere 'southern mandarin' defect *tche* 笞, on page 21, without an aspirate. Chapter three treats of the examination before the district magistrate, going into every detail in the most exhaustive way. In this chapter there are two or three Nanking defects, *ling* 廩 page 36, *tcheng* 禎 page 39, and *ming* 晏 page 39. *Ts'ing* 倩 on page 37 should be *ts'ien*, and 卷 pages 41, 64 should be *kiuen*, not *k'iuen*.

The fourth chapter treats of the examination before the prefect, and is equally thorough-going. Amongst the places on page 54 where the Tartar garrisons are enumerated should have been given Canton in Kwang Tung province. Chapter five treats of the knotty question of the examinations before the provincial examiner, which examinations are exceedingly difficult of comprehension. The only attempt in a European language to explain this subject with which we are acquainted is a paper called the

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'Educational Curriculum of the Chinese,' published in several editions, in the *China Review*, a dozen years ago; but this account falls very far short in completeness of the one now under review. On page 64 the hour 日昳 is correctly given as '1 and 2 p.m.:' Williams' Dictionary gives it wrong, and Giles' avoids any definite statement. On pages 67, 68 the Nanking defect *ki* 結 occurs several times. Chapter six treats of the definite promotion to the bachelor's degree; the ceremonies; the rewards, extra examinations, notices of success, and so on. Chapter seven deals with the question, hitherto so little understood, of the triennial examination (of qualified bachelors) known as the *sui-k'ao* or 'annual,' a term which seems to be a misnomer. Chapter eight enumerates and explains the various groups of 生, or bachelors 'with a handle,' but yet not full *kü-jên:* this is one of the most intricate subjects connected with the examination system, but Father Havret tackles it boldly and with complete success. On page 89 貢 is a misprint for 廩. Chapter nine completes the subject by defining the second of the two triennial examinations, called the *k'o-k'ao.*

Of late several rising students from various parts in the East have enquired of the writer where a complete account of the Chinese examinations could be obtained. In the absence of anything better he was only able to refer them to the *China Review*, but now Father Havret has completely worried the subject out, and it may safely be said that his work will always remain the standard authority upon the subject.

The character 蔓 is an instance of how lexicographers go blundering one after the other age after age. There is not a single dialect in which it is pronounced otherwise than as 慢 (whether sinking or even), and yet Giles' Dictionary imitates Williams in calling it as 萬, simply because K'ang-hi started the mistake. K'ang-hi is not wrong in putting the initial as 武, for it will be found that even with him this often represents a good *m*: his mistake lies in putting 萬 instead of 慢, and probably a Cantonese was responsible for it, for in Cantonese there is no difference in sound between 萬 and 慢. In the sense of 'creeper,' 'to creep,' the character is colloquial, and accordingly we find the Pekingese *man³-p'a-cho* 蔓爬着, the Hakka *man²*, the Ningpo *maän²*, the Yangchow *maa³*, the Wênchow *ma²*, the Foochow *mang²*. In not one single instance is there a sound corresponding to 萬. True, Baldwin's Foochow Dictionary gives two sounds, but natives do not support him: it is a mere copied repetition of others' error. Fortunately in Giles' Dictionary my reference to the character 慢 has been faithfully preserved, and students will please remember that this character belongs, to the *mán* (not *mwan*) class, and not to the *wan* class. In every dialect it corresponds in sound strictly with 慢.

Fa-hien frequently calls a month 月日: thus, 停三月日. In Foochow *ngwok-nik* 月日 is still the colloquial for 'month.'

In Foochow 故 is still the colloquial word for 'yet,' 'still.' And Fa-hien uses the expression 今故現在, 'still existing now.'

Another instance in which Mr. Giles has copied Williams' error is under the character 碪: the second reading is *k'an*, and not *han*. True, K'ang-hi gives the initial 五 and final 感 and says that the sound is 頷; but the etymological 'power' of this is anyhow *gan*, or ʿ*ngwan* (lower) and not ʿ*han* (upper). But that K'ang-hi (who is full of blunders) means ʿ*k'an* is evident from the fact that he uses exactly the same characters 五感 to spell the character 嵁, and says the sound is 坎. The traveller Fah-hien uses the character 碪 in the sense of 'pedestal;' but in this sense the character is probably identical with 砧 ʿ*chên*.

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The character when read ʻk'an rhymes with 感, and the qualifying words at the foot of the column should be 'even and rising, upper.'

The dialect forms of the character 蹇 are incomplete in Giles' Dictionary. The Yangchow form is ˏts'ae; the Foochow ˏh'a, ˏch'o; the Cantonese ˏts'o. I have no record of the Hakka and Wénchow forms. It must be remembered that no dialect forms for rare words are given unless a native has actually uttered them in my own hearing, and undergone a cross-examination if necessary.

E. H. P.

Cantonese Nursery Rhymes.—It's shivering cold. The thief barks at the dog. The quilt draws granny over its head. The crab drags the duck all over the paddy-field. The rat drags the cat across the dresser.

When the sky is black there's rain: the bottom of the boiling-pan should rain to the end of the year. When one's body is salt (i.e. dirty) one has lice: there ought to be several millions in the salt-jar. Anyone with a beard gets listened to on public matters: the billy-goat should find a place among the worthies of the country-side. Men are burnt black by the sun—the egret should turn into an ouzel.* Buddhist priests become immortals: the pestle should soar up to heaven.

A little song, the last out. The cricket and the cockroach swear friendship as men of the same year. They borrowed a net-bag from the money-spinner and a box too from the big spider. The old rice-huller† was carrying the box across, when the earthworm asked where he was taking it. 'I'm taking it to the bank of the pond.' The large dragon-fly with a buzz opened the box for a look, and found fish-scales and grains of rice inside. The cicada clapped its hands and burst out into a guffaw: 'Halloo! I have'nt seen you for over ten years.'

C. J. S.

倒捲珠簾
冷嘍嘍
賊吠狗
破拉亞婆唅過頭
蟛蜞拉鴨隨田走
老鼠拉貓過哦頭

天烏有雨落
鑊底落埋年
身鹹有風嗨
鹽罌數萬千
有蠶話得事
羊咩入鄉賢
日頭晒黑人
白鶴變烏烟
和尚噲昇仙
擂槌飛上天

一枝歌仔甚新鮮
灶蝦由甲契同年
又共蜘蛛借線絡
又共蝻蠑借盒添
舂米公公擔盒過
黃犬問其擔去邊
擔去魚塘邊
螳蜩咖嗤開盒睇
睇見魚鱗共飯拈
秋蟬拍掌呵呵笑
唔哋唔見你十多年

Letter Changes.—The change of *k* to *l*. In his 'Introduction to the study of the Chinese characters,' page 190 Dr. Edkins speaks of three ways in which the transition from *k* to *l* might have taken place:—

1. Insertion of *l*, *k* afterwards being pushed off.
2. Change of *k* to *ni* or *ng* and again to *l*.
3. Change of *k* to *t* and again to *l*.

Dr. Edkins thinks this third hypothesis to be the best. He was not aware, that there

* Ut. 'black smoke.' It has another name 烏雪 'black snow.'

† The ˏchung ˢmai ˏkung ˏkung is an insect that often flies into the house. It is black in colour and something like an ichneumon, but its abdomen is disproportionately small and it keeps working its comparatively huge hind legs up-down like a man hulling rice.

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is a 'modern dialect, in which this change has left vestiges enough, to furnish complete explanation of the manner in which it came about.' I think the Hakka dialect furnishes such an explanation, but the evidence I take from it is for the second hypothesis, as the following table of phonetic compounds will show. Pronunciations in brackets are from other dialects (Mandarin and Amoy).

今	king	頷	ngam	念	nyam	稔	lem
戈	kho	義	ngi	蟻	nye, ni and li		
各	kok	(額	ngoh)	額	nyak	畧	lyok
劍	kyam			驗	nyam	斂	lyam
艮	ken	眼	ngan	銀	nyun		
敢	kam	巖	ngam	嚴	nyam		
冠	kon	頑	ngan	元	nyen		
(禺	ku)	愚	ngi	耨	nyeu and leu		
		女	ngi	汝	ni and li		
		貳	ngi	(膩	ni)	膩	le

The character 宜 shows all phases of this change. In Amoy it is *ki*, in Hakka colloquial *ngi*, in the Hakka book language it is *ni* and *li*.

So I think it is more than probable that *k* has changed to *ng* and again to *n* or *ny* and from that to *l*. After giving the above, I think it is not necessary to produce evidence for each of these changes in particular, especially as the first and the last of them are very common and the second is also most natural.

W. E.

Proofs of Ancient Chinese Sounds.—Having been asked to give proofs of the old Chinese pronunciation as I have advocated it during forty years past, I now give examples as they occur to me. 森 sheng, shem, Kanghi gives both these sounds and says it is pronounced like 參 shem root. This is ginseng (or any root) and this particular root is called 人 jin seng because its shape resembles the character 人. As the Kuang Yün, A.D. 600, gives it *shing*, this is proof that *m* in Chinese changes to *ng* and that in A.D. 600 this character was already becoming modified. As final *m* occurs in the Cheng Yün dictionary, A.D. 1360, as quoted in Kanghi this shews that in Central China, where this dictionary was made, final *m* was still at that time the final letter in actual use. In support of this view it is worthy of note here that Mr. Wylie's discovery of the Mongol tablet in the Chi-hien's Yamen at Shanghai shews that in the age, just before the Cheng Yün was published, *m* as a final was heard commonly in Kiangsu in words which have it in Canton, Swatow, and Amoy down to the present day.

As to the meanings of this word, 'abundance of trees,' 'abundant' and 'to plant,' what do they teach us about the origin of sheng or shem? If it is equivalent to 盛 *sheng* which is read *zhing*, we learn that the surd *sh* is derived from the sonant *zh*. The character 森 keeps the old final and 盛 keeps the old initial. Lamm in Arabic is collecting, assembling. Aryan root, sam, together occurs in our words similar, assemble. This accounts for the meaning abundant. We then begin to see that the Chinese call three by the name *sam*, because three objects are seen together. The meaning to plant is really 'set up' and then it agrees with the Hebrew *rum* 'high' as a causatine 'to exalt.' It then agrees with *ting*, *ding*, 'upright' *d* changes to *zh* as *m* to *ng*. Let us take the meanings in the Pei wen yun fu. There we have 森 shim, 森如千丈松 shim ju tsien chang sung, 'tall like pines ten thousand feet high.' In this example it means high without doubt. It is then the Hebrew *rum* and also the Chinese *sung* 'high.' In the poetry of Ju fu it is used with 蕭 in describing the Yang-tsï gorges, especially the Wu shan gorge. Here the appearance of the trees on the precipitous sides of the gorge is said to be sian shim 'noble abundant, and lofty.' The Pei wen yun fu quotations shew that *shim* is used specially with the pine, the bamboo and the maple, *feng*. Consequently

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Kanghi ought to have added height to the meanings. This aids us in identifying *shim* with the Semitic *rum*, for *r* is nothing but a western variation of *s* or *t*.

We go farther in Latin, *dumus* a bush, dumetum a thicket, *dumosus* set with bushes. This shows that out of the roots which lay at the foundation of the Latin vocabulary there was one they called *dum* having the sense bushy. They had also ram for a branch as in *ramus* branch *ramosus*, thick with branches. The Chinese took from the old vocabulary from which they borrowed their words *dung* a staff for *dom* and this has become *chang* a staff, ten feet and *ting* an upright stick. All existing languages came out of older languages and all existing words come from the primeval vocabulary. Nothing can be more gratuitous than the unproved doctrine that languages were originally isolated. The thing is quite impossible where evolution reigns. Languages are not like parallel lines coming from an infinite distance and always just as wide apart from one another as they were in a past infinity. Metaphysical notions like this clog our philology and our grammar. Pupils are taught in school that they must not compare words in one family of language with words in another. But nature knows nothing of this, and one great reason why the ancient Chinese pronunciation ought to be accepted by all philologists is that it presents us with the words in a fit state for comparison with the sister words in the speech of western lands.

J. EDKINS.

Shanghai, Dec. 14, 1894.

TWO SONNETS.—From the album of Commendador L. Marques of Macao.

To The Grotto of Camões.

Where now the honoured bust so snugly rests,
The hapless poet-soldier loved to dwell,
And found amid the soothing woodland spell
The solitude so dear to plaintive breasts.
Perchance upon this quaint, romantic cell
Reclined the head we fain would crown with bay;
And from all human solace far away,
Of exile and crossed love the tears here fell.
Oh, classic grotto, bright with genius' ray,
And, Helicon-like, sacred to the Nine,
From thee arose a grand Homeric lay.
Thou art a nation's treasure, hallowed shrine,
In whose recess, amid those sylvan charms,
Camões immortalised the Lusian arms.

To The Commendador Lourenço Marques, (Knight Commander of the Portuguese Order of Christ).

A tribute to the Muses' famous fane
Begets another for the honoured name
Above inscribed with homage full the same,
For him who spared the place from hands profane;
Who, mindful of the hallowed grotto's fame,
The bust, the tablets reared; a nation taught
To prize the once-neglected classic spot;
And to the world its worth did thus proclaim,
The loving hand that nobly did all this,
That gathered tributes for the glorious bard,
With love and gratitude the muses kiss;
And of posterity shall win regard,
Camões shed lustre on the charming place,
And knightly Marques saved it from disgrace.

C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS.

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NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Problems of the Far East. By the Hon. George N. Curzon, M. P. Japan-Corea-China. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

This highly seasonable and splendidly got up volume has already been so widely reviewed in China and Japan, that we confine ourselves, in commending the book to the attention of our readers as one of the most valuable and most readable criticisms of the Chinese organism, to a brief statement of the points on which we differ from both the author and his reviewers. The value of Mr. Curzon's work lies exclusively in his general deductions and conclusions. All the rest, though cleverly written, beautifully illustrated and smartly edited, is but a *réchauffé* of all the wise saws that a specially intelligent and exceptionally favoured globe-trotter generally gathers up in conversation with the most prominent minds among Europeans in China, from the astute Inspector General of Customs in Peking down to the shrewd Captain of a coasting steamer. It is all daintily dished up, and beautifully served out with the *aplomb* of the practised writer and debater, hurling his words occasionally like bullets and carrying his points with the *élan* of a storming party, but after all the component parts of the feast are the finely-strained skimmings from diverse pots. We repeat, the real value of this book lies in its deductions. Mr. Curzon is not only a keen observer, who made the most of the exceptional opportunities afforded to him, but combines with the highly trained instincts of a powerful and impressive writer the wide grasp and prophetic foresight of a practised statesman. We do not measure ourselves with Mr. Curzon in these respects. On the contrary we look up with admiration to the massive height of his genius. In his treatment of the problems of the Far East—and this is the kernel of the whole—he towers indisputably head and shoulders above any previous writer on the subject. But rich and varied as his information may be, keen and comprehensive as the grasp of his mind is, he lacks the one primary requisite which nought but many years' personal acquaintance with, and long residence among, the Chinese can give—viz., a true conception of the inherent unity and vital powers of the Chinese organism. Hence, though not measuring ourselves above our measure, we claim to be able to correct some of Mr. Curzon's premisses, and hence also our confidence of seeing more clearly and correctly the real issue and solution of the problems of the Far East. Our confidence is that of the dwarf, who, standing on the giant's shoulder, is helped by him to see better and farther than he.

Other reviewers having placed before our readers sufficiently correct summaries of Mr. Curzon's statement and solution of those problems, we confine ourselves to sketch, for comparison by our readers, our own divergent views of the destinies of the Far East and Great Britain's mission in connection with it. Our views are briefly these. For the last twenty-five centuries the march of civilization has been directed from East to West: Europe has been tutored by Asia. All the life and vigour that was in Asia has left her. Arrested development, or actual decrepitude, now characterize the nations of

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the East. But the tide has now turned. Ennobled by Christianity, but disfigured by having its fully developed industries restrained by the rampancy of scientifically refined militarism, the flood-tide of civilization now returns to the East: it is the destiny of Europe and the Western nations to govern Asia and to seek there markets for the products of European industry. Marching at the head of civilization, Great Britain has commenced her share in working out the destiny of Europe in Asia by the occupation of India and Burma, Singapore and Hongkong. Russia is working in the same line in the North. France is pushing in from the South, and Japan resuscitated from the lethargy of arrested development is stretching its limbs on its awakening. Between them, Siam, the Central-Asiatic tribes, and Corea, are bound to be absorbed. The real problem is the fate of the Chinese Empire. Her tributary States are all decrepid and count for nothing. But China herself is brimful of life and vigour, a tremendous multitude of 250 millions of beings, whose muscles and sinews are toughened by toil, uncorrupted by drink, unaffected by opium, and whose nervous fibre and brain is not lacerated yet by the high-pressure labour of Western intellectualism. Innocent of militarism, the one characteristic that China has in common with the nations of the West is its industrialism. Untouched by Christianity, the Chinese organism appears to the eyes of Europe to be a mass of corruption, but it is merely a case of a lower standard of morality. Now these 250 millions of people are all one compact coherent organism. The individual is nothing. The family is the unit of society. And the families and clans of China are all bound together by the one creed of their ancestors, by the unity of blood and descent, by the unity of language, literature, feeling and thought. They have no patriotism but they have a strong sense of corporate unity and corporate responsibility. They care not who rules them but they hang together by joints and bands which defy misrule and tyranny. They have been overrun by almost every nation in Asia but bending meekly under the rule of the invaders they have invariably swallowed up and assimilated their foreign rulers and remained integrally one. Apart from the Jews, there is not a single nation in the world that has preserved its homogeneity unimpaired for the last 3000 years as China has done. This singular exclusiveness and this very want of heterogeneity has been the cause of the apparent atrophy of the Chinese nation. But it is not a case of decrepitude. There is no decay. It is merely arrested development. China is asleep. A tremendous power is needed to rouse the dormant nation. And what, when the awakening comes? Just imagine 250 millions of people, sound in limb and brain, brought under the influence of modern scientific education, supplied with all modern tools, looms and machines of agriculture and industry and equipped, drilled, organized, officered say on the model of the Prussian military system. What would be the consequence? Why in fifty years China would drive European products out of every market in the world and supply the universe with its products, whilst in the line of militarism Japan, the whole of Asia, and Europe itself would be at the mercy of the big battalions. Now this is the first of the problems. What is Great Britain to do with China?

It would lead us too far to inquire what the several European powers will be led to do with China under the pressure of their conflicting interests. What the interests of England imperatively demand, seems to us perfectly clear. In the domain of militarism, England, that puny island kingdom, has become what it is now, the great British Empire, by the occupation of India and by the consequent development of her navy. The conquest of India has carried Great Britain forward on a tide of inevitable advance, to Burma, Singapore, Hongkong and to interference between Japan and China. If India is to be maintained, if British military prestige is to be upheld,

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futher territorial occupation in Asia is unavoidable. Great Britain now finds herself knocking at the gates of China, by land in Tibet, by sea at the Chinese treaty ports and (according to Mr. Curzon) she does not know yet what she wants, beyond an opening of the gates. In the domain of industrialism, where the Englishman is more at home, the British public see clearly how vital is the maintenance of British ascendency in the East, not merely for the sake of the British Empire but for the sustenance of its industry and commerce, because nowhere but here in the East can Britain hope to keep and create open markets for her manufactures. Finally, in the domain of Christianity, however much Englishmen themselves may sneer at their missionaries, these missionaries are increasing and multiplying and still they come in troops swarming to the East like the crusaders of old. No power on earth can stem this tide. Christians in the West are determined that China shall be converted. The gentry, literati and mandarins of China are equally determined that China shall not be converted. Massacres are unavoidable. Great Britain will have to interfere though she may detest the Aeolus bag of Christian Missions as being full of the winds of mischief. The lamb-like missionary impulse of England irresistibly and unconsciously demands exactly what her militarism and industrialism necessitate: further territorial acquisitions in the East. The problem is not what Great Britain desires, but what her interests will compel her to do, and that is to take China as she has taken India, simply to prevent worse mischief.

But there is another and greater problem involved in the case. This Mr. Curzon is but dimly aware of. Whilst the tide of human progress kept running from East to West, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic formed the world's highway and battlefield. There Great Britain made herself the mistress of the sea. It is the in-born pride of every Englishman that Britannia rules the waves. Her militarism, her industrialism, her very Christianity converge in the claim of maritime supremacy. Every Englishman is religiously determined to spend the last drop of blood in the maintenance of that claim. It is monstrous, but it is a fact all the same. But now the flood-tide of human progress is sweeping back towards the East. The fulcrum of the balance of political power in the world has unaccountably shifted from the West to the East. What the Mediterranean and Atlantic were during the last twenty-five centuries, the Pacific Ocean is now bound to become. Africa is even now being brought into the sphere of modern civilization by the combined powers of Europe. The turn of South-America will come next. There is not a first-class power in the world that has not possessions on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Great Britain and the United States, Russia and France, Germany and Italy, Spain and Portugal, all share in the control of countries bordering on, or of islands situated in, the Pacific Ocean. It requires no prophet's gift to see that the politics of the near future centre in the East, and that the problems of the Far East will be practically solved on the Pacific main. With unpremeditated regard to the contest that is sure to arise over those problems, Great Britain has already taken possession of the principal vantage points, in the Pacific, holding Canada in the N. E., Hongkong, Singapore, India, and South-Africa in the S. W., with Australia and the smaller islands of Oceania in the South, whilst her fleet predominates here as elsewhere. To maintain this position several further measures are imperative. And foremost among these is the necessity of securing Great Britain's foothold in Eastern Asia by the occupation of territory infinitely beyond the measure of the confines of Hongkong and its Dependencies.

China in the hands of England will be a blessing to the world, but if left alone she will be the curse of the universe.

E. J. E.

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Note Historique sur Les Diverses Espèces de Monnaie qui sont usitées en Corée, par M. Maurice Courant, Interprète de la Legation de France à Peking.

This historical note professes to give a chronological resumé of Corean numismatics, based on the 文獻備考 *Wên Hsien Pei K'ao*—a Corean work compiled by order of the King 英宗 in A.D. 1770. So little has been written on the subject of Corean numismatics, that this historical note will be welcome to all who are interested in the question of the old currency of the Far East.

According to the *Wên Hsien Pei K'ao*, iron coins were first cast in A.D. 997, and dealers in wine and wood were ordered to use these coins in their dealings instead of cloth, which had hitherto been the chief article of barter, and the circulation of that was now restricted.

In 1101, a silver currency called 闊口銀瓶 'wide-mouthed silver jars,' a catty in weight, and on which an official seal was struck, was issued.

In 1102 a large number of copper coins were struck and paid as salary to public functionaries. These coins bore the inscription 海東通寶 Hai Tung T'ung Pao. In a report presented to the King after 1105 by his Deliberative Assembly, coins with the following inscriptions are also mentioned, 東國通實 Tung Kuo T'ung Pao, 東國重寶 Tung Kuo Chung Pao, 海東通寶 Hai Tung T'ung Pao, 海東重寶 Hai Tung Chung Pao, 三韓重寶 San Han Chung Pao.

In 1287 the Emperor of the 元 Yuan dynasty decreed that Chinese bank notes should be current in Corea. These notes were inscribed 至元寶鈔 Chih Yuan Pao Ch'ao and 中統寶鈔 Chung T'ung Pao Ch'ao.

In 1289 two kinds of 銀瓶 were issued, one worth fourteen pieces of cloth, the other eight or nine pieces.

In 1331 銀瓶 of a smaller size were circulated, worth fifteen pieces of cloth (五綜布).

In 1357 sealed pieces of cloth were recognised as legal currency.

In 1401 the king 太宗 ordered the issue of paper money (楮貨), of which two kinds were afterwards issued, 楮注紙 and 楮常紙.

In 1408 the use of 銀瓶 Yen P'ing was forbidden in order to relieve the people from the toil of working the mines, and it was not till 1592 that silver again came into use.

In 1469 the currency consisted of pieces of cloth, 正布, equal to two pieces of 常布 ordinary cloth, which again was worth 20 pieces of paper money, a piece of paper money being worth a *shing* (升) of rice.

In 1633 the Ordinary Superintendency of Grain (常平廳) received orders to cast cash with the inscription 常平通寶, which remained in circulation for a short time only.

In 1636-1650, 金堉, Commandant of the fortress of 開城, and who became Grand Councillor, urged monetary reforms and the issue of cash, some of which were issued by the 訓鍊都監. The 金堉 himself bought cash in China and distributed them in his country.

1656.—Copper cash were prohibited for the last time, a prohibition which lasted for 22 years.

1678.—By order of the king 肅宗 cash were cast by the following departments:—戶部, 常平廳, 賑恤廳, 精, 抄廳, 司僕寺, 御營廳, 訓鍊都監, and in the provinces by the governors at the military camps 監丘營, 平安, and 全羅. After this the following persons or places were authorised to coin cash:—

1685.—The Minister of Works 工曹.

1691.—The prefecture of 開城府.

1693.—The camp of 摠戎廳.

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1731.—The three provinces of the South (三南).

1742.—咸典, province of 咸鏡.

1750.—The Intendancy of Grain 宣惠廳 and 三軍門.

In 1881 a large cash was substituted for the old issue and circulated at the Capital, in the province of 京畿, and in part of 江原 and of 忠淸.

About the same time an attempt was also made, but without success, to put in circulation a piece of silver, shaped like a cash and ornamented with blue enamel.

Mr. Courant concludes his historical note, of which we have given an epitome, with plates of six coins. Of these however he gives but a very imperfect description which will not be of much assistance to those who are interested in the numismatics of the Far East.

L.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG.

BY E. J. EITEL, PH.D.

(*Continued from Vol. XXI, p.* 310.)

CHAPTER XV.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR SAMUEL GEORGE BONHAM.—20 March, 1848 to 12 April, 1854.

For some months before the departure of Sir J. Davis, the European community of Hongkong looked forward to the arrival of a new Governor in the hope that he would abandon the trade restraining system of monopolies, and revive the waning fortunes of the Colony by carrying into effect the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1847. At the same time the Home Authorities, casting about for a successor to Sir J. Davis, found it difficult to determine what sort of man would be suitable for such a trying office, the more so as public opinion in England had it that an angel for a Governor would fail to give satisfaction in Hongkong. The choice of Her Majesty's Government fell eventually on Sir Samuel George Bonham, C.B. He had been brought up in the service of the East India Company which, owing to the variety of duties, financial, judicial and executive generally thrown upon its higher officers, was considered an excellent training school for a difficult governorship. Sir George Bonham had served under the Colonial Office for nearly ten years (1833 to 1842) as Governor of Prince of Wales Island (now included in Queensland), Singapore and Malacca, and had given great satisfaction. Lord Palmerston subsequently stated that Sir George's 'practical common sense' was the chief cause of his appointment to the governorship of Hongkong.

On landing at Hongkong (20 March, 1848) Sir G. Bonham was received by the leaders of the community with a hearty cheer. Next day he took with due solemnity the customary oaths on assuming his double office of Chief Superintendent of Trade and H. M. Plenipotentiary in China, and as Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Colony of Hongkong and its Dependencies and Vice-Admiral of the same. His commissions and letters patent were published at the same time (21 March, 1848). Mr. (subsequently Sir) Thomas F. Wade, who had been for some time Student-Interpreter under Dr. Gützlaff, in the Secretariate of the Superintendency of Trade, and had acted latterly also as Assistant-Interpreter in the Supreme Court, was appointed Private Secretary to the Governor (8 April, 1848).

Like his predecessors, Sir G. Bonham had to leave Hongkong occasionally, on tours of

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inspection, to visit the Consular Stations in China, and on several occasions his diplomatic duties as H. M. Plenipotentiary took him likewise away for brief intervals to Macao, Canton or Shanghai. In March, 1852, he left on twelve months' leave to recruit health by a visit to England (on which occasion the community presented him with a laudatory farewell address) but was back again at his post in February, 1853. On all these occasions Sir George had either Major-General Staveley, C.B. (till 25 February, 1851) or Major-General Jervois H. K. (from February 1851 to April, 1854) to act as Lieutenant-Governors in his place, and both of them gave general satisfaction by maintaining Sir George's policy during his absence. Major-General Jervois particularly endeared himself to the hearts of all residents by his invariable urbanity and cordial hospitality which effectively promoted good feeling in Hongkong's limited society, as much as by the even tenor of the way in which he conducted the affairs of the Colony. When he left Hongkong, the community presented him (7 April, 1854) with an address testifying to the great respect and esteem in which he was held. During Sir G. Bonham's absence in 1852, Dr. Bowring, then H. M. Consul in Canton, came down (14 April, 1852) as Sir George's *locum tenens* in the Superintendency of Trade and resided at Government House (until 16 February, 1853), confining himself however strictly to his diplomatic and consular duties, while Major-General Jervois administered the government of the Colony as Lieutenant Governor.

Throughout the six years of his tenure of office, Sir G. Bonham maintained friendly relations with the successive Governors of Macao, J. M. F. d'Amiral (until 22 August, 1849), P. A. da Cunha (since 27 May, 1850), S. Cardazo (since 21 January, 1851), and T. F. Guimaraes (since 18 November, 1851). Nor were these amicable relations interrupted even by that plucky but hasty action of the Senior British Naval Officer, Captain H. Keppel, who (7 June, 1849) landed at Macao, with Captain Troubridge and 115 men of H. M. S. *Mæander* and rescued from the Portuguese gaol-guard a British prisoner by an act of force which unfortunately involved the death of one Portuguese soldier and the wounding of two others. The prisoner was Mr. J. Summers, preceptor of St. Paul's College, who had been lodged, with unreasonable harshness, in the common jail at Macao for not taking off his hat at the passing of the *Corpus Christi* procession. When Captain Keppel applied for the prisoner's immediate rendition, Governor Admiral curtly refused it because the gallant Captain declined to ask for it as a personal favour. Captain Keppel fancied that his forcible interference would be held justifiable on the ground of the above mentioned Hongkong Ordinance which included Macao in the dominions of the Emperor of China. As Governor Bonham, however, took a different view of the case, and induced the British Admiralty to grant substantial compensation for the injuries inflicted, the relations between the Governors of the two Colonies continued unimpaired. Great troubles came over that unfortunate settlement at Macao in connection with the anti-Chinese policy and consequent murder of Governor Amiral (August 22, 1849) by hired Chinese assassins, and by the equally sudden death through cholera (not poison) of his successor, Commodore da Cunha (July 6, 1850). The latter had just arrived from Europe with two frigates, demanding of the Chinese Government, as compensation for the assassination of Governor Amiral, a recognition of the perfect independence of Macao. As the Chinese Authorities stubbornly resisted these claims, and not only incited the Chinese residents of Macao to acts of treason, but commenced measures of hostility, many European and Chinese merchants, and even Portuguese families, removed from Macao and settled on the safer shores of Hongkong.

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Sir G. Bonham found the Chinese Government as oblivious of Treaty obligations and as uncompromisingly hostile to the essential aims of British commercial policy as ever. The retro-active policy of the Emperor Taokwang and his successor (since February 25, 1849) Hien-fung had been demonstrated by the degradation of every Mandarin that had had anything to do with the Pottinger Treaties. No one was now in favour at Peking who did not distinguish himself by marked anti-foreign proclivities. The Imperial Commissioner Seu Kwang-tsin, the successor of Kiying at Canton, persistently sought to undermine the position granted by the Nanking Treaty by bringing foreign trade under the old restrictions of the time of the East India Company. For this purpose he set to work quietly to force one after the other of the main staples of foreign trade into the hands of responsible Chinese monopolists. A United States Commissioner, J. W. Davis, plied Seu (November 6, 1848) with the suavest blandishments of cute diplomacy but met only with discourtesy and blunt refusals to listen to any reasoning whatever. When Governor Bonham succeeded in wringing from Seu a reluctant consent to an interview (February 17, 1849) on board H. M. S. *Hastings* near the Bogue, Seu behaved with studied sulkiness, evaded all serious discussion of the burning question of the promised opening of Canton city, and declined even the customary refreshments. He knew that Sir George was not in a position to enforce the fulfilment of the promise which Sir J. Davis had forcibly extorted from Kiying to grant foreign merchants, from after April 6, 1849, the right of entering Canton city. When Sir G. Bonham in repeated dispatches insisted upon the immediate opening of Canton city, Seu fell back upon Kiying's tactics of postponing action on the ground that at the present time it would provoke popular disturbances. Fortified by an Imperial Edict he finally declared (March 31, 1849) the opening of Canton city impossible because 'the Chinese Government cannot thwart the inclinations of its people.' Sir George's practical common sense forbade, under present circumstances, his taking the bull by the horns. In view of the state of public feeling in England, and in the interest of the general commerce with China, he deemed it prudent to abstain from using the only argument that would have made an impression on the Chinese mind, that of an armed demonstration. Nor did he shrink from making a public confession of his helplessness by notifying the British merchants at Canton (April 2, 1849) that 'the Chinese Government has declined to carry into effect the stipulation entered into by Kiying on April 6, 1847.' Sir George took, however, prompt measures to afford to the British community at Canton all possible protection in the event of the outbreak of those disturbances which the literati of Canton wantonly threatened but wisely refrained from in the presence of a British gunboat. That Sir G. Bonham, in resorting to the waiting game he played in this case, acted upon his own convictions and not merely under pressure of his instructions, is evident from the fact that about this same time (April 20, 1849) Lord Palmerston, in replying to a memorial of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (of October 12, 1848) concerning the unsatisfactory position of trade with China, quoted Sir G. Bonham as having stated that 'it is necessary to allow time to work an improvement in China.'

Nevertheless Sir George did not rest idly on his diplomatic oars. In March, 1850, he protested so vigorously against an attempt made by the Hoppo of Canton to prevent Hongkong river-steamers carrying Chinese cargo between Hongkong and Canton, that the Canton Authorities yielded the point. But as he despaired of obtaining any radical concessions in the matter of Treaty rights from any of the provincial magnates, Sir George endeavoured to gain for his representations the Imperial ear and proceeded

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for that purpose in H. M. S. *Reynard* (June, 1850) to the Peiho with the intention to proceed to Tientsin and Peking. Circumstances, however, prevented his reaching Tientsin and compelled him to rest satisfied with the forwarding of a dispatch to the Emperor's advisers by the hands of Mr. Medhurst. Although no tangible result was obtained, H. M. Government marked their sense of Sir G. Bonham's discreet diplomacy by promoting him (November 22, 1850) from the third to the second rank of the Order of the Bath (K. C. B.) and bestowed on him at the same time a baronetcy.

Though highly thought of, Sir G. Bonham was not always victorious with his representations to the Foreign Office. Being, like most common sense Europeans in China, of opinion that the close attention indispensable for a successful study of the Chinese language warps the mind and imbues it with a defective perception of the common things of real life, he systematically promoted men, having no knowledge of Chinese, over the heads of interpreters to the more responsible posts of Vice-Consul or Consul. But when he did this in the case of Mr. (subsequently Sir) Harry Parkes in Canton (autumn, 1853), there ensued what was thenceforth called 'the Battle of the Interpreters.' In this battle Sir George was worsted. Sir Harry Parkes' case was indeed an exceptional one. He had just gained special kudos as an uncommonly shrewd man by his prudent dealing with the fracas which occurred at Canton (March, 1853) between the European residents and the French Minister M. de Bourbillon over the erection of a French flagstaff in the garden of the factories. On appealing therefore against Sir G. Bonham's decision to Lord Clarendon, Sir Harry Parkes gained a complete victory by an immediate reversal of Sir George's system of withholding promotion from Consular interpreters.

In the sphere of British diplomacy in China, there was at this time specially good reason for the waiting policy which Sir G. Bonham initiated and which even Dr. Bowring, during his brief term as Acting Plenipotentiary in 1852, continued. The fact was, a serious rebellion, preceded by sporadic disturbances in several districts of the Canton province, broke out in 1850 in the adjoining province of Kwangsi, under the leadership of a religious fanatic, Hung Siu-tsuen, who had come under Christian influences in Canton. This rebellion, which was for the first time mentioned in the newspapers of Hongkong on August 24, 1850, had originally the powerful support of the secret Triad societies. A split, however, took place, and while the adherents of Hung Siu-tsuen commenced, in 1852, their devastating march through the central provinces of China and established, in 1853, the short-lived Taiping Dynasty at Nanking, the Triad societies' bands of insurgents pillaged independently town after town in the maritime provinces of southern China. As these marauders gained power, and gradually drew nearer to Canton city, the Colony of Hongkong began to reap the harvest which invariably falls to its lot whenever the adjoining districts of the Canton province are in a disturbed state. A flood tide of emigration set in towards Hongkong (and Macao), and thence to the Straits Settlements, to California and the West Indies. For San Francisco alone as many as 30,000 Chinese embarked in Hongkong in the year 1852, paying in Hongkong, in passage money alone, a sum of $1,500,000. Various branches of Chinese industry were established in Hongkong. The population increased rapidly, and Chinese capital, seeking a safe refuge from the clutches of the marauders, commenced to flow into the Colony for investment.

Although the British Government determined at first to observe strict neutrality, the question soon arose which of the two contending Dynasties, the Taiping rebels (favoured by the Missionary party) or the Manchu rulers (supported by the mercantile community) would be more likely to bring

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about that moral regeneration of the nation without which China could never fully enter into the comity of nations. This important question became more pressing when Taiping armies approached or took possession of Treaty ports (1852 and 1853) threatening a cessation of trade. Sir G. Bonham therefore took the bold step of proceeding (April, 1853) to the headquarters of the Taiping rebels enthroned at Nanking. His object was to explain to the rebel leaders, as he had done to the Imperialists, the principles of British neutrality, to demand of them a strict observance of the Nanking Treaty of 1842, and to inquire what elements of stability there might be in the rebel government then established at Nanking. The result was complete disillusion on both sides. The rebels understood thenceforth what they had to expect from the British Government. Sir G. Bonham, on the other hand, was now able to satisfy the Foreign Office that the Taiping Dynasty was a mere bubble, that their policy was as anti-foreign as that of the Manchus, and that even less was to be expected from the former than from the latter for an eventual repression of that cancer of corruption which is gnawing at the vitals of China's political organism. Sir George's action, in visiting the rebel leaders, was afterwards severely and adversely criticized, but the mercantile community of Hongkong were unanimous in their applause of his proceedings. In the farewell address presented to Sir George on 7th April, 1854, the leading merchants of Hongkong specially praised him for having 'acted with prompitude in restoring confidence and relieving the public mind at Shanghai, at a moment of great alarm and excitement, by his bold, well-judged and successful movement up the Yang-tsze to Nanking in April, 1853.'

Now this same patient but practical and determined common sense, which marked Sir G. Bonham's policy as H. M. Plenipotentiary in China, characterized also his administration of Hongkong's local affairs. It appears from the last dispatch which he penned in Hongkong that he from the first considered himself bound by the opinions expressed by the Committee of the House of Commons in the session of 1847, but that he was by no means satisfied with the conclusions which the Committee arrived at. However, the constitutional questions of popular representation in Legislative Council and municipal organisation were among the first subjects which occupied Governor Bonham's serious attention.

In January, 1849, the leading merchants signed a Petition to the House of Commons soliciting attention to the fact that the Colonial Office had, with the exception of the land tenure which it seemed inclined to offer in perpetuity, not attended as yet to the recommendations of the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1847, and stating that the expenditure of the Colony should not in any great degree be thrown on local commerce; that a system of municipal government of ordinary and local affairs ought to be established; and that some short code of law ought to be drawn up. The petitioners particularly complained that the inhabitants had no share in the legislature, neither by elective representatives nor by nominees selected by the Governor, and that the forms and fees of the Supreme Court were unduly heavy. There is no record shewing that this Petition was ever presented to Parliament. Sir George, however, forwarded (January 30, 1849) a copy of the Petition for the information of the Colonial Office. Nine months later, he selected fifteen of the unofficial Justices of the Peace and summoned them to a conference (November 3, 1849). He informed them that Earl Grey had sanctioned his proposal for the admission of two members of the civil community into the Legislative Council, that the nomination rested with him, but that he thought it better for the Justices themselves to elect two of their number. A meeting of the Justices of the Peace was accordingly held at the Club on

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6th December, 1849, and Messrs. David Jardine and J. F. Edger were nominated as the first non-official Members of the Legislative Council. The fact that their election had to be approved by the Colonial Office and that they could not be sworn in until the Queen's warrants arrived (June 14, 1850), did not detract from the general rejoicing over this first step gained in the direction of representative government.

At that same conference (November 3, 1849) Sir G. Bonham had also stated, that, whilst agreeing with the principle of giving taxpayers some sort of municipal government, he doubted the practicability of the scheme in the case of Hongkong. He quoted the words of Sir James Mackintosh (regarding the Bombay municipality) that 'men of standing, engaged in their own absorbing pursuits would possess neither time nor inclination to devote to the interests of the public.' However, he requested the fifteen Justices of his selection to consult on the organisation of a 'Municipal Committee of Police Commissioners.' The Justices thereupon passed, at their meeting of 6th December, 1849, the following resolutions,—first, that no advantage can be derived from having a Municipal Council, unless the entire management of the Police, of the streets and roads within the precincts of the town, and of all other matters usually given to corporations are confided to it; and secondly that, whereas the mode of raising so large a revenue from land rents is only retained as being the most convenient and is in lieu of assessment and taxes, consequently the amount raised from that source, together with the £3,000 or 4,000 raised from licenses and rents, should, with the police assessments, be applicable, as far as may be required, for municipal purposes. If the Justices had been satisfied to begin, in a small way, as a mere Committee of Police Commissioners, looking to future improvement of the revenue to provide the means for extending the scope of their functions, Hongkong would not have remained for fifty years longer without municipal government. As it was, they demanded a full-blown Municipal Council under impossible financial conditions. Governor Bonham, earnestly desiring to meet the wishes of the community as far as possible, made later on some fresh propositions (January 10, 1851). He offered to place the whole management of the Police under a Municipal Committee on condition that the entire expense of the Police Force be provided by an adequate police tax. He further proposed to hand over to this Committee the management of streets, roads and sewers, on condition that the requisite funds be provided either by an assessed tax on real property (as proposed formerly by a Draft Ordinance of Sir J. Davis), or by a tax upon horses and carriages. Sir George was evidently determined on reserving the land rents to meet the establishment charges and, at great risk to his popularity, strove not only to raise the general revenue by increased taxation but to make the Colony as soon as possible independent of those Parliamentary Grants on which the community meant to lean for ever. To reconcile these conflicting purposes was impossible. A breach in the Governor's good relations with the community seemed inevitable. The virulent odium which Sir J. Davis had incurred threatened to overwhelm Sir G. Bonham also. What saved his policy and popularity from shipwreck was his persistent habit of taking the leaders of the community into his confidence, of consulting public opinion about his difficulties, and most of all his evident sincerity in seeking not only to establish the coveted Municipal Council but to carry into effect the whole programme sketched out by the Parliamentary Committee of 1847. That programme constituted the political creed of the community, and the Governor had made it his own. The Justices could not be angry with a man who did this and who moreover treated them as a sincere friend. In their replies (January 31 and March 1, 1851) they

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declined good-humouredly both of the Governor's offers. Whilst again expressing their willingness to undertake the duties of a Municipal Committee, they objected, first, that any further taxation would be injurious as the cost of living was already exorbitant, and secondly, that the police tax would not be sufficient to provide the necessary funds because, whilst the Colony remained a rendezvous for pirates and outlaws, making even the harbour unsafe for native traders, the Police Force was too small and composed of too untrustworthy and ill-paid material. Addison would have said of the points in dispute that much might be said on both sides. The discussion closed with the Governor's declaration (March 15, 1851) that, as the Justices objected to any further taxation, and as application to the Home Government for further grants of money would, in view of recent discussions in the House of Commons, be of no avail, it was impossible for him to meet the views of the Justices. Greek had fought Greek on the arena of common sense views of finance and both parties were pleased to terminate the conflict.

The finances of the Colony were indeed in a desperate state. When the Governor published (January 8, 1849) a statement of income and expenditure for the year 1848, shewing £23,509 local revenue (apart from the Parliamentary Grant) and £62 303 expenditure, a local paper summed up the position of affairs by saying, 'the Colony is now in a state of insolvency, the public works are suspended and the officials only paid a portion of their salaries.' The difficulty was enhanced by the fact that a public loan was out of the question, that the Parliamentary Grant for 1849 had been reduced to £25,000, and that but little could be saved by retrenchment of the civil establishment without committing an act of injustice or impairing efficiency. Sir George was, indeed, even then of the opinion which he expressed later on, that, 'were this Colony taxed in the same way as are the Settlements in the Straits under the government of the East India Company, it would in a year or two be made to pay its own expenses.' But he also knew that any attempt at additional taxation would be violently resisted by the community as injurious to trade. All eyes were therefore directed to the Imperial Exchequer. Sir George himself appears to have considered the temporary continuance of a small annual grant from the Exchequer a reasonable measure. 'Seeing,' he wrote (April 2, 1850), 'that the trade of the Colony benefits the British Exchequer and the Indian Government conjointly to the extent of upwards of seven millions sterling, an expenditure on the part of the mother country of from £12,000 to £15,000 annually, to uphold the establishment of a Colony which is the seat of the Superintendent of British trade with China, ought not to be considered excessive.' This was, however, a question to be decided by Parliament, and public opinion in England declared that the Colony was now out of its swaddling clothes and ought to learn to stand on its own legs.

Sir G. Bonham did his best to bring about this desirable result by revising taxation as far as practicable and enforcing retrenchment in every possible direction. For the *ad valorem* duty on goods sold by auction, he substituted increased auctioneers' licence fees. He introduced a tax on the exportation of granite which was at the time largely used as ballast for tea ships. He shrank from reviving the opium monopoly, but stimulated the revenue from the opium retail licences which had been substituted (since August 1, 1847) for the farming system. He left the police tax assessment untouched at the low rate of 5 per cent. but reduced the expensive European contingent of the Police Force to the lowest possible minimum. Finally he restricted public works (with the exception of the erection of a new Government House) to the bare maintenance of existing roads and buildings. By these and other minor forms of retrench-

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ment, he produced at the close of the year 1849 an immediate reduction of £23,672 on the expenditure of the preceding year. He thenceforth maintained this low rate of expenditure (£38,986 in 1849) which averaged £34,398 per annum during the next three years and rose in 1853 to no more than £36,418. He was unable, indeed, to bring about any great improvement of the local revenue, which, though it rose temporarily, by the rigorous exaction of arrears of land rents in 1849, to £35,536, fell again to £23,526 in 1850, and produced during the next three years (1851 to 1853) an annual average of £23,254. However, at the close of his administration he was justified in saying (April 7, 1854) that he had brought the Parliamentary Grant from £25,000 in 1849 down to £8,500 (correctly £9,200) in 1853, and that he had reduced the expenditure of the Colony, within six years, from £62,658 to £36,418.

During a period of such financial difficulties, the vexed question of land tenure could not possibly be solved in the way in which the mercantile community desired it to be settled. The merchants were not satisfied with perpetuity of leases. They desired an entire revision of the terms on which they had originally bought their land. Instead of fixing an annual rental and putting up to auction only the rate of bonus to be paid once for all, Elliot had (in the absence of a reliable standard of land values) initiated the system of putting up to auction the rate of the crown rent to be paid from year to year. In the early times of keen competition, of booms and speculations, land jobbing forced up the crown rents to a maximum commensurate with inflated values. But this maximum, which at the time of sale seemed reasonable enough, appeared in after years of commercial stagnation to be a monstrously oppressive rate. Moreover, just when these rents pressed most heavily on the land owners, the Government, whose revenues suffered likewise under commercial depression, was least inclined, nor indeed in a position, to reduce the income from land rents. At a public meeting, principally representing the land owners, a memorial to the Government was agreed to (January 19, 1849), complaining that the land rents were a burden too heavy to be borne. The memorialists suggested, that the expenses of the civil establishment should be made to fall on trade generally (the Imperial trade) and not on local owners of land and that the crown rents should be materially reduced or abolished. Sir George was in no hurry to take up a problem which could not be solved under the circumstances of the time and left it as a legacy to his successors. After appointing (October, 1849) a Commission of Inquiry to report on the land tenure of the Colony for the information of Her Majesty's Government, he informed his select committee of Justices of the Peace, at the conference of November 3, 1849, that 'any general reduction in the ground rents would be immediately followed up by the Home Government with the imposition of some general scheme of excise or assessment which would be found much more oppressive and vexatious, besides requiring a cumbersome and costly fixed machinery.' Fifteen months later (February 14, 1851) the Colonial Secretary, in reviewing the merits of Sir G. Bonham's administration (by order of the Governor), stated that the petty sources of revenue alleged to have been oppressive, had been abolished and for the consideration of the chief source, said to be oppressive, a Committee of five was appointed and their report forwarded to Her Majesty's Government. No more was heard of this troublous question during this administration.

The legislative activity of Governor Bonham's regime centered in reforms of the administration of justice. When it was found, in October 1848, that there were only 23 persons in the Colony capable of serving on juries, the Goveror reduced the property qualification of common jurors from $1000 to $500. According to his

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habit of consulting the community about difficult problems, Sir G. Bonham published, in January, 1849, with a view to elicit an expression of public opinion, a Draft Ordinance to regulate the flogging of criminals. Little accustomed, as the residents then were, to being consulted by their Governors, they imagined that Sir George had no definite views on a subject on which the whole community, convinced of the absolute necessity of applying exceptional severity to the treatment of Chinese criminals, felt very strongly. Nevertheless, the Governor deemed it prudent to shelve the question, while weightier matters pressed for settlement. To remove the friction between the Police Magistrates and the Chief-Justice, which had troubled the preceding administration, Sir George created (December 17, 1850) a bench of Magistrates, perfectly independent of the Government and having powers considerably greater than those ordinarily accorded to similar bodies, by the establishment of a Court of Petty Sessions. Unofficial Justices of the Peace were to sit once a week with the Police Magistrates to hear cases which otherwise would have been remitted to the Supreme Court for trial by jury. The aim of this new measure (Ordinance 5 of 1850) was to provide a more speedy settlement of small debts, misdemeanours and minor crimes. But it expected, on the part of the Justices, a greater readiness to sacrifice their time and more legal acumen, than subsequent experience proved that they possessed. Hence this measure did not give permanent satisfaction. Further, as the Governor, in his capacity as Plenipotentiary, extended at the same time the judicial powers of Consuls in Treaty ports at the expense of Supreme Court jurisdiction, many of his critics (and seemingly the Chief-Justice himself) saw in this creation of a Court of Petty Sessions an objectionable encroachment upon the criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. An opposition paper went so far as to impute to Sir G. Bonham the intention of eventually abolishing the costly Supreme Court altogether by the appointment of civil officers combining judicial and administrative functions under a system of plurality of offices which would save expenditure. However, the Governor made no such attempt. On the contrary, he extended the summary jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to civil cases not involving more than $500, and pleased the community considerably in giving effect to another suggestion of the Parliamentary Committee of 1847 by publishing, for the protection of suitors, a table of fees chargeable by attorneys. The question of the form of oath to be administered to Chinese witnesses occupied public attention in December, 1851, the Chief-Justice having stated that he was greatly afraid that fully half the cases adjudicated summarily had been determined on false testimony. Originally the practice had been adopted of making Chinese witnesses cut a cock's head in Court. Subsequently the breaking of an earthen-ware basin was substituted and latterly it had been customary to burn a yellow paper with oath and imprecation inscribed on it or signed by the witness. The modern practice of a simple (though generally unintelligible) oral affirmation in place of oath was now (in 1852) adopted. Among the minor Ordinances passed during this administration was an Ordinance to restrain the careless manufacture of gunpowder by Chinese (August 31, 1848), and a Marriage Ordinance (March 16, 1852) the operation of which was, however, confined to the registration of Christian marriages, leaving the polygamic marriage system of the Chinese unregulated. Sir G. Bonham's common sense administration is naturally distinguished by the paucity of its legal enactments. The strained relations which formerly existed between the Governor and Chief-Justice Hulme (who was restored to office on June 16, 1848) were ended. But the Chief-Justice's relations with Governor Bonham, though never unfriendly, were not marked by cordiality.

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Among the community, however, Chief-Justice J. W. Hulme was extremely popular. On his departure (April 7, 1854) the leading residents presented him with an address testifying to the high character he had always maintained on the bench, to his satisfactory administration of the law under perplexing difficulties, and to his undeviating impartiality and uprightness.

During the first two years of Sir G. Bonham's administration, crime was still rife in the Colony, but from the year 1850 there was, with the exception of piracy, a sensible decrease of serious offences. Occasional outbursts of a grave nature were, indeed, not wanting, but the number of felonies, 674 in 1850, fell during the next two years to an average of 505 cases per annum, and was reduced in 1853 to 471 cases. An attempt was made by Chinese, on July 8, 1848, to poison 25 men of the Royal Artillery. This was followed by a fight in the harbour between the police, assisted by boats of H. M. S. *Cambrian*, and some junks (October 15, 1848). Three Chinese junkmen and a policeman were shot. The Coroner's jury, however, acquitted the junk people and public opinion blamed the police. Next came an attempt (December 24, 1848) to fire the Central Market. Soon after (February 28, 1849) occurred the murder at Wongmakok (near Stanley) of Captain da Costa, R.E., and Lieutenant Dwyer of the Ceylon Rifles, by the pirate chief Chui Apou, who was subsequently (March 10, 1851) convicted of manslaughter but committed suicide in jail. In September, 1849, a foolish rumour gained currency among the native population to the effect that the Chinese Government had offered a reward for the assassination of Governor Bonham. The suggestion was, however, seriously made, and subsequently acted upon, that, in driving out, the Governor should always be attended by an escort of armed troopers. During September, 1850, some street fights occurred owing to the carpenters' guild intimidating independent journeymen who refused to submit to the guild regulations. With the exception of a murderous attack made upon the Rev. Van Geniss (August, 1852), on the road between Little Hongkong and Wongnaichung, the latter years of this administration were remarkably free from highway robberies and burglaries.

But piracy lifted up its head high during this period, in spite of the periodical destruction of piratical fleets by British gunboats. By a series of hotly contested engagements (September 28 to October 3, 1849), Commander J. C. Dalrymple Hay, with H. M. Ships *Columbine*, *Fury*, and *Medea*, destroyed the entire fleet of Chui Apou, consisting of 23 junks, carrying 12 to 18 guns each and manned by 1,800 desperadoes. Two piratical dock-yards were also destroyed on the same occasion. A few weeks later (October 19 to 22, 1849), Commander Hay, having under his orders H. M. Ships *Phlegeton*, *Fury*, *Columbine*, and a large party of officers and men from H. M. S. *Hastings*, destroyed the greater part of the fleet of the other pirate chief, Shap-ng-tsai. Out of 64 junks, manned by 3,150 men with 1,224 guns, as many as 58 junks were destroyed. Commander Hay officially reported that these successes were obtained on the information given 'by that invaluable officer Daniel R. Caldwell.' So intense was the rejoicing in commercial circles of Hongkong over these wholesale massacres of pirates, that a public subscription was raised and each of the captains present at the destruction of Shap-ng-tsai's fleet, was presented with a service of plate of the value of £200. A third piratical fleet of 13 junks, collected by Chui Apou, was destroyed (March 4, 1850) in Mirs Bay, close to Hongkong, by H. M. S. *Medea*, which had on board Mr. Caldwell and a mandarin from Kowloon. Finally, on May 10, 1853, another piratical fleet was destroyed by H. M. S. *Rattler*. Nevertheless, sporadic cases of piracy continued to increase in the neighbourhood of Hongkong. On February 20, 1851, a pitched battle was fought in Aberdeen Bay

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between some piratical junks and 8 Chinese gunboats. A week later (February 28, 1851) a conspiracy to loot the river-steamer *Hongkong* on her way to Canton, was discovered by Mr. Caldwell. In the year 1852 some 19 cases of piracy were reported as having occurred in the waters of Hongkong. During the summer of 1853 piracies occurred at an average rate of 14 per month. As many as 70 cases were reported during the year 1853, the most shocking case being the murder (August 5, 1853) of the captain, officers and passengers of the S. S. *Arratoon Apcar*, by the Chinese crew.

The Government was almost helpless in the matter of piracy. Sir G. Bonham did what he could to organize a detective department and appointed for this purpose the best colloquial linguist Hongkong ever possessed, Mr. D. R. Caldwell, as Assistant-Superintendent of Police (September 1, 1848). His services were highly effective, particularly in connection with piracy cases. The patent failure of the Police, with regard to the prevention of crime, was unavoidable, as this extraordinary activity of Chinese criminals on land and sea was the natural corrollary of the Taiping and Triad rebellion, and as the Police Force was deficient in numerical strength so long as financial considerations prevented its re-organisation on a proper footing. Governor Bonham, who thought the Force was quite sufficient for the policing of the town, stated at the close of his administration, that, while the Colony had been improving in every respect, and contentment prevailed throughout the entire population, the only subject of regret was the extent to which piracy prevailed in the neighbouring waters. 'To suppress it,' he added, 'is impossible without the co-operation of the Chinese Government. This co-operation I have repeatedly requested without avail, and in the present disorganized state of the sea-board part of the Empire it is now useless to expect it.'

It has already been stated that to the Taiping rebellion is due the great advance (81 per cent.) which the population made during this period. Even the proportion of males and females commenced now to improve, as the disturbances in the neighbouring districts drove whole families to seek refuge in Hongkong. In 1848 the population numbered 21,514 residents. In 1849 it rose to 29,507 and by the year 1853 it numbered 39,017 residents. In 1848 one fifth and in 1853 one third of the population were females.

The development of the Colony's commercial prosperity kept pace with the increase of the population. The fresh streams that stirred the stagnant pool of local commerce into renewed life came, however, not merely from the rebellion-fed source of Chinese emigration, but to a great extent also from the discovery of the Californian gold-fields, from the development of the North-Pacific whale and seal fisheries, from the progress made by the Australian Colonies and from the opening up of Japan to British trade and civilization. It may be said, in fact, that it was during this period that the Pacific Ocean commenced to rise into that commercial importance, which, as it has increased ever since, including also the smaller islands of Oceania, is bound to make the Pacific ere long one of the most important centres of the world's commercial politics.

The fresh life infused into the arteries of local commerce naturally manifested itself in the first instance by an increase in the shipping trade. The number of square-rigged vessels regularly frequenting the port increased during this period from 700 to 1,103, while their tonnage was nearly doubled. Ship-building went on briskly at J. Lamont's patent slip at East Point, and from 16 to 30 European vessels were annually registered in the Colony. The native junk trade, though restrained by piracy, also increased considerably. The system of employing small British steamers to convoy and protect by force of arms fleets of native junks, continued so long as the coast of China was infested with swarms of

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piratical fleets. Of course this practice had its attendant evils. The Chinese Authorities protested against it and British naval commanders were its sworn enemies. One of the latter arrested the little steamer *Spec* and prosecuted its captain and crew in the Consular Court at Shanghai on a charge of piracy, for having fired into junks which were mistaken for pirates. The prosecution, however, fell to the ground when tried in the Supreme Court of Hongkong (September, 1848). Governor Bonham was averse to the convoying system, but Her Majesty's Government permitted its continuance as it had its justification in the fact that the spasmodic efforts, made by the few British men-of-war on the station to suppress piracy, were practically of no avail so long as the Chinese rebellion continued.

The opening of the gold-fields in the Sacramento valley in 1848 and the organisation of the new State of California in 1850 caused a new line of commerce to connect Hongkong with San Francisco. It commenced (July, 1849) with large orders for slop clothes and wooden houses (shipped in frame) which were made in Hongkong. Next, Chinese artizans were sent to California to set up those houses. These were followed by an annually increasing stream of Chinese emigrants embarking at Hongkong for San Francisco and a steadily developing trade in all sorts of articles. In the year 1851 forty-four vessels left Hongkong for California and this line of connection has been maintained ever since.

In December, 1848, a few American whalers put into Hongkong to refit and were so pleased with the resources of the Colony that for many years after they repeated their visits in increasing numbers. Thirteen such vessels arrived at the close of the year 1849. Between December 1850 and March 1851, fifteen vessels arrived laden with oil, of which a considerable portion was shipped in British bottoms to England under the navigation laws. As each of these vessels spent about £500 in the Colony, their visits were hailed with satisfaction, apart from the incipient oil trade connected with them. During the next season as many as 37 whalers arrived (December 2, 1851 to February 21, 1852) with 616,203 gallons of oil, of which however only a small portion was shipped from Hongkong to London.

Coolie emigration to Peru and Cuba, though chiefly conducted at Macao, because the crimping and kidnapping system connected with it would not have been tolerated in Hongkong, benefitted the Colony at first to some extent (in 1852). But the frequent mutinies which occurred among the coolies shipped on that system soon caused British skippers to eschew the Peruvian coolie trade. Properly regulated coolie emigration to Guiana commenced in 1853 under the direction of Mr. J. Gardiner Austin, the Immigration Agent-General of the Government of British Guiana. Emigration to Australia commenced in a small way, in 1853, with three vessels carrying 268 Chinese settlers. The restrictive policy which in after years, when pushed to an extreme, banished coolie emigration from the Colony, was initiated by Governor Bonham in a proclamation (January 4, 1854) which, however, did not go beyond regulating the provisioning and dietary scale of coolie ships.

The opium trade of the Colony, which Sir Robert Peel's Government had at one time (in 1846) intended to suppress by the imposition of a prohibitive tax, entered in spring 1853 into its present state of legitimate commerce, through the decision of the Chinese Government to legalise the importation of opium. The published *raison d'être* of this decision was 'the inefficiency of the laws against opium by reason of their excessive severity.' In reality, however, Chinese statesmen, as they had been induced by financial considerations to prohibit the importation of opium in 1839, now legalised its importation in 1853 on purely financial grounds. In 1839 they excluded Indian

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opium because it drained China of its silver. In 1853 they imposed a heavy import duty on Indian opium to provide funds for the suppression of the Taiping rebellion. But whatever treatment they accorded to Indian opium, they all along permitted the cultivation of native opium in the inland provinces.

Questions of currency were much debated in Hongkong during this period, since October, 1850, when the comparatively rare Spanish dollars commanded a high premium in the market at Canton, where at the time the bulk of Hongkong exchange operations was conducted. Rather sudden fluctuations occurred in 1851, placing Mexican dollars, rupees and English money at an enormous discount. Various schemes were propounded to smooth matters, but all proved futile. In 1852, the coinage of a British dollar was first mooted in connection with the resolution of a public meeting held at Singapore (January, 1852) which suggested the coinage of an East India Company's dollar with divisions of half, quarter and eighth dollars for circulation in the Straits. Unfortunately the proposal was shelved for years. Meanwhile contention arose in Hongkong through contradictory official decisions. In January, 1854, the Chief-Justice ruled 'that, when an agreement runs for dollars of any denomination, such dollars must be paid with—in English money—whatever premium they command in the Hongkong market,' and again, 'that Court fees must be paid in dollars, but that it is not proper to refuse English money in payment of costs.' On the other hand, the Colonial Treasurer (W. T. Mercer) made an order (February 9, 1854) that 'all Government land rents must for the future be paid in dollars according to the terms of the lease.' As the Colonial Treasurer refused the Queen's sovereigns, which about this time had been declared by the Lords of the Treasury to be a legal discharge for the sums they represented 'throughout Her Majesty's dominions' and to require no further Colonial enactment for their legalisation, complaints were made on all sides. The contention was accentuated by the fact that the Colonial Treasurer took dollars at a fixed rate of four shillings and two pence though the market value might be five shillings.

Steam communication between Hongkong and Canton was placed on a satisfactory basis by the establishment (October 19, 1848) of the 'Hongkong and Canton Steam Packet Company.' The first Hongkong Directors of this Company were Messrs. D. Matheson, A. Campbell, T. D. Neave and F. T. Bush. They commenced operations in spring 1849 with two small steamers (of 250 tons each) built in London. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company commenced in 1849 running a steamer (the *Lady Mary Wood*) regularly between Hongkong and Shanghai, but failed in an attempt, made in December 1850, to induce local merchants to pay a monthly subsidy in lieu of postage. The same Company established, in January 1853, a regular monthly mail between Hongkong and Calcutta, giving thereby the Colony the advantage of regular fortnightly communication with England. Telegrams had to be sent through intermediary agents at Gibraltar or Trieste, the latter route becoming now the favourite. The increased facilities thus provided, were not much relished by Hongkong merchants, because they accentuated the keenness of competition. The leisure with which business was formerly conducted in the time of monthly mails, was now supplanted by an annually increasing high-pressure rate of communication with all parts of the world. In other respects also local trade had by this time undergone an alteration. The profits of the China trade, formerly enjoyed by a few, were now divided among the many. The days of the merchant princes were now a dream of the past. Fortunes were still made but it took some decades of years now to make them. However, the commercial prospects of the Colony were certainly extending and assuming a character of greater

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permanency. When (in summer 1850) the great firms in India were prostrated one after the other, the China firms dealing with India bore the shock firmly with but one exception.

But it took years before Hongkong's commercial reputation was rehabilitated in England. The *Economist*, which had maligned the good fame of the Colony in 1846, continued even in 1851 (March 8) to belittle the progress which had been made meanwhile. How very little was thought or known of Hongkong at this time even by those in authority in England, is evidenced by the fact that the Royal Commissioners of the International Exhibition of 1851 gave no place to Hongkong as a Colony. They merely invited the merchants of Hongkong to join in an exhibition representing China. Naturally resenting this slight, the Committee, appointed at a public meeting that was held on June 24, 1850, resolved to leave it to the Canton Committee, which had already appointed numerous Sub-Committees, to take action. But the latter also threw up the project, and it was left to a few enthusiastic individuals in Canton and Shanghai (chiefly Consuls) to collect and forward to London specimens of Chinese produce and manufactures. China merchants in London were the principal contributors. The only exhibits representing Hongkong in that fair temple of the world's commercial competition at Hyde Park consisted of a tiny pagoda, a jade cup and two silver race cups exhibited by Mr. W. Walkinshaw, and a North-China walking stick added by Mr. F. S. Carpenter of St. John's Wood. The Royal Commissioners further demonstrated the prevailing popular ignorance of Hongkong's position by labelling and cataloguing the Canton Consul's exhibits of specimens of Chinese coal as 'collected by H. M. Consul at Hongkong.'

The sanitary record of this period presents a remarkable illustration of the vagaries of Hongkong fever and of human inability to restrain or even account for them. It had previously been customary to attribute the origin of Hongkong fever to exhalations from disturbed virgin soil arising after exposure to sun and rain. In 1848, the Colonial Surgeon traced it to the prevalence of electricity in the atmosphere. But during the next few years fever put in a sudden and equally malignant appearance in places where the soil had not been disturbed and at times when electricity in the atmosphere was particularly scarce. At a former period Hongkong fever attacked Indian troops when it spared European troops. During the administration of Sir G. Bonham fever raged epidemically in the garrison, both European and Indian, while it left the civilian population untouched. Thus it was particularly in July and August, 1848, when, after several months of excessive heat, fever decimated the garrison to an alarming degree. The same epidemic recurred among the garrison in July and August, 1850, when no excessive heat but an unusually prolonged winter season had preceded it. In the short interval of six weeks, the 59th Regiment was more than decimated, 43 men having died (though many more were stricken with fever) between 24th July and 23rd August, 1850, whilst the health of the civilians in Hongkong continued generally good. It is noteworthy also that, after that unusually prolonged winter of 1849 to 1850, an epidemic, having all the appearances of the plague (black death) which devastated London in 1665, broke out in Canton in May 1850, but, though it raged there for several months, it did not spread to Hongkong. In autumn (1850), when the fever had ceased ravaging the garrison of Hongkong, it broke out among the Chinese population. It was then ascribed to long continued drought. From 1850 to 1853 the average annual death rate among the civilian European population was 8 per cent. and among the Chinese 3 per cent., while among the troops it varied considerably. In 1850 the death rate among European troops was 23 per cent. and among the Indian troops 10

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per cent. The case was reversed in 1852, when the death rate of European troops was 3.6 per cent. and that of the Indian troops 10.02 per cent. In 1851 and 1853 the death rate was the same among both classes of troops. But whilst in all the preceding years fever appeared principally in the summer months, it made its appearance among the garrison in 1854 as early as April, when 73 men were stricken with fever and dysentery in one month. Six cases of Beriberi, a disease previously unknown in Hongkong, occurred at this time among the Indian troops.

Great as the vagaries of disease were during this period, the divergencies of public opinion on the subject were still greater. While English newspapers denounced Hongkong as a pest-hole, while the music-halls in London resounded with the popular refrain 'You may go to Hongkong for me,' Governor Bonham grew eloquent (in his annual reports) on the salubrity of the climate of Hongkong, which he considered to be 'as well adapted to the European constitution as other places similarly situated within the tropics.' Equally great was the variation of opinion among military and civilian surgeons as to the utility of Peak sanatoriums. These were first recommended in 1848 by the Colonial Surgeon (Dr. Morrison), who suggested the erection of a Government sanatorium at an altitude of 1774 feet above the sea.

The Colonial church was at last completed and formally opened (March 11, 1849) on the anniversary of the day on which Sir J. Davis had laid the foundation stone. Unfortunately this ceremony revived for a moment the community's bitter feelings against their former Governor, because his coat of arms, including a bloody hand, was observed emblazoned over the *porte cochère*. The indignant community assumed, probably without good grounds, that this apparent impropriety, for which the Surveyor General (Ch. St. J. Cleverly) was responsible, was due to instructions left by Sir J. Davis. The building was neatly fitted up. As the cost of erection, even after leaving the tower without a steeple, exceeded the funds available (£4,600). power was given to the Trustees by a special Ordinance (3 of 1850) to raise a loan to cover the deficit ($2,500). Advantage was taken of this Ordinance to transfer the management of the Church from the Colonial Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Victoria. For letters patent had meanwhile been issued (May 11, 1849) declaring the Colony to be the diocese of a Lord Bishop and constituting St. John's church as a cathedral church and bishop's see. It appeared that a fund of £18,000 had been raised in England for the endowment of a Hongkong bishopric, that an annual grant of £6,000 from the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund had been promised by the Bishop of London, and that an additional sum of £2,000 was available for the special purposes of St. Paul's College. The latter institution was to be (like Dr. Legge's Anglo-Chinese College) a school for the training of Chinese ministers, and the Bishop was appointed its warden under statutes approved (October 15, 1849) by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The College received later on also a small Parliamentary grant to train interpreters for the public service.

With the arrival (March 29, 1850) of the Bishop, G. Smith, who consecrated the new cathedral in September, 1850, a period of increased missionary and educational activity set in, for Bishop Smith possessed stimulating energy and looked upon the whole of China, as well as Hongkong, as his diocese. The Jewish Colony at Kaifungfoo (in North-China) received a share of the Bishop's attention, a curious testimony of which is exhibited in the City Hall Library in the shape of a portion of the Hebrew pentateuch recovered from Kaifungfoo. The Taiping rebellion and the missionary politics connected with it occupied much of the Bishop's time. For the benefit of seamen passing through Hongkong, the lorcha *Anne* was

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converted into a floating Bethel in charge of a seamen's chaplain (Mr. Holdermann). The Government Grant-in-Aid Schools were soon brought under the supervision of the Bishop as chairman of the Educational Committee, and worked as feeders of St. Paul's College. The latter was taught (until 1849) by Mr. J. Summers (afterwards Professor of Chinese Literature at King's College, London) and subsequently by the Bishop himself and his chaplains. Though the College produced not a single native minister, nor any official interpreter, many of the best educated native residents of the Colony received their training there. The same may be said of Dr. Legge's Anglo-Chinese College, which also failed to produce any native preacher or teacher but trained some eminent English-speaking Chinese. While Bishop Smith was great in religious politics, Dr. Legge made himself a European reputation as the translator of the Chinese classics. On the other hand, some of the scholars of the Morrison Institution, of the Anglo-Chinese College and of St. Paul's College gained at different times an unenviable notoriety in Police Court cases. Hence the public drew the inference that, in the case of Chinese youths, an English education, even when conducted on a religious basis, fails to effect any moral reform, and rather tends to draw out the vicious elements inherent in the Chinese character. The mercantile community, which had hitherto munificently supported missionary institutions, commenced about this time to withdraw their sympathies from the missionary cause altogether. The Morrison Education Society's School on Morrison Hill had to be closed, in spring 1849, for want of public support. Mr. Stanton's English Children's School, under Mr. Drake, also collapsed in 1849 and the attempt made by Miss Mitchell to revive it resulted, in 1853, in complete failure. Dr. Gützlaff's Chinese Union of native colporteurs, which had for many years made a greater stir in Europe than in China, ended in October 1849, during the temporary absence of Dr. Gützlaff, in a miserable fiasco. The London Mission Hospital for Chinese, having for some years past lost its hold on public sympathy, was closed in October, 1850. The London Missionary Society opened, however, a chapel in Queen's Road (May, 1851) where outpatients were occasionally attended to. As the mercantile public became severe critics of the labours of the missionaries, the latter now came to look upon Hongkong as 'a stumbling-block to the progress of christianity and civilization in China.' The Roman Catholic Missions, seeking on the quiet the support of Government rather than of the public, continued the even tenor of their way. They started several small Schools which gave to Portuguese youths an elementary English education and thus commenced the work which eventually filled commercial and Government offices with Portuguese clerks. The Chinese population, who were still in the habit of sending their sons to be educated outside the Colony, in Canton or in their respective native villages, cared little for local education. Public spirit among the Chinese vented itself in guild meetings, processions and temple-committees. Among the latter, the Committee of the Man-moo temple (rebuilt and enlarged in May, 1851) now rose into eminence as a sort of unrecognized and unofficial local-government board (principally made up by Nampak-hong or export merchants). This Committee secretly controlled native affairs, acted as commercial arbitrators, arranged for the due reception of mandarins passing through the Colony, negotiated the sale of official titles, and formed an unofficial link between the Chinese residents of Hongkong and the Canton Authorities.

With the advent of Sir G. Bonham, who possessed the secret of making himself thoroughly popular without surrendering a vestige of his dignity as Her Majesty's Representative, and who was fortunate in having for his co-adjutors popular and hospitable men like the Major-Generals Staveley

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and Jervois, a great change came over the social life of the Colony. From the very commencement of this administration, Hongkong society began to take its tone from, and was thenceforth held together by, the spirit that prevailed at Government House. The transition, from the state of things in the days of Sir H. Pottinger and Sir J. Davis, when Government House was virtually under a self-imposed ban of social ostracism, to the time of Sir G. Bonham, when the social life of the Colony gathered round Government House as its pivot, was too sudden and too great to pass off smoothly. When Sir George (November, 1849) selected fifteen of the unofficial Justices of the Peace, summoned them to a conference, and thenceforth frequently consulted them collectively or individually, he virtually created, in succession to the merchant princes of former days, an untitled commercial aristocracy. Unfortunately, this select company had no natural basis of demarcation. Merchants, formerly of equal standing with some of the chosen fifteen, resented their exclusion from the charmed circle. Hence (particularly in summer 1850) the epithets of flunkyism and toadyism were freely applied to the attitude of the Governor's commercial friends. Even among the latter, there arose occasionally acrimonious questions of precedence at the gubernatorial dinner table. Moreover the gradations of social rank thus originated in the upper circles reproduced themselves in the middle and lower strata of local society, which accordingly became subdivided into mutually exclusive cliques and sets. The revival of the Amateur Dramatic Corps (December 2, 1848), the formation of the Victoria Regatta Club (October 25, 1849) and the establishment of a Cricket Club (June, 1851), served, together with the annual race meetings (transferred since 1850 from January to February), and the growing popularity of the Masonic fraternity (which gave its first ball on February 1, 1853), to contribute some powerful elements of social redintegration. The presence, in 1852 and 1853, of the U. S. Squadron, consisting of seven vessels, under Commodore Perry, was also helpful to level down invidious social distinctions. The sympathy which always interconnected the mercantile community and the local garrison, became specially conspicuous when, in 1848, sickness made such frightful ravages among the troops. The kindness then shown, particularly by the firm of Jardine, Matheson & Co., to the non-commissioned officers and men of the 95th Regiment, was acknowledged on the part of the latter by the presentation, to the head of that firm, of a memorial cup (February, 1849). The growingly cosmopolitan tone of public feeling in Hongkong was evidenced by the universal approval given to the salute which the British men-of-war in harbour fired on July 4, 1851, in memory of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States.

At the beginning of Sir G. Bonham's administration, a Colonial Hospital was organised (October 1, 1848) and the new Government offices (close to the Cathedral) completed (November 10, 1848). But with the exception of the erection of a new Government House (1850 to 1853), no other public works of any pretension were undertaken. On August 8, 1848, a stirring paper from the pen of Dr. Gützlaff was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, advocating 'the advantages to be derived from the establishment of a Botanical Garden in Hongkong.' A Committee was forthwith appointed to make inquiries as to the best site and cost of the undertaking. The Government was also approached on the subject, which was warmly applauded on all sides. But financial considerations caused Sir G. Bonham to postpone the execution of the scheme. The private organisation (August, 1848) of the Victoria Library and Reading Rooms (which laid the foundation for a future public library) and the existence throughout this period of three local newspapers and two advertisers, testified to the continuance of a literary as well as com-

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mercial spirit in the Colony. The temporary stay of Dr. Bowring in Hongkong (1852 to 1853) fanned the languishing energies of the Royal Asiatic Society into a new flame. Masonic pursuits were popularized by the elaborate solemnity of laying the foundation stone (February 1, 1853) of the Masonic Hall, under the direction of the Provincial Grand Master (S. Rawson) of British Masons in China.

Few but serious calamities marred the general prosperity which characterized this period. A storm of unusual violence, the severest since 1841, swept over Hongkong on August 31 and September 1, 1848. The barometer fell as low as 28.84, but the wind did not attain to full typhoon force. Although timely warning had been given by the Harbour Master, the shipping suffered severely. Thirteen vessels in harbour were damaged or wrecked and a considerable loss of life and property ensued. House property on shore, and the troop-ships in the harbour, (filled with men who had been removed on board to escape the fever) suffered but little damage. The storm was far more destructive in Macao and Canton than in Hongkong. On December 28, 1851, one of the greatest conflagrations occurred that Hongkong ever experienced. During a strong gale, a fire broke out near the Sheungwan market and, in spite of heroic efforts made by the Royal Engineers under the personal direction of Major-General Jervois to stay the fire, 472 Chinese houses, north of Queen's Road, between the present Fire Brigade Station in the East and the P. & O. Company's godowns in the West, were entirely destroyed and thirty lives lost. Liberal aid was afforded by Governor Bonham in housing the burnt-out people and the crown rents of properties concerned were temporarily abated. The whole district was speedily rebuilt with considerable improvements. A new town sprang up in the place and the most eastern and the most western of the new streets were respectively named Jervois Street and Bonham Strand, the latter being laid out on land newly reclaimed from the sea.

The obituary of this period includes among others the names of Dr. and Mrs. James (April, 1848), Rear-Admiral Sir Francis A. Collier, C.B. (October 28, 1849), Captain Troubridge (above mentioned), Macao's famous painter Chinnerey (May 30, 1852), Mrs. J. T. M. Legge (October 17, 1852) and Dr. Gützlaff (August 9, 1854).

A survey of Sir George Bonham's administration clearly marks him out as the first model Governor of Hongkong. The renewed prosperity of the Colony, that set in with his regime, was indeed principally due to a fortunate combination of events quite beyond his control. But whilst it never is in the power of a Governor to create prosperity, he has it in his power to hinder, mar and destroy it. Sir George, when convinced that he might gain for himself the glory of making the Colony for the first time financially self-supporting by an increase of taxation which he knew to be practicable, refrained from forcing his views upon the community in deference to public feeling. He was the first Governor of Hongkong who, basing his action on the programme sketched out by the Parliamentary Committee of 1847, administered the government of this Crown Colony on popularly recognized principles, systematically sacrificing his individual views and his personal advancement to the welfare of the common weal. Both as a diplomatist and as a governor, Sir George was an unqualified success.

Detractors of his merits were not wanting. The Hongkong public man is nothing if not severely critical. A small opposition party in the Colony, whilst fully admitting the affability, hospitality, liberality and gentlemanly bearing of Governor Bonham, alleged —that he systematically favoured Consular Courts at the expense of the local Supreme Court; that he lost no opportunity of curtailing the powers of the latter and did nothing to make good the glaring deficiencies of Court interpretation; that his

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ignorance of the shipping resources of the Colony was on a par with his perfect indifference regarding them; that he arbitrarily created a set of pampered aristocrats and, whilst cajoling them by pretending to consult their views in minor affairs, ignored them concerning more weighty matters such as the regulation of emigration; that his conduct regarding the currency was impolitic and disgraceful, violating a Government proclamation (May 5, 1845) that had regulated the currency since the Island was ceded, because forsooth the Chief-Justice expressed an opinion that the proclamation was illegal; that his constant endeavour was to do away with the Commissariat Treasury department, because it was not under his control; that he did nothing to assist the Post Office because it was independent of him, though the Postmaster did good service by establishing branch-offices at the Treaty ports; that he allowed the Police Force to sink into the most wretched and ineffective condition such as admitted of robberies occurring nightly and people being often knocked down in the centre of the town in the middle of the day; that the place had been blockaded by pirates and nothing had been done except by fits and starts when a smart man-of-war happened to be here; that in fine Sir George had been a useless governor, purely ornamental, highly decorated and extravagantly paid.

On the other hand, when Sir George Bonham went on furlough (March 25, 1852), the leading merchants of the Colony (David Jardine, Wilkinson Dent, C. J. F. Stuart, and George Lyall) presented him with an address signed by all the local British firms of any standing (35 in number). This address expressed the satisfaction felt by the community with the Governor's general administration and stated that the changes made in the administration of justice had gained him the confidence of all and particularly of the Chinese community, improving the latter and increasing native trade. The address also acknowledged that Sir George's social qualities had produced general harmony and confidence. Again, in 1854, when Sir George Bonham finally left the Colony, another public address, as numerously signed as the previous one, was presented to him (April 7, 1854). This farewell memorial gave Sir George the renewed assurance of the general confidence reposed in his administration, and referred to important and beneficial changes, introduced by him, which had promoted the general interest. The same merchants who six years before had assured Sir J. Davis that the Colony was ruined, lauded Sir G. Bonham on the ground that the evidence of the increased prosperity of the Colony was now quite apparent. They pointed to the new town (Bonham Strand) which had sprung up with remarkable rapidity and contributed to the large increase of the native population. In conclusion this address stated that the friendly intercourse which had subsisted between Governor Bonham and the community would leave a lasting memorial of the high estimation in which he had been held.

Nevertheless this model Governor, the first really popular and successful one of the Colony's rulers, was soon forgotten by the fluctuating community. In modern Hongkong, Sir George Bonham is about the least known of its former governors. Her Majesty's Government also bestowed no further honours on the man who had done such credit to Lord Palmerston's selection. Sir George Bonham died in 1863, leaving his greatness to appeal to the future for the recognition it deserves.

E. J. EITEL.

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THE TRIAD SOCIETY, OR HEAVEN AND EARTH ASSOCIATION.

(Continued from Vol. XXI. No. 5, page 335.)

CERTIFICATES OF MEMBERSHIP.

A certificate of membership, called by the fraternity *yao ping*, purse, or *pa kua*, eight diagrams, is usually given to a member after initiation. These certificates are of various sizes, and of three colours, white, red, and yellow. They are generally of cloth and consist of characters printed in an octagonal form, with the triangular and lodge seals stamped in vermillion in the centre. But the characters are usually written and arranged in such a manner as to be unintelligible to the uninitiated. Some of the certificates are used by various lodges, and fairly representing all that are issued, are given and explained below.

No. 1.

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Certificate No. 1 is a piece of white cloth with the characters printed in black, except those in the centre which are red. It is about an inch and a half less in length and breadth than the original. The characters in the outer square are rhymed verses, and by commencing on the left side and reading each seven characters from the first to the seventh, the second to the sixth, the third to the fifth, and the fourth, the line is 初進洪門結義兄 *ch'u chin Hung men chieh i hsing*, and by continuing around by the left and reading inwards from first to seventh in the same manner the whole is found to be:—

初進洪門結義兄 *ch'u chin Hung men chieh i hsiung,*
當天泪誓表眞心 *tang tien ming shih piao chen hsin,*
長沙灣口連天近 *Chang sha wan hoú lien tien chin,*
渡過烏龍見太平 *tu kuo Wulung chien t'ai ping,*
松柏二枝兄弟衆 *sung pai erh chih hsiung ti chung.*
忠節連花結義亭 *chung chieh lien hua chieh i ting,*
忠義堂前兄弟在 *chung i t'ang ch ien hsiung ti tsai,*
城中點將百萬兵 *ch'eng chung tien chiung pai wan ping,*
福德祠前來誓愿 *fu te tzu ch'ien lai sh h yüan,*
反泪復泪我洪英 *fan tsing fu ming wo hung ying.*

Enter Hung's doors with patriots combine.
Before Heaven swear and show a kindly sign,
At Chang-sha bay th' horizon is quite near,
The Wulung crossed a general peace will cheer,
All brothers of the cedar and pine
In patriot's lodge as flowers for Kwanti twine;
While brothers stand in front of Chung-i's hall,
Within the city a million troops we call;
Come swear the oath where Fu-te's shrine here springs,
Hung braves, subvert the Tsings restore the Mings.

In the upper right hand triangle is the character 日 *jih* sun with 亢, a meaningless character added, and in the lower right hand triangle the character 月 *yueh*, moon, with 共 *kung* which has no meaning here, added. In the upper left hand triangle is the phraseogram 稽, 共同和合 *kung tung wo ho*, together in harmony, and in the lower triangle on the left the phraseogram 穩, 忠心義氣 *chung hsin i chi* loyal-hearted and patriotic. In the outer lines of the octagon, or eight trigrams, there are eight lines of seven characters each, which, like those already dealt with, are read inwards from first to last, and the first, third, fifth and seventh, and the second, fourth, sixth and eighth lines are read together; consequently commencing at the top and reading round by the left the following verses are found:—

五人分開一首詩 *wu jen fen kai yi shou shih,*
身上洪英無人知 *shen shang hung ying wu jen chih,*
此事傳得衆兄弟 *tz'u shih chuan té chung hsiung ti,*
後來相會團圓時 *hou lai hsiang hui t'uan yüan shih.*

At parting five a verse composed,
Which Hung braves carry undisclosed,
But when our brothers this do see,
They know the sign of unity.

你我腰屏大不同 *ni wo yao ping ta pu tung,*
老母賜我傍身中 *lao mu tzu wo pang shen chung,*
上綉五龍扶眞主 *shang hsiu wu lung fu chen chu,*
下綉彪壽合和同 *hsia hsiu piao shou ho wo tung.*

Your purse is different from mine,
Mine mother gave with this design,
Five dragons here our prince to aid,
There are *piao shou ho wo tung* in brocade.

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In the middle trigram the characters read from first to last, inward, as before, are :—

陰陽合化成 *yin yang ho hua ch'eng* yin and yang (the female and male principles in nature) unite and evolution is complete.

彪壽合和同 *piao shou ho wo tung*, five characters representing the five divisions of the society since first established.

公侯百 for 伯子男 *kung hou po tzu nam*, the five orders of nobility, also used like the last to distinguish the five divisions of the society.

天廷國式 *tien ting kuo shih*, Heaven's manifestation to the country; the characters seen in the sky on the night on which the society was founded, and used for the generalissimo's banner.

金木水火土 *chin, mu, shui, huo, t'u*, metal, wood, water, fire, earth, called the five elements.

順天行道 *shun tien hsing tao*, obey Heaven and march—act in obedience to the principles of Heaven.

天地日月年 *tien ti jih yüeh nien*, heaven, earth, sun, moon, year.

龍虎龜蛇岑 *lung hu kuei she hui*, the dragon, tiger, tortoise and serpent meet; five distinguishing characters, used one with each division of the society.

On the top of the inner trigram are the characters 諴賜與 *tien tzu hsing*, heaven bestows prosperity, and opposite them 黵賜旺 *ti tzu wang*, earth bestows fortune. On the right of *tien tzu hsing* are the abbreviated character 川大丁首 for 順天行道 *shun tien hsing tao*, act in obedience to the ways of Heaven; and on the left the abbreviated characters 川大車日 for 順天轉明 *shun tien chuan ming*, obey Heaven and turn to Ming. On the right side are the characters 日姓孫 *jih hsing sun*, the sun is surnamed Sun, and on the left side 月姓唐, *yüeh hsing tang*, the moon is surnamed Tang. To the left of the latter are the characters 雲姓氣 *yün hsing ch'i*, the clouds are surnamed Ch'i, and to the right of *yih hsing sun* are the characters 星姓碧 *hsing hsing pi*, the stars are surnamed Pi. Above the centre square are the characters 潨涔淙滾 for 參太右化 *ts'an t'ai hung hua* which are said to stand for the four Buddhist deities at the second door of Buddhist monasteries. On the right of the square are the characters 閞不正便 *kuan pu cheng pien*, the barriers are not quite ready, on the left 龍開不同 *lung k'ai pu tung*, the dragon opens differently; and at the bottom 反汧復汨 *fan tsing fu ming*, subvert Tsing, Restore Ming. The characters within the central square are all in vermilion. In the upper part there is the triangular seal with the character 洪 *hung* in it and on the sides of it the characters 家后日山 *chia hou jih shan*, which are said to have been on the seal given to the monks, by the emperor, when they were leaving to fight the Silu army. Below are the phraseograms 稘 for 共同和合 *kung tung wo ho*, together in harmony, 龠 for 金蘭郡 *chin lan chün*, sworn brothers association, and 鬱 for 結万爲記 *chieh wan wei chi*, pledged myriads for a clue. The circles in the angles of the seal represent three magic stones which floated and enabled the young prince Chu Hung-chú to cross a river and elude his pursuers on one occasion. 洪 Hung is a character appropriated to the Kwangtung and Kwangsi division of the society and is besides the surname assumed by the whole brotherhood. 金蘭郡 *Chin lun chün* is a secret device of the Kwangtung-Kwangsi division.

On the back the name of the person to whom the certificate was issued is written with divided characters thus 臣廾皿右口木 for brother 藍杏. The date of issue and number of ticket are also written

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on the back thus 日吉月九歲丑已給牌, number 23,330 issued on the seventh day of the ninth month of the Ssu-chou year. In this date *chi*, luck, is used for *ch'i*, seven, which is tabooed because of the disgraceful treachery of Ma Erh-fu, the seventh in rank amongst the Shao-lin monks.

甲寅年吉月廿五日憑付

給領執照

初入洪門結二兄
當天盟誓表眞情
長沙灣口連天近
渡過烏龍見太平
銅鐵成橋兄弟過
橋心一望木楊城
松柄二枝分桃李
中正紅花結二亭
忠二堂前兄弟坐
城中點起百萬兵
福德祠前曾起二
戰滅汨朝復大汨

No. 2.

Certificate No. 2 is printed in black on white cloth, and is reduced four inches in length and three inches in breadth from the original. The four phraseograms in the triangles between the outer square and the octagon are in the upper right corner 義 for 忠心義氣 *chung hsin i ch'i*, loyal-hearted and patriotic; in the upper left corner 蘭 for 金蘭結義 *chin lan chieh i*, adopted and bound brothers; in the lower left corner 冏 for 一片丹心 *yi pien tan hsin*, sincere loyally; and in the lower right corner 順 for 順天行道 *shun tien hsing tao*, act in obedience to the ways of Heaven. In the upper part of the outer octagon are the characters 五人分

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開一首詩 *wu jen fen k'ai yi shou shih*, at parting five a verse composed, but instead of being arranged from first to last, like in No. 1, the first character is in the centre and the others are purposely jumbled. On the opposite side of the octagon are the characters 身上洪英無人知 *shen shang hung ying wu jen chih*, which Hung braves carry undisclosed, and on the right and left sides respectively 此事傳得衆兄弟 *tz'u shih chuan té chung hsiung ti* and 後來相會團圓時 *hou lai hseang hui t'uan yüan shih*, but when our brothers this do see, they know the sign of unity; but like the upper line they commence in the centre and have the remaining characters jumbled up. In the upper right, upper left, lower left, and lower right corners respectively, are the following lines, also commencing in the centre with the other characters disordered, 彪壽合和同 *piao shou ho wo tung*, 龍虎龜蛇岩 *lung hu kuei she hui*, 公侯伯子男 *kung hou po tzu nan*, and 阳阴和合成 *yang yin wo ho ch'eng*, which have been explained in No. 1.

On the upper, lower, right, and left sides respectively of the inner octagon we have the lines which, commencing in the centre and reading outwards from left to right, give:—

你我腰屏大不同 *ni wo yao ping ta pu tung*,
老毋賜我傍身中 *lao mu tzu wo pang shen chung*,
上綉五龍扶眞主 *shang hsiu wu lung fu chen chu*,
下綉彪壽合和同 *hsia hsiu piao shou ho wo tung*.

A translation of these sentences is given under No. 1.

On the upper right, the upper left, the lower left and the lower right sides, respectively, are the characters read from the left in the ordinary way 川大丁首 for 順天行道 *shun tien hsing tao*. act in obedience to the ways of Heaven, 川大車日 for 順天轉明 *shun tien chuan ming*, obey Heaven and turn to Ming, 天廷國式 *tien ting kuo shih* Heaven's manifestation to the country and 反汨復汨 *fan tsing fu ming*, subvert Tsing restore Ming.

The characters in the third row on the top are 囏賜與 *tien tz'u hsing*, Heaven bestows prosperity, in the third row opposite 黽賜旺 *ti tz'u wang*, Earth bestows fortune, in the third row on the right 共同和合 *kung tung wo ho*, together in harmony, and on the left 結万爲記 *chieh wan wei chi*, combined myriads for a clue. In the fourth line from the top are the characters 瀺涎滋淙 *ts'an tái hung hua*, which stand for the four Buddhist deities at the second door of monasteries, and in the fourth row opposite are the characters 木立斗世 *mu li tou shih*, these characters are on the tou, or peck, called Mu yang city, and at one time were supposed to contain a prophecy of the downfall of the Tsing dynasty at the end of Kien-lung's reign. This prediction, which turned out false, was explained in this way:—木 denotes 十八 the number of years of Shun-chi's reign; 立六一, six one, sixty-one, the years of Kang-hi's reign; 斗十二 ten two, twelve, the years of Yung-cheng's reign; he actually reigned thirty years, but a year or two is not much in a prediction, and 世二卅 two thirty, twice thirty or sixty, the years of Kien-lung's reign. The characters 花有半朝含宿雨 and 亭無終夜隔重雲, the morning flowers conceal the night rain, all night the pavilion is hid with heavy clouds, are the antithetical lines on the pair of scrolls in the Red Flower Pavilion, or Lodge room. The characters in the fifth row from the top are in the centre 咔 for 洪順堂 *Hung shun tang* the name appropriated to Kwang-tung and Kwangsi lodges, and on the right and left 兆必里 and 云非田 the

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meaning of which is obscure, but they may be read to form an antithesis, as *chao pi li, yün fei tien*, the good omen must be on the villages, the bad omen must not be on the fields, *i.e.* only good omens are on the residences and fields.

The characters in the fifth lines right and left are 英雄居第一 and 豪杰世無雙 *ying hung chü ti yi, hao chieh shih wu shang*, first in bravery, matchless heroes, the inscriptions on one pair of the tablets presented by the emperor to the monks on their return from the Silu war. In the sixth row from the top are the characters 日 *jih* 山 *shan*, one on each side of the triangular seal, with the character 洪 *hung* on it. On the right and left sides of the central square are the characters 關不便正 and 龍開不同, which were explained in No. 1. In the upper part of the centre is the character 虤 with the character *hu*, tiger, added, for 壽 *shou* long life, which is one of the distinguishing characters of the Kwangtung and Kwangsi lodges, and beneath it 489, a sign always written for the Incense Master of a lodge.

The following is a translation of the characters directly beneath the square enclosing the octagon, which it will be seen contain two lines more than there are in the outer square of No. 1, but otherwise are almost identically the same :—

Enter Hung's doors, with patriots combine,
Before Heaven swear, and show a kindly sign.
At Chang-sha Bay th' horizon is quite near,
The Wulung crossed a general peace will cheer,
The bridge to cross is made of iron and brass,
On it there is a Mu-yang city to pass ;
Peaches and plums the pine and cedar divide,
And twixt these stands a red pavilion wide.
Brothers have seats in front of Chung-i's hall,
While we our roll of a million soldiers call ;
At Fuh-te's shrine raise many patriots more,
To fight and slay the Tsings and Mings restore.

The characters 甲寅年吉月廿五日憑付給領執照 on the right side may denote that the certificate was issued as a proof of membership on the 25th day of the 7th month of the Chia-yin year. But this is always looked on as the date on which the first Triad initiation was held and members ever since give this as the date of their birth into the Hung family. The last Chia-yin year was 1854.

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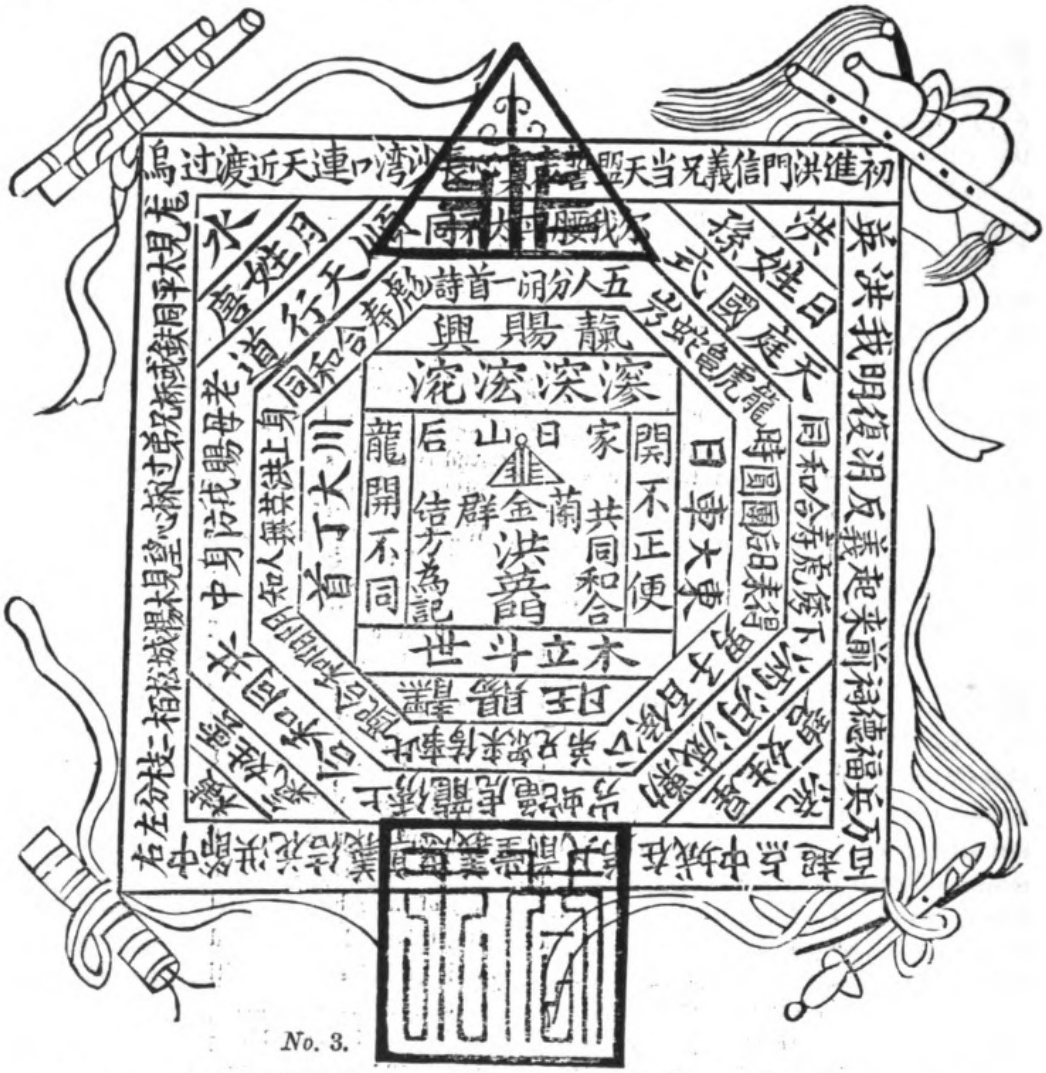

No. 3.

No. 3 is a certificate of membership found with Triad papers on a man in Saigon, and is probably issued by a lodge there. It is printed in black on white cloth, and the triangular seal at the top and the square seal at the bottom are stamped in vermilion. In this the characters are read from right to left in the ordinary Chinese manner. Commencing on the right upper corner, they so nearly resemble those in the outer square of No. 1, and those below in No. 2 that it is unnecessary to translate them. The charters 洪水橫流 *hung shui heng liú*, in the corners form a phrase from Mencius signifying that the waters of the deluge ran in all directions, and it is applied here to show the universality of the Hung, or Deluge, family. Except the phrase 勦滅汨涌 *chiao mieh tsing man*, exterminate the Manchu Tsings in the third line of the lower right hand corner, the substitution of 東 for 川 in the phrase 東大車日, meant for *shun tien chuan ming*, obey heaven and turn to Ming, in the fourth line on the right, and the characters 洪英門 *hung ying men* Hung heroes door, in the centre, the writing on this certificate has already been explained in Nos. 1 and 2.

The triangular seal in the centre almost invariably has the character 洪 *hung* in it, but in this there is no proper character, but something which is probably an

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understood substituted word, used for *hung*, by a section of the society. The upper vermilion seal is, like this one, the seal of Kwangtung lodges. The square seal is likely that of the particular lodge issuing it, but the characters on it are not sufficiently legible to be read.

The gourd, flute, castanets, bamboo tube, sword and fairy's wisp, in the outer corners, are some of the insignia the Eight Immortals are usually represented as carrying.

No. 4.

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No. 4 is a certificate of membership printed in black characters on a piece of white cloth eleven inches long by five inches wide and it is divided into two parts.

The four characters on the top show it is issued by the I Hsing Kung Ssu or lodge; that is the notorious Ghi Hing Lodge of the Straits Settlements. The upper part states that it was issued to Lien Yün-piao, No. 10,510, a resident of Shihli, a place in the Malay peninsula, as proof that one dollar subscription fee had been received from him and delivered in full to the lodge, and received by it for the Hung family's ancestors, and that it was issued and stamped on the 8th day of the 9th month, of the Ping-hsü year of Tie-yün, Heavenly fortune. The small characters *wan chi* in the right upper corner are stamped in vermilion; they are part of *chieh wan wei chi* combined myriads for a sign, and mean the same as if so written. The large characters 義興公司收清 are stamped in vermilion and indicate that the I Hsing Lodge has received in full. On the left side there is a square stamp also in vermilion of the I Hsing Lodge.

The lower part consists of an outer square with a triangle inside of each corner, which change the form within into an octagon. The characters in the four triangles are said to stand for *fan tsing fu ming*, subvert Tsing, restore Ming, but it is difficult to find any reason for putting this construction on them, indeed those on the right side appear to be the characters for sun and moon written with additional characters. The characters on the octagon are separated by the characters 天 *tien*, heaven, at the top 地 *ti*, earth, at the bottom 日 *jih*, sun, on the right and 月 *yüeh*, moon on the left sides. The characters between these four, reading from the left of *tien* and from first to seventh inwards gives the verse, 'At parting five a verse composed,' etc. as in No. 1.

In the next space on the top are the characters 變千万千化 which read from first to last inwards give 變化千千万 *pien hua ch'ien ch'ien wan*, a thousand thousand myriad, or endless, changes. On the right and left sides in the second row are characters 關不正便 and 龍開不洪 *kuan pu cheng pien, lung k'ai pu hung*, the barriers are not quite ready, the dragon opens not vastly, or to Hung. Below there is a character 叕 which is 兜 *yüan* to turn over, reversed and it denotes that the person to whom it was issued was single at that time. In the centre there is a vermilion triangle stamp with the character 洪 *hung*, in vermilion, and a smaller triangle with the character 洪 *hung*, in black, and on the right side of the apex of the vermilion triangle the character 家 *chia*, and on the left the character 后 *hou*, two of the four characters the seal is supposed to bear. On the right side of the inner square are the characters 共洪和合 *kung Hung wo ho*, joined with Hung in harmony and on the left 結萬爲記, *chieh wan wei chi* combind myriads for a sign. The large character below is 飄 *piao*, a whirlwind. This is a common character on flags and other insignia of the society, and means an overwhelming force of wind, while 洪 *hung*, the name adopted as the family name of the members, means an overwhelming force of water.

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No. 5.

No. 5 is a certificate printed in black characters on a piece of white cloth eleven inches long by four inches wide. The three large characters 福義興 *Fu I Hsing* on the top give the name of the lodge, which in Cantonese, the most common language of Hongkong, is the Fuk I Hing. The characters below indicate that it is proof that a one dollar subscription fee has been received from Ch'en Hsün-li, a native of Chao-choú,

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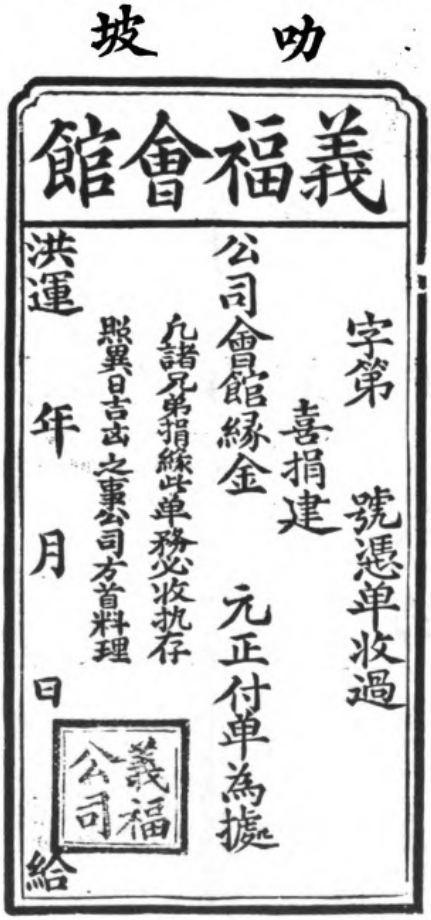
residing in Hongkong, and handed over in full to the lodge. After this are the abbreviated characters 川大丁首关井足王 *shun tien hsing tao, kuan k'ai tu hsien*, obey Heaven and act, the barrier is open and the road clear. The line on the left denotes that the ticket was issued on the 22nd day of the 6th month of the jen ch'en year of Tien Yün. The two impressions of seals are both in vermilion and bear the characters Hongkong, Fuk I Hing. On the back there is an impression of a large vermilion stamp with the characters *Kung Ssu*, lodge, *tou jen*, headmen, followed by four names.



No. 6.

No. 6 is a certificate printed in red characters on a piece of white paper seven inches long by four inches wide. On the left side there is a perforated edge which shows it has been torn from a counterfoil. At the junction with the counterfoil there are what appear to be the right sides of the characters 興旺岁勝 *hsing wang hui sheng*, which the first two being substituted characters for *t'ien ti*, means the Heaven and Earth Association victorious. The two characters on the top *lak p'o* seem to denote, the first Sit-lak, the Fokienese name for Singapore, and the second Singapore, the last syllable of each being given. The four characters 義福會館 *i fu hui kuan*, give the name of the lodge, the I Fu or notorious Ghi Hok as it is called in the dialect, the Fokienese, of most of its members. Below it states this is proof that the sum of twelve dollars has been received from brother Ch'en Hsiao, No. 1453 in the *lieh* character book, as a voluntary contribution towards the erection of a lodge. All brethren subscribing to this cause must preserve these receipts, so that, if on some future occasion, they have fortunate or unfortunate affairs, the lodge will attend to them. Issued on the 10th day of the 9th month of the Kuei wei year of Hung Yün. There is a small square stamp in the lower left corner with the character, Ghi Hok Kung Szu, the Ghi Hok Lodge, and as is usual on seals of the society the lower part of the character *kung* has a small circle at each of the three corners.

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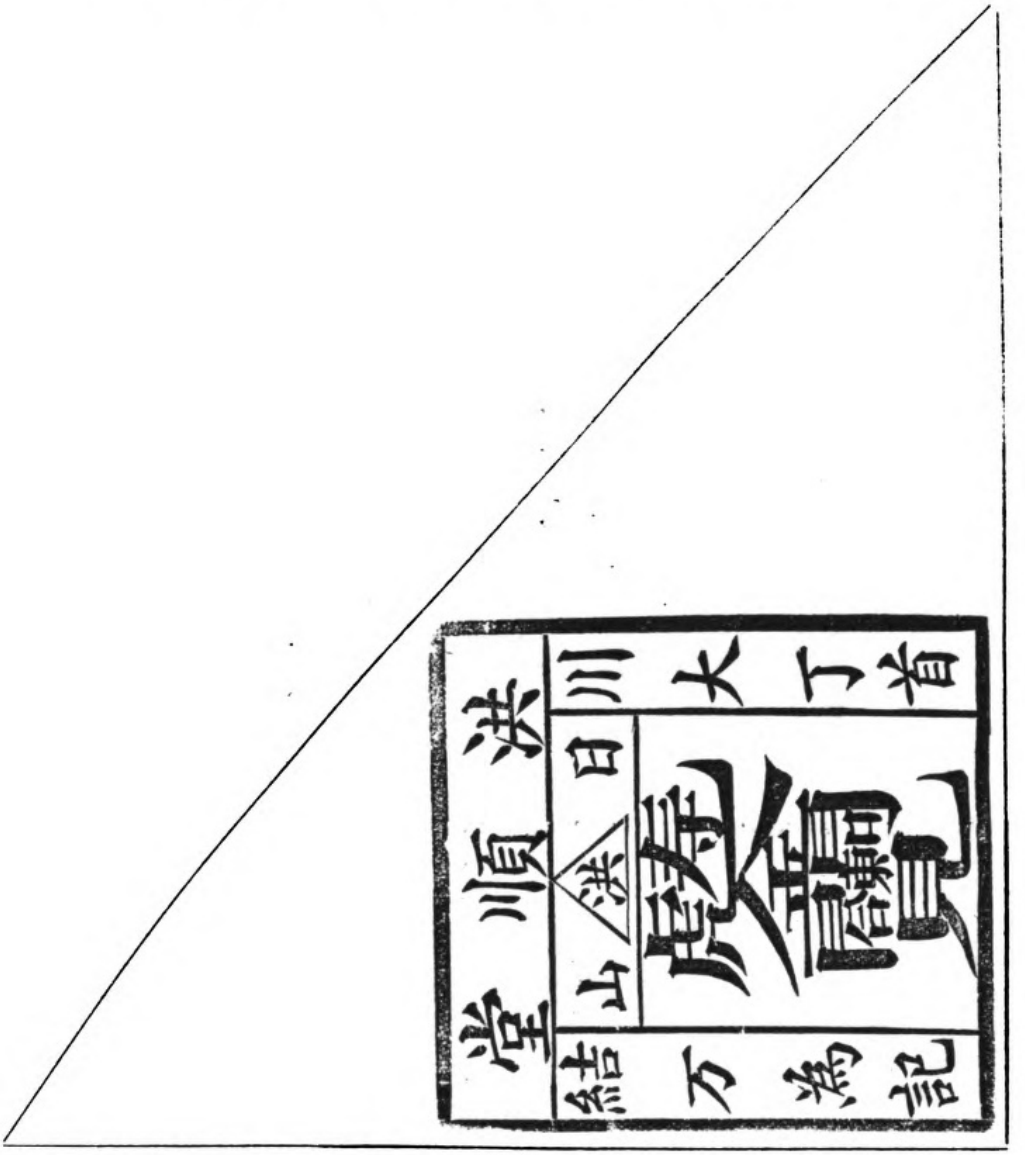

No. 7.

No. 7 was carried as a sign of membership. It consists of a black square seal with black characters on a three cornered Chinese flag-shaped piece of red cloth, about fifteen inches long on its longest side and ten inches on the other sides. The three characters on the top 洪順堂 *hung shun tang* the Hung Shun Hall or Lodge, represent the name appropriated to Kwangtung and Kwangsi lodges, but here it is probably the name of a particular lodge. On the right are the abbreviated characters 川大丁首 for 順天行道 which have already been explained, and on the right the characters 結万爲記 combined myriads for a sign. Within the square on the top is the triangular seal, with the apex cut off here, and the character 洪 *hung* in the centre and the characters 日山, two of those belonging to the seal, one on each side. Below are the characters 鬲 which show with an added character, the sign of Kwangtung lodges, the phraseogram 鬲 for 金蘭郡 *chin lan chün*, another device of Kwangtung insignia and the character *chien*, to see, at the bottom.

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No. 8.

No. 8 is a certificate printed in black characters on a piece of yellow silk five and a half inches square. The characters on the top mean 'restored in the spring of the *chi ssu* year of Hung Yün.' In the upper right corner is the phraseogram 𪓐 for 結萬爲記, *chieh wan wei chi*, combined myriads for a record. In each of the other corners there is what appears to be a phraseogram in the seal character, but none is sufficiently legible to be read. In the centre of the top line of the octagon is the character 靄 *tien*, heaven, opposite it 黰 *ti* earth, on the right side 𠀤 *jih*, sun and on the left side 月 *yüeh* moon. On the right of *tien* is the line which, read from first on left to last on right inwards, gives 五人分開一首詩, by turning the ticket around and reading from the right of *ti*, but from the right to left the line is 身上洪英無人知; reading the line on the left of *tien* in the same way, it is 此事傳得兄衆弟 and the characters between *ti* and *jih*, read inward from first to last commencing on the left, give 後來相會團圓時, the whole giving the verse 'At parting five a verse composed,' etc.

In the second row on the top the characters read from first to last inwards are 變化千萬 *pien hua chien wan* a thousand times ten thousand (endless) changes. The characters on the right are 關不正便, the barriers are not quite ready and those on the left 龍開不同, the dragon opens differently.

In the centre is the triangular seal in vermilion, with a smaller triangle and the character 洪 *hung* in black on it, below the black triangle and on the vermilion one is the character 飄 *piao*, a whirlwind, and below it the character 見 *chien*, to see. At the apex of the vermilion seal are the characters 家后 *chia hou* and at the base 日山 *jih shan*, the four characters belonging to it. On the right of the seal are the characters 共同和合, together in harmony, and on the left 結萬爲記 combine myriads for a clue. The name, number, and native place of the person to whom this certificate was issued are written on the back.

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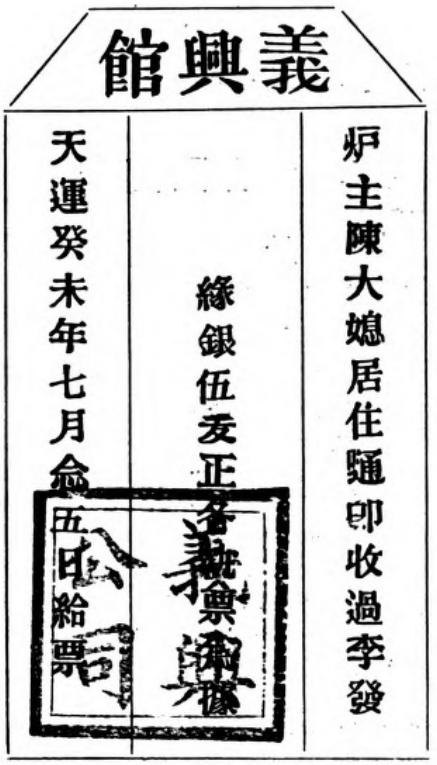

No. 9.

No. 9 is a receipt printed in black letters on a piece of ochre-coloured paper, eight inches long by three inches wide. It was in the possession of the same person who had No. 8. The characters I Hsing Kuan on the top signify that it was used by the I Hsing (Fokienese Ghi Hin) Lodge. The first two characters below, *lu chu*, furnace master, have the same meaning as *hsiang chu*, incense master, and the character 友 is probably intended for 爰 *yüan* and meant for 員 *yüan*, dollar. The receipt will therefore read the Incense Master, Ch'en Ta-hsi, residing at Tung-kaú, (somewhere in Malacca) received from Li Fat a voluntary contribution of five dollars, of which this ticket is proof to all who see it. Issued the 25th day of the 7th month, of the Kuei wei year of Tien Yün. The red seal bears the impression I Hsing Kung Ssu, *i.e.* Ghi Hin Lodge.

No. 10.

No. 10 is taken from a certificate or seal given by Dr. Milne in his account of the Triad Society, communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835 and printed in the Chinese Repository for February, 1845. Dr. Milne writes of it thus :—

'The seal is a quinquangular figure, this as above noted, is one of the Society's mystical numbers. From the manner in which some characters on the seal were written it is not improbable that some of them have been erroneously explained. The following

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is submitted as the best explanation of them which the writer's present circumstances enable him to furnish.

Explanation of the characters at the five corners, in the outer or quinquangular line.

1. *Tu* 土 the earth planet, *i.e.* Saturn, which, according to the Chinese, especially regards and influences the centre of the earth; also one of the five elements.

2. *Muh* 木 the wood planet, or Jupiter, or the planet which reigns in the eastern part of the heavens.

3. *Shwui* 水 the water planet, *i.e.* Mercury, to which the dominion of the northern hemisphere is confided.

4. *Kin* 金 the metal planet, *i.e.* Venus, to which the care of the west is confided.

5. *Ho* 火 the fire planet, *i.e.* Mars, to which the southern hemisphere is assigned.

N.B. The reasons (or some of the reasons) why these planets are placed at the corners of this seal, may be, because they are the basis of Chinese astrological science, and because they are considered the extreme points of all created things.

Explanation of the five characters which are directly under the planets.

6. *Hung* 洪 a flood or deluge of waters. One of the secret designations of their fraternity is *Hungkia*, literally '*the flood family*' intended, perhaps, to intimate the extent and effectiveness of their operations, that as a flood, they spread and carry everything before them.

7. *Haú* 豪 a leader; a chief or brave man.

8. *Han* 漢 the name of an ancient dynasty, but, in certain connections, signifying a bold and daring man, which is most probably the sense here.

9. *Ying* 英 a hero.

10. *Kia* 架 a stand; but metaphorically used to denote a person of importance to the State, or to society, as we use tropes, and say 'such man is a pillar,' 'the stay of his country.'

N.B. Though this be the ordinary meaning of these words, it is possible that they may be used by the fraternity in a mystical and occult sense.

Explanation of the other characters within the same limits.

Ying hiung hwui hoh tuan yuen shi
英雄會合團圓時
Hiung ti fan kiai, yih shau shi
兄弟分開一首詩
'The hero band in full assembly meet;
Each man a verse, to make the ode complete.'

This is a very probable sense of the words as they are placed, especially as it is known to be a frequent practice of this fraternity to converse together in poetry; and in order to elude suspicion, while in company with others, one man takes but a line, or half a line, which by itself is utterly unintelligible to persons not initiated, but which, being understood by a brother member, is responded to by him in another line or half a line, and by thus passing on through several persons, an ode may be completed, though not perceived by any but the parties themselves.

Kie ti tui 結弟對 the three words are inexplicable in the order in which they stand. *Kie* signifies to tie, to bind, and is often used to signify the formation of a secret association. *Ti* (if we be right in the character) signifies a brother, or younger brother, and the sense thus far would be to form a brotherhood. *Tui* is a pair of anything or two things equal to each other. But it is probable that these words have a reference to other words on the seal, the connection of which it seems difficult to discover.

Explanation of words within the first octangular lines.

Hing ti tung chin 兄弟仝陣
The brethren all in battle join,
Koh yu hau tau 各有號頭
Each ready with a chosen sign;
Kau k'i fan pai 高溪分派
An ancient brook with parting streams,
Wan ku yu chuen 萬古有傳
Still flowing down from long past times.

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In support of this version it might be urged, that the fraternity have certain secret signs or marks, by which they make their ideas known to each other, and in the tumults which they excite, these signs are made use of to encourage each other in the work of destruction; and that they consider their society as of very ancient origin, and as spreading through the world from age to age.

But the words may be read in lines of eight or seven syllables, and might begin with *koh*, thus:—

Koh yu hau tau, kau ki fan,
Kau k'i fun pai, wan ku yu.

N.B. This last line shifts back to *hau* for its first syllable.

In fact there appears scarcely to be a limit to the mutations of these numbers; for, like the changes of the *pa kwa* (Chinese table of diagrams), they may contain an infinitude of senses and modifications, with which, however, the initiated alone are familiar.

Explanation of characters within the second octangular lines.

Chú kih tsing tsan hiuen hia 朱吉清彭郊下 the characters, as they stand seem to make no intelligible sense and from the circumstances of their being written with two kinds of ink, black and red, renders it highly probable that they are constructed for the purpose of local concealment. They are perhaps the name, real or assumed of the officers of the brotherhood; that half of the characters in red ink, which seems printed, may be permanent and have some general reference to the designs of the society, and to the other characters on the seal; while the yellow part (on the original blue silk seal), which is evidently written with a pencil, may, joined to the printed half, constitute the names or epithets of the officers in some particular place. In another place, where persons of different designations are chosen to be officers, the yellow part would be different. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of several learned Chinese, who have seen and examined the seal.

Wán tien wán ti 式天万弟 these characters have, no doubt, a reference to the ultimate view of the brotherhood, viz. universal extension and dominion; the 1st is an inverted form of 3rd; which is an abbreviated form of *wán*, myriad; *tien* (in the quinquangular lines) signifies heaven, and *ti*, earth, and the position of the two, both looking towards the straight line on which the words heaven and earth are written, may mystically signify the bringing of myriads of nations under the society's influence.

Explanation of characters within the square lines.

Chung i fu wo chuh tung 忠義扶我出統 *let the faithful and righteous unite so as to form a whole* (i.e. an universal empire). This seems the plain sense of the words, according to this arrangement of them; but it is impossible to ascertain whether something else may not be intended as they are susceptible of as many meanings as arrangements. This version, however, agrees with the general views of this dangeous fraternity.

Characters within the oblong square.

Yun shing 潤昇, supposed to be the name of the chief of the fraternity, some think of the *founder*; but the character being *written*, and in yellow ink, it is more likely to be the chief for the time being, at whose death the blank space in seals subsequently issued could be filled up with the name of his successors; whereas the name of the founder, never changing would be more likely to be printed in some permanent form.'

There does not appear to have been any such seal or certificate as the last given in

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use in the society in recent years, and Triad men who have seen this one fail to recognize it as a proper seal of any lodge or branch of the society now in existence. Probably some of the characters in the original were illegible, or altogether deficient. It will be seen that many of the characters in this one are the same as in those already explained. Of course *Kaú ki* instead of 'ancient brooks' is the name of the temple *Kao chi*, so often referred to, and *Chung I* is another name of Kwanti, the God of War. Further than this it would be fruitless to attempt to solve the meaning of the seal, or to give a better explanation of it, as it appears here, than what has been quoted above.

Some lodges issue three cash, like those numbered 11 below, which may be of metal or cardboard, as a sign of membership. The name Cash Society, sometimes applied to the Triad Society, probably had its origin in this.

No. 11.

The first of these must be five mace five candareens in weight, the second nine mace nine candareens, and the third three mace three candareens; consequently the first and second will be very much heavier than ordinary cash, indeed the second will be heavier than a dollar. The first bears the name of Hung Wu, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, the second bears the characters Hung Dragon, and the third Hung Heroes. The characters *tung pao* on each are those on ordinary cash and mean free currency.

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No. 12.

In some lodges the names of all members are written on bamboo splints, like figure No. 12, from 7 to 9 inches long and 1½ inches wide. These are used to summon members when meetings are to be held, and are taken around, by the Grass Sandals, to those whose names they bear. No. 12 is from a lodge in Hongkong. The three large characters denote the name of the lodge, which in Cantonese is the Fuh On Shé, and the others, that if at sight of this circular the member does not attend the general discussion he will be fined twenty cents incense and oil money. The name of the member summoned and the date and hour of meeting, are written on red paper and pasted on the back of the splint.

FORMS OF WRITING AND CANT WORDS EMPLOYED.

The members of the society employ various methods of writing in order to conceal from outsiders the characters to be read by, and the meaning to be conveyed to, the initiated. To accomplish this purpose, sometimes the characters used are divided, sometimes superfluous characters are added, sometimes several characters of a phrase are grouped in one character, sometimes one character is exchanged for another and sometimes numbers are used for characters.

Characters are divided thus: the phrase 順天轉明, *shun tien chuan ming*, obey Heaven turn to Ming, is written 川大車日; 順天行道, *shun tien hsing tao*, obey heaven and act up to its principles, is written 川大丁首; 閧開路現, *kuan kai lu hsien*, the barrier is open and the way clear, is written 关井足王; 靄靄岁合姓洪 *tien ti hu ho hsing hung*, the Heaven and Earth Society is surnamed Hung is written 青氣山人生共; and the phrase 金蘭結義 *chin lan chieh i* sworn brothers joined in righteousness is divided and written in the following quatrain :—

人王脚下兩堆沙 *jen wang chiao hsia liang tui shá.*
東門頭上草生花 *tung men t'ou shang ts'ao sheng hua.*
絲線穿針十一口 *ssu hsien ch'uan chen shih yih kou.*
羊羔美酒是我家 *yang kao mei chiu shih wo chia.*

Neath man and prince two heaps of sand we store;
Here herbs are blooming o'er the eastern door;
This silk will these eleven needles thread;
Within our home there's wine and mutton spread.

In this 金 is divided into 人, man, 王, prince, and 丷, two heaps of sand; 蘭

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into 東, east, 門, door, and 廿, the radical under which herbs and flowers are written, above them; 結 into 糸, silk, 十, eleven, and 口 mouth, a classifier of needles; and 義 into 羊, sheep or mutton, and 我, me, our. The character 清 Tsing, the name of the reigning dynasty, is written 氵 with the 主 *chu*, lord or ruler taken away; sometimes it is written without the water radical 氵, thus 青, and sometimes upside down thus, 𠂤. Ming, the name of the dynasty which the society seeks to reinstate, is often written with the radical for water substituted for the moon, thus 汨. The character 合 *ho*, united, is written 人一口 and called one man one mouth.

The superfluous characters oftenest used are 虎覃氵穴夬共气立; thus 合 *ho* is written 龣, 岭 the ancient character for 會 *hui*, 鼜, 明 湖, 太 涞, 日 𣅀, 月 胁, 青 氤 for *tien*, heaven, and 号, 竝. The grouped characters or phraseograms are 鑾 and 殂 for 結万爲記 *chieh wan wei chi*, combined myriads for a record, 鑾, 鑾, 塋, 洲, 啡 or 厵 for 洪順堂 *Hung Shun Hall*, the names of lodges under the Kwangtung department; 龘 for 金蘭屆 *chin lan chün*, sworn brothers association; 穱 for 共同和合 *kung tung wo ho*, together in harmony; 龘 and 灋 for 忠心義氣 *chung hsin i ch'i*, loyal hearted patriotism; 羆 for 一片丹心 *yih pien tan hsin* sincere loyalty; 鑾 for 順天行道 *shun tien hsing tao* act in obedience to the principles of Heaven; 襯 for 反清復明, *fan Tsing fu Ming*, subvert Tsing, restore Ming; and 龘 or 龕 for 金蘭結義, *chin lan chieh i* adopted and combined brothers. Of the substituted characters 興 *hsing*, prosperity, is used for 天 *tien*, heaven; 旺 *wang*, fortune, for 地 *ti*, earth; 孫 *sun*, a descendant, for 日, *jih*, sun; 唐 *tang*, a surname, for 月 *yüeh*, moon; 氣 *ch'i*, the principle of vitality, for 雲 *yün*, clouds; and 碧 *pi*, gems, for 星 *sing*, stars.

洪 *hung* is the most common character written with numbers; it is sometimes divided as follows 氵 3, 八 8, 廿 20, and 一 1. In this way the 八 is read hundred, (the sound of *pat* eight and *pak* hundred being much alike when spoken fast), and the character and word is called 321. Sometimes the character 念 *nien* is used for 廿 twenty and the character is read 3, 8, *nien*, 1 or 3821.

Sometimes 36 is used for heaven, 72 for earth, and 108, the sum of the first two numbers for association, and the Triad Society of Heaven and Earth Association is the 36, 72, 108. This arrangement appears to owe its origin to the Chinese idea of 36 celestial gods and 72 terrestial baneful influences. These numbers are also otherwise employed, viz. 36 for new members, 72 for inferior officers, and 108 for the superior officers of a lodge.

双 99, is sometimes used for 洪 *hung*; 巛 55, for 英 *ying*; and 川三 33 for 通 *tung*, the three words meaning Hung heroes understand. The officers have figures which they sometimes use in place of the names of their officers. The Great Elder Brother is 刎 934, the Incense Master is 忩 489, but 21 the sum of the figures may be used instead; the White Fan or Instructor is 邓 415, and sometimes uses 10, the sum of the figures; the vanguard is 刎 943 and sometimes uses 16 the sum of the figures; the Red Club is 刓 426 and uses 12 instead; the Grass Sandals is 刎 483 and in the same way uses 15.

Priests and sorcerers employ superfluous characters and phraseograms similar to the above in writing spells and charms to exorcise evil spirits, or dispel evil influences. These are stuck on room doors and on beds, or are burnt with prayers, or enclosed in small bags and worn suspended by a string from the neck.

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Besides the substituted words given above, there are a great many others used somewhat like cant words and phrases. But in consequence of there being such an affinity between Triad members and thieves, and all other kinds of bad characters, or because nearly all such characters are members of the society, many such words and phrases have become the cant expressions of thieves. The following list of such words has been collected from Triad books and many of them are only used by members. The Cantonese pronunciation of the characters is used.

A lodge,	紅花亭	*hung fa ting*, Red flower pavilion, or
	松栢林	*tsung pak lam*, pine and cedar grove.
To join the society,	入圈	*yap hün*, enter the circle.
,, ,, ,,	拜正	*pai ching*, respect the correct.
,, ,, ,,	出世	*chut shai*, be born.
To hold a meeting,	開檯	*hoi toi*, open the stage.
,, ,, ,,	放馬	*fong ma*, let loose the horses.
A member,	香	*heung*, fragrance.
,, ,,	洪英	*Hung ying*, Hung ying.
,, ,,	豪傑	*ho kit*, hero.
A non-member,	風,瘋子	*fung* or *fung tsze*, wind or son of a leper.
,, ,,	鷓鴣	*tse ku*, partridge.
A new member,	新丁	*soun ting*, recruit.
To attend a meeting,	去睇戲	*hü tai hi*, go to see a theatrical performance.
The secret books of the Society,	衫仔	*sám tsai*, little jacket.
Certificate of membership,	腰平	*iú ping*, purse.
,, ,,	八角招牌	*pat kok chiu pai*, octagonal sign.
Certificate of membership,	八掛	*pat kwa*, the eight Diagrams.
To exhibit a sign of membership,	掛牌	*kwa pai*, hang out a sign.
Hair,	青絲	*tsing sze*, green silk.
Hog,	毛瓜	*mo kwa*, hairy brinjal.
Pork,	白瓜	*pak kwa*, hairless brinjal.
Roast pork,	金瓜,紅瓜	*kam kwa* or *hung kwa*, golden or red brinjal.
Beef,	大菜	*tai tsoi*, great vegetables.
Salt beef,	一把菜	*yat pa tsoi*.
Goose,	亞六	*a luk*, A Luk.
Fowl,	亞七	*a tsat*, A Tsat.
Duck,	亞八	*a pat*, A Pat.
Dog,	蚊	*man*, mosquito.
Fish,	穿浪,擺尾	*chün long* or *pai mi*, wave borer or tail shaker.
Salt-fish	鹹笋,丫環	*ham sun* or *a wán*, salt sprout or slave girl.
Vegetables,	妹子	*mui tsze*, servant
Rice,	沙	*sha*, sand.
To boil rice,	打沙	*ta sha*, beat sand.
To eat rice,	耕沙	*kang sha*, farm sand.
To boil congee,	打浪	*ta long*, beat the waves.
To eat congee,	耕浪	*kang long*, farm waves.
Raw tobacco,	生羌	*shang keung*, raw ginger.
Prepared tobacco,	熟羌	*shuk keung*, ripe ginger.
Opium,	雲遊	*wan yaú*, clouds travelling.
To smoke tobacco,	咬羌	*ngaú keung*, bite ginger.
To smoke opium,	咬雲	*ngaú wan*, bite clouds.
Tobacco pipe,	洪竹,青龍	*hung chuk* or *tsing lung*, hung bamboo or green dragon.

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Tea,	青蓮 *tsing lin*, green lotus.	Lamp,	蚊帳 *man cheung*, mosquito curtain.
,,	紅水 *hung shui*, red water.	Oil lamp,	洪燈 *hung tang*, Hung lamp.
,,	青水 *tsing shui*, green water.	Road,	線 *sin*, thread.
Wine,	家和 *ka wo*, family harmony.	Travel,	遊線 *yaú sin*, walk the thread.
Water,	三河 *Sam ho*, three rivers.	House,	甲子 *kap tsze*, first of cycle.
Oil,	洪順 *hung shun*, Hung obedience.	Ancestral hall,	馬桶 *ma tung*, privy.
Chopsticks,	金簡 *kam kán*, golden selecters.	Market,	太平 *t'ai ping*, universal peace.
Tea cup,	蓮蕊 *lin yui*, lotus flower bud.	Table,	方平 *fong ping*, square level.
Wine cup,	蓮米 *lin mai*, lotus seed.	Stool,	四脚 *sze keuk*, four legs.
Bowl,	蓮花 *lin fa*, lotus flower.	To sleep,	晒 *shai*, to dry.
Plate,	蓮葉 *lin ip*, lotus leaf.	Bed,	晒棚 *shai pang*, drying stage.
Incense,	桂枝 *kwai chi*, cassia twigs.	Sit,	脫 *tüt*, tüt.
Candles,	古樹 *ku shü*, dwarf trees.	Junk,	屐 *k'ek*, wooden shoe.
Betel,	河南 *ho nam*, Honam.	Ship,	平 *ping*, level.
Betel nut,	太子 *tai tsze*, prince.	To board a ship,	搭平 *tap ping*, to tread the level.
Betel leaf,	糧草 *leung tso*, provisions.	Sword,	橘板 *kwat pán*, orange board, or
Lime,	軍師 *kwan sze*, military secretary.		縐沙 *tsaú sha*, silk crape.
Mosquito curtain,	燈籠 *tang lung*, lantern.	Dagger,	獅子 *sze tsze*, young lion.
The Ming jacket,	袈裟 *ka sha*, muslin, or a monk's robe.	Cannon,	黑狗 *hak kaú*, black dog.
Trousers,	菱角 *ling kok*, water caltrops.	Powder,	狗糞 *kaú fan*, dog's dung.
Shoes,	鐵板 *t'it pan*, iron soles.	Report of cannon,	狗吠 *kaú fai*, dog's bark.
Cap,	雲蓋 *wan koi*, cloudy cover.	Silver dollars,	瓜子 *kwa tsze*, melon seed.
Hat,	萬笠 *mán lap*, mán lap.	Cash,	芝蔴 *chi ma*, sesamum.
Large bamboo hat,	藤牌 *tang pai*, shield.	A string of 100 cash,	一條草 *yat tiú tso*, a blade of grass.
Umbrella,	洪頭 *hung tau*, Hung head or	A string of 1000 cash,	一條繩 *yat tiú shing*, a string.
	獨脚 *tuk keuk*, one leg or	Hand,	五爪龍 *ng chaú lung*, five clawed dragon.
	烏雲 *ú wan*, black cloud.	Ears,	順風 *shun fung*, fair wind.
Handkerchief,	白雲 *pak wan*, white cloud, or	To cut off the ears,	落順風 *lok shun fung*, lower the fair wind.
	十二兩 *shap i leung*, twelve taels.	To cut a head off,	洗面 *sai min*, wash the face.

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To murder by drowning, 洗身 *sai shan*, bathe.

Sea, 大天 *tai tin*, great sky.

To drown in the sea, 放落大天 *fong lok tai tin*, lower into the great sky.

The lodge club, 三尺六 *sam chek luk*, the three feet six, or 古松 *ku tsung*, old pine.

The fan, 灣月 *wan üt*, crescent moon.

The *taú*, in which the flags and other paraphernalia is placed, 木楊城 *muk yeung shing*, Muk-yeung city.

The needle used for pricking fingers at initiations, 鐵頭太子 *tit taú t'ai tsze*, Iron-headed prince.

WILLIAM STANTON.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE EXORCISM OF SPIRITS IN KOREA.

A visitor cannot be long in Korea without hearing somewhere in the neighbourhood a loud ding-dong sound of clattering cymbals with the beating of drums, and if he proceeds in the direction of the sound he will see a woman (usually an old, ugly-looking hag which reminds him of pictures of witches seen in his youth) dancing and posturing or going round and round, keeping time to the drums and cymbals which are kept going by two or three younger exorcists, or may be only pupils, who are sitting on a mat spread out in front of her. The sorceress herself uses a fan and dresses up in most fantastic attire, usually that of a man, and further sticks into her hair pieces of paper of the exact pattern that one sees before Shinto shrines in Japan. The twisted Shinto rope is also used and a number of the ceremonies are so similar that one begins to ask whether Shintoism is not after all Shamanism, which was obtained from Corea together with Pottery, Literature, Buddhism and almost everything else a Japanese possesses, excepting probably his conceit which is so marked that it could not possibly flourish anywhere excepting on Japanese soil. The ceremony which Mr. Percival Lowell describes, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, as a purely Shinto rite, and which is supposed to be met with nowhere else, can be seen almost daily in any large Korean town, the entire ceremony only differing in the size of the wand used and in the fact that, whereas in Japan the exorcist is a Shinto Priest, in Korea a woman is the chief actor in the scene. Below will be found a few notes on exorcisms as practised by the sorceress in Korea, with a list of the various spirits exorcised.

Spirits high in rank.

1. Spirits of the Heavens.
2. Spirits of the Earth.
3. Spirits of the Mountains and Hills.
4. Spirits of the Dragons.
5. Guardian Spirits of the District.
6. Spirits of the Buddhist Faith (?)

Spirits of the House.

7. Spirit of the ridge pole. This is the chief of all the spirits of the House.
8. Spirit of goods and furniture.
9. Spirit demon of the Yi family.
10. Spirit of the kitchen.
11. Attendant spirits of No. 9.
12. Spirits which serve one's ancestors.
13. The Guards and servants of No. 9.
14. The Spirits which aid jugglers.
15. Spirits of goods and chattels, like No. 8, but inferior in rank.
16. Spirits of smallpox.

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17. Spirits which take the forms of animals.

18. Spirits which take possession of young girls and change them into exorcists.

19. Spirits of the seven stars which form the Dipper.

20. Spirits of the house site.

Various kinds of spirits.

21. Spirits which make men brave.

22. Spirits which reside in trees. Any gnarled shrub or mal-formed tree is supposed to be the residence of one of these spirits. Spirits which cause persons to meet either a violent death or to die young. Any one who has died before reaching a cycle (i.e. 60 years) is supposed to have died owing to the influence of one of these spirits. It is needless to say that they are all evil.

23. Spirits which cause tigers to eat men.

24. Spirits which cause men to die on the road.

25. Spirits which roam about the house causing all sorts of calamities.

26. Spirits which cause a man to die away from home.

27. Spirits which cause men to die as substitutes for others.

28. Spirits which cause men to die by strangulation.

29. Spirits which cause men to die by drowning.

30. Spirits which cause women to die in child-birth.

31. Spirits which cause men to die by suicide.

32. Spirits which cause men to die by fire.

33. Spirits which cause men to die by being beaten.

34. Spirits which cause men to die by falls.

35. Spirits which cause men to die by pestilence.

36. Spirits which cause men to die by cholera.

PRELIMINARIES TO EXORCISM.

The exorcist (in Corea always a female) must not occupy the same apartments as her husband for a period varying from a month in the case of the higher spirits to three days in the case of those of a lower grade. During this time the exorcist must abstain from fish and flesh and must generally fast (not severely). Ashes are first steeped in water and the exorcist takes this liquor and, walking around the house to be exorcised, sprinkles it as she goes. She then takes pure water and goes through the same performance. The spirit of the ridge pole (No. 7) is then supposed to come out and invite her to enter.

There are 12 varieties of exorcism.

I.—THE SPIRITS OF GOODS AND FURNITURE (No. 8.)

This is the chief of all exorcisms. By having this performed, virtues descend to the household and goods are accumulated in plenty.

Tai Am Chyei Syek, Syo Am Chyei Syek and Po Ki Chyei Syek are invoked to give to the sons long life and to the daughters many virtues. The origin of these three spirits was not in the mountains of silver nor was it in the mountains of pure gold. Their paternal ancestor was a philosopher of Hwa Ju. Their maternal ancestor was a lady from the Dragon's (Emperor's) Palace. At the age of 7 they first met and again at the age of 17 they met. At this time their maternal ancestor became pregnant and in due time their father was born. The hour, day, month and year were taken and the horoscope was cast. When the child was three years old, the mother died and in his 7th year the father died. The child had nowhere to go, so he went to his uncle's house and said, 'You are my uncle by blood but my aunt is not my blood relative. I will therefore become your servant.' His aunt treated him very cruelly, feeding him with cold food and with refuse vegetables which were all put into a basin. His tears dropped into the basin and mixed with the food. After many days and months of this, on new year's day, he was compelled to go and gather faggots. He tied a rope around his waist and took a scythe under his arm and

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a sickle in his hand and ascended the mountains of pure gold. Here he gathered a bundle of dolichos faggots. He then descended the mountain and, as he was gathering a bundle of oak faggots, a monk came down the mountain chanting and seeing him he asked, 'Where do you live? There are many days and months in the year: therefore why do you gather faggots on new year's day?' He answered, 'I am not of low birth, I am Chyei Syek's son, my parents died early and I went to my uncle's house to live. They sent me out to gather faggots to-day and I was compelled to obey.' The monk said, 'You are the noble son of a noble house, but your horoscope is bad. It makes me sad to think of your sufferings. Would you like to go to live with me at the temple?' The boy was pleased and followed the monk. They walked alone over a high mountain pass and then ascended the highest peak on the top of which was a temple. Here was the place where the monk dwelt. There were several temples attached to this one monastery. The highest was three stories in height and the lowest was two. They proceeded to the largest of the temples where there were images of the three Buddhas. Before these were the Buddhas of the five quarters and the four guardians, as if chanting. In front of the table on which the images were sitting was an old monk, who, grasping the rosary, was chanting with frequent prostrations. The boy walked all round the temple and after he had seen and examined all, he had his hair cut off and became a disciple. The monk then asked him whether he would first learn his letters or whether he would study Buddhist rites and ceremonies. He said he would first study his letters. He then began with the 'Thousand Character Classic' and then studied in succession all the text books. He was wonderfully clever. It was only necessary to teach him one character and he knew the meaning of the whole line. After he had studied all the classics, he studied the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism. After he had studied all the Buddhist Sutras, the monk said to him, 'If any of the nobles' sons were as learned as you, they would obtain a doctor's degree. For you the study of Buddhist literature is useless. Take your bundle, your rosary and your staff and go down the hill and, the first house you come to, you must beg for rice. The disciple then did so. He went to the house where he saw a young woman weaving cloth. He begged for rice which was given him. He looked into her eyes and she became pregnant In due time she brought forth three sons. These three sons were you, Oh spirits! You have given blessings to the world so that now in all houses offerings are made to you.'

When offerings are made to these spirits, no meats are used, which points to a Buddhistic origin. All houses, when the ridge poles are erected, have offerings set out. If you ask the ordinary man the meaning of this, he will say he does not know. But the following gives the origin of it.

II.—THE SPIRIT OF THE RIDGE POLE.

This spirit is the chief of all the spirits of the house. If a death occurs or any calamity which causes weeping, this spirit becomes angry and leaves the house. If he does, one calamity follows another and the house goes from bad to worse. The exorcist is then called in who induces the spirit to return. As this spirit is the chief, after he returns, the other spirits also return and bring good luck with them.

III.—SPIRIT DEMON OF THE YI FAMILY.

This is the spirit of a former Crown Prince of Corea. He wished to attack China, being so puffed up with pride, but as he was only Crown Prince, he was compelled to remain quiet. He was very impatient and angry with his father, the King, for not allowing him to carry out his mad scheme. Once, during his fortieth year, when his father the king went in procession to the tombs of his ancestors, he forged an order in the King's name declaring war on China. This was an act of rebellion and of course he had to be killed, which was done by one of the

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King's faithful ministers. His spirit now roams about, injuring all that comes in contact with it. Should a man in good health suddenly drop dead or disease infect several members of one family, or some one have a frightful dream, it is due to this spirit. If the spirit comes to a house, he will not be appeased until a man dies or an ox or a pig. Therefore if the spirit visits a neighbourhood or a house, a pig must immediately be killed to appease him and induce him to leave. The pig must not be cut up but boiled entire and offered up entire. The exorcist will then take two knives and go through the sword dance. Sometimes the exorcist dances and works herself into such a frenzy that she falls down as in a fit frothing at the mouth. Cases have occurred in which she actually died. She invokes the powers in the following words: 'Oh Master and Mistress of our Kingdom, May you ever exist in peace. Once in every three years we invoke you with music and dance. Oh make this house to be peaceful.'

Wood is then brought out and a box is made. The native official hat and robes are then placed in it, as well as clothes suitable for a lady of the palace. This box is then placed on top of the family clothes horse and sacrifices frequently offered.

Regularly every three years, as is implied in the invocation, a special service is held in each district to appease this spirit.

IV.—SPIRITS OF MOUNTAINS AND HILLS.

In exorcising these spirits, the exorcist puts on a man's hat and a minister's official robes. In one hand she takes a three-pronged lance. She then dances and whirls around, working herself into a frenzy. While doing this, she puts the leg of a pig on the middle prong of the lance (which is longer than the others). She places this upright on the end of the handle in front of the sacrifices which are offered and, strange to say, it remains in an upright position. Before doing this, her whole body trembles involuntarily when the demon is supposed to take possession of her. She then scolds and abuses the spirit, until it asks for pardon. Then a sheet of paper is rolled into a hollow roll and set on fire. This is done for each member of the family. If the burning paper ascends, that particular member of the family is supposed to be quite innocent. If the paper does not ascend, but tumbles over, that special member of the family is supposed to be guilty of some fault.

V.—SPIRIT ATTENDANTS OF III.

In exorcising this spirit, a red hat and red official robes are worn and the insignia of a minister are tied to the belt. The exorcist then dances and invokes the spirit as well as the spirit of the Hong clan and the ambassador spirits of the twelve feudal States. She scolds the master of the house for not setting out more offerings even though many have been set out. Paper is then rolled up and burnt as in IV.

VI.—SPIRITS OF THE ANCESTORS.

This exorcism is for male or female ancestors to the fifth generation. The exorcist will take in her hand a picture of the three Buddhas and, dancing, the spirits will come and sit on her shoulders. The exorcist weeps and says that the ancestors told her that their graves were disturbed for some reason or other, or that the house site is bad, or some like reason, which causes sickness or other calamities to befall the family. Female ancestors have nine souls, and male ancestors have twelve souls. For all the relatives of the family a sheet of paper is burned. This for relatives to cousins five times removed.

VII.—THE SPIRIT OF SMALL-POX.

In exorcising this spirit, the exorcist wears a soldier's hat and takes bells in her hands. White cakes (made of rice flour and water and baked) and water only are offered. She dances until the spirit takes possession of her and through her says that there are 53 spirits of smallpox, but, as Corea is a small country, only one-third have taken up their residence here. The spirit furthermore announces himself as chief of the small

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pox spirits and promises, if properly reverenced, to see that no calamity befalls the household through small pox.

I may add that small pox is a common and very much dreaded disease in Corea. The number of persons who are blinded or crippled in other ways through this disease alone is frightful. The natives have a way of vaccinating by introducing virus from a small pox patient into the nostril, but the evil effects of this is only exceeded by those of small pox itself.

VIII.—SPIRIT OF ONE'S OWN SELF.

This spirit always accompanies a person. The exorcist will take a sheet of paper in her hand and, having exorcised the spirit, she will be told by it that the spirit having accompanied a man to a certain place could not enjoy the food, and for this reason he has afflicted the family with illness or interfered with the trading done by the master as the case may be. The paper which the exorcist holds in her hand is then fastened to the eaves of the house and another sheet is taken and burned.

IX.—SPIRITS WHICH TAKE THE FORMS OF ANIMALS.

There are certain animals which come to a house and bring blessings with them, such as a species of snake which belongs to the python family or weasels. If these animals are seen in one's dreams, blessings are sure to follow. They take up their residence beneath the pile of brush-wood. If the spirits of these appear, silk or satin clothing should be made and these with some money put into an unoccupied room. If this is done, the family may become quite wealthy. To obtain these blessings, the exorcist should be called to invoke these spirits. Sacrifices should be offered on the first and fifteenth day of each month, when many offerings in the way of food should be made and paper burnt.

X.—THE SPIRITS OF JUGGLERS.

These spirits only resort to houses which have in the family one person who has passed the literary examinations. These spirits are only exorcised when there are a large number of spectators. A young virgin exorcist dances and sings, while the spectators throw her money which she hangs in her belt and fastens on to her clothing. This is one of the most profitable from a financial point of view to the exorcist.

XI.—SPIRITS WHICH RESIDE IN TREES ON THE HILL TOPS.

If any one dies before reaching a cycle (i.e. 60 years of age) the spirit will reside in a tree usually on the top or the side of a hill. This tree is known by its gnarled appearance. Should persons die of the pestilence or by the roadside or women die in childbirth, the spirits are sure to take up their residence in a tree. Offerings are made to these spirits of cake, wine and pork, but should the tree be the residence of the spirit of a man who has been killed by a tiger, the flesh of a dog is offered instead of pork. The exorcist puts on red clothing and dances invoking the spirit, saying that a large number of wicked spirits have come to this house and have troubled the master; will the spirit in the tree deign to drive these malevolent spirits away. The sorceress then calls the master of the house and scolds him, telling him that he has done wrong. After this a number of small tables are set out with offerings for the spirits.

After any of the above exorcisms, the sorceress comes to the yard in front of the house and offers cakes of grain, rice, soup, vegetables, fish and coarse wine and raw flesh. She takes portions of these and scatters them to the four winds for the spirits to eat and then invokes them as follows, 'Do not trouble this house more or visit it for three years, and after this period of time we will again appease you by offerings.'

Women do not become exorcists by birth. Whether a woman is rich or poor, high or low in the social scale, virgin or widow, a spirit may take possession of her. If a spirit takes possession of her, she first becomes ill. She may be only slightly ill or

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she may be very ill indeed, and the period of her illness may last one month or it may last three years. In her sleep she will dream of peach trees in blossom (peaches are said to be the fruit of the gods), or a rainbow in the heavens or a dragon. She may also dream of a man in armour who suddenly changes himself into an animal. These dreams will impress themselves on her mind until she becomes as one who is insane. After this when she is awake she will see acrobats and all sorts of curious things and from this time it will not be long until she speaks as the oracle of the spirits. She will then announce to the family that a great messenger from heaven and a great messenger from earth and a great messenger from the lightning have told her that, if she is not allowed to exorcise spirits, the members of the family, or the domestic animals belonging to the family will die. Should her relatives lock her up and refuse to allow her to have communcation with the outside world, she will become more and more ill and finally die. If she belongs to a noble family as sometimes happens, they may probably, and very often do, kill her as the disgrace would be felt so keenly that the family would feel that nothing could ever wipe it out. But we will suppose that the family bow to the inevitable and allow her to have her own way. The first thing she does is to go into an empty room and fill it with flowers either artificial or natural as an offering to the spirits. The next step will be to get the clothing and instruments and various paraphernalia of a deceased sorceress. She will therefore go to the house of a descendant of a sorceress and ask for the clothes, etc. The descendant will always be glad to get rid of them as, until he does so, there is a great danger of one of the members of his family becoming possessed. The sorceress will carefully inquire at what age the former owner of the apparel became possessed, at what age she died and what her family name was. She will then demand the clothing and an amount in money to procure her a full outfit, as a number of suits of new clothing are needed, the clothes of the deceased sorceress probably not being in a condition fit to be worn. It is not necessary that it be worn; only that the newly-possessed sorceress gets possession of it, and after the spirit has taken full possession of her it can be destroyed. But when a sorceress has died, the drums etc. cannot be destroyed and they must be kept until a new sorceress comes and asks for them. After the clothes, etc., are given, the newly-possessed sorceress will at once exorcise all the spirits of the donor's house that the members may live in peace, and after this she goes to the neighbouring house where she obtains rice and money. She will then write the names of donors on tablets, and placing them in a little house she will invoke blessings down upon them for three years. After this she can go to other houses to exorcise spirits. Should the sorceress belong to a noble family, she will not be allowed to exorcise spirits anywhere excepting in her own house, and when she dies, she will be buried in a hole in the mountain side with all her clothing and instruments of exorcism, and if a person in the neighbourhood is newly possessed, she will be sent to the place of burial for the clothing and instruments. A sorceress belonging to a noble family is called a messenger of the spirits. Often a sorceress will build a small house near her own and will not go abroad at all for the exorcism of spirits. Those of the neighbourhood who wish to have spirits exorcised will send to her the necessary money and offerings and she will exorcise them in her own house. Of late years it is the custom for the daughters of a sorceress to be taken out with her mother and taught from an early age so that she almost invariably becomes a sorceress as she grows older.

E. B. LANDIS, M.D.

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LOCKHART'S MANUAL OF CHINESE QUOTATIONS.

A Manual of Chinese Quotations, etc., etc., by J. H. Stewart-Lockhart, Registrar General, Chairman of the Board of Examiners in Chinese, Hongkong, F.R.G.S., M. R. A. S. Hongkong, 1893.

The 幼學 *Yu Hsüo* is too well known to students of two or three years' standing to require many words of introduction. It is usually the first work of reference suggested by the teacher when his pupil's acquaintance with book-Chinese passes from mere acquisition of individual characters in simple locutions to the study of the figurative and allusive language which forms the backbone of general literature. Most of it, if not all,—for I have not the *China Review* at hand,—was translated years ago by Mr. Parker; and I myself 'gutted' the work a few years ago for use in my Chinese-English Dictionary. Of Mr. Parker's translation Mr. Lockhart makes no mention whatever. As far as I can recollect, there were not a few blunders; but the bulk of it was of sufficient value to merit a passing notice at the hands of a follower in the track. As to the entries in my Dictionary, taken from the *Yu Hsüo*, some of them are quite at variance with the renderings given by Mr. Lockhart. We cannot both be right, though it is quite possible that we may both be wrong. And as I am now engaged in preparing a *Supplement* to my Dictionary, in which, in addition to new matter, I hope to correct the mistakes which through ignorance or inadvertence were allowed to creep into many entries, I am only too anxious to have all doubtful points well threshed out.

I have read Mr. Parker's notice of Mr. Lockhart's work, *China Review*, Vol. XXI, p. 205, wherein, as a prelude to three columns and a half of blunders great and small discovered by himself, he states that 'the chief defect in the book is the large number of cases in which the Pekingese pronunciation is given wrongly.' I do not agree with him. It is no doubt aggravating to be told in the *Introduction*, p. iii, that 'in representing the sounds of Chinese characters the Pekingese sound has been given in Wade's spelling,' and then, in addition to the numerous false transliterations pointed out by Mr. Parker, to come across dozens of others, from page ii of the Introduction, where 潛 is given as *Chin*, on through such monstrosities as 'the princess *U Yeung*' (p. 95, 1) to the very end of the book.

Still, I venture to think that, for practical purposes, correct romanisation in such a work is entirely secondary and subordinate to correct rendering of the text and commentary. What the student seeks is the meaning of given phraseology: the romanisation he can supply himself, according to his own favoured dialect.

But if the text is wrongly interpreted,—what then? In many cases the student may check Mr. Lockhart's rendering by the commentary and possibly grope his own way to the real meaning. But in a vast number of instances Mr. Lockhart has made no attempt to translate the commentary, or even to hint that there is a commentary at all. A vague reference only is given in such cases, as for instance, '*See* 西京雜記,' '*See* 史記,' '*See* 俟鯖錄,'

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'*See* 唐書,' '*See* 漢書,' etc., etc., as if the ordinary student, for whom such a work as this is intended, possessed a full Chinese library, and (what is far more difficult to acquire) a ready facility in using it. Take as an example No. 1 on p. 150, the whole story of which is given in the commentary. Yet the sucking student is coolly referred to the 後漢書!

Mr. Lockhart says (p. iii) that 'wherever an explanation of any phrase seemed necessary, it has been furnished.' Let us examine two phrases out of a long list of such.

On p. 153, entry 1 is complete as follows:—'That was a brave thing (child) pronounced wonderful; when Wên Chiao of the Chin dynasty heard the voice of Huan Wên and knew he was extraordinary. *See* 晉書.'

On p. 196, entry 6, we read '"Handing down the mantle and the bowl" is a term for transmitting a 道 craft. *See* ante, p. 108, No. 3.'

The thirsty student turns to 'ante, p. 108, No. 3,' and is rewarded as follows:—

'3. An expression for one who has been initiated into the mysteries of any sect is "the real recipient of the mantle and the bowl."'

I think that in both cases the elucidation, if such it may be called, is inadequate, and that any one who really wished to know something about 'the mantle and the bowl' would find himself very much where he was.

I will now proceed to give such entries as I have met with in a cursory review of Mr. Lockhart's book, which seem to require more or less radical alteration, omitting of course all those already touched upon by Mr. Parker.

Introd. p. ii. '*Alias* 文莊' should be 'canonised as etc.' Elsewhere '*alias*' is used before a man's 字 or 號.

P. 8 No. 1. Mr. Lockhart translates 刺史 by 'Circuit Intendant.' My Dictionary gives 'Governor of a province under the Han dynasty.' The event in question occurred under the Han dynasty, and the Governor was 蘇章 Su Chang, a well-known man whose name appears on p. 109, No. 3.

P. 18, No. 1. This expression was not used by Liu Pei, but by 許汜 Hsü Fan.

P. 24, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart says 'Yang of Shang, being wanting in benevolence, removed the divisions between the fields.' This is exactly the opposite of what the text gives:—'It was because Yang of Shang was wanting in charity that the system of the 阡陌 division of fields was started,'—as opposed to the old 井 system which pressed less heavily upon the people.

P. 50, No. 2. Mr. Lockhart omits the interesting point of 信天下降.

P. 51, No. 3. 雌黃 is here translated 'orpiment.' On p. 173, No. 3, it is translated 'ochre.'

P. 54, No. 4. 相公 does not here mean 'Master' but 'Minister of State.' It is also as a civilian, and not as a 'commander,' that Wang Tê-yung appears under this section.

P. 56, No. 1. What authority is there for translating 豺 by 'jackals'?

P. 67, No. 3. The past tense of 'eat' is 'ate.'

P. 87, No. 1. My edition of the *Yu Hsüo* says nothing about 'dividing the group of trees,' but only that the trees withered in consequence of the division.

P. 100, No. 1. Transpose 'Cook' and 'Hen.'

P. 101, No. 3. The commentary in my edition makes it quite clear that Tao Yün (whom Mr. Lockhart calls 'Tao Wên') said she was sad because she found no one in her husband's family to be compared with her uncle Hsieh An.

P. 108, No. 1. 'How can one always be a master?' is a terrible mistranslation of 師何常, which means 'Wherein lies the excellence of a master?'

P. 109, No. 1, 關西夫子 means not the 'Sage' but the 'Confucius' of Kuan Hsi.

P. 109, No. 2. 'Schoolman' is a contemp-

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tuous term, and even with the addition of 'famous' forms a very inadequate rendering of 儒宗. I see no objection to 'model scholar.'

P. 109, No. 4. It seems impossible that 立雪程門 can mean 'While they were waiting at Ch'êng's house, the snow fell.' The clue to the story has evidently been lost, and a clumsy explanation has been invented by the commentator. Another account refers the anecdote to 程顥 Ch'êng Hao, and gives only one foot of snow.

P. 118, No. 1. 頻來無忌乃云入幕之賓 is translated by Mr. Lockhart 'The frequent *and welcomed* guest is said to be the guest who enters behind the curtain.' The italics are mine. They refer to 無忌. which here means 'on familiar terms' or 'unceremonious.'

P. 122, No. 1. Fan Shu (Wade has no *Shuh*) put on old clothes but did not appear 'in the guise of a beggar.'

P. 130, No. 1. Wu Ti did not 'point at the Princess Ch'ang, saying that he would like to marry her.' It was she who 'pointed at' her daughter, and proposed the latter as Wu Ti's bride.

P. 131, No. 3. For Mr. Lockhart's 'pebbles' and 'five sets of precious stones,' my edition gives 菜子 cabbage-seeds and 白璧五雙 five pairs of jade bangles.

P. 140, No. 1. The 'three dynasties' (in second half of note) should be the 'Three Kingdoms.'

P. 148, No. 1. There is nothing about a 'maternal grandmother' in the commentary. Wei Shu went to live with his mother's family. When the family built a new house, the geomancer said 'It will produce an honoured nephew.' Upon which Wei Shu said 'The Wei family (not Wei Shu, as Mr. Lockhart says) will fulfil the prophecy.'

P. 152, No. 5. 'The concubine dreamt that Heaven gave her etc.' should be 'that an angel (天使) gave her etc.'

P. 154. '*See* Mayers, No. 12,' should be 'No. 32.'

P. 160, No. 2. 'Kao of the Han dynasty' would hardly tell a student that the founder of the Han dynasty was meant, and his 'high' nose would have been more aptly rendered by 'prominent' nose.

P. 161, No. 1. This conveys a wrong impression. No one spat on Shih Tê's face. (Mr. Lockhart's transliteration is Ssŭ-têh !) It is an imaginary case proposed by his brother.

P. 162, No. 3. The story of Lin Hsiang-ju's hair standing on end refers not to the episode given by Mr. Lockhart, but to that of the famous jewel which the Prince of Ch'in tried to get from the Chao State.

P. 162, No 4. 'Put your hand on him and it will burn,' says Mr. Lockhart; 'such was the ardent nature of the noble energy of Ts'ui Hsien (which should be *Hsüan*) of the T'ang dynasty. *See* 唐書' I have not referred to the *T'ang shu*, but only to the humbler commentary to the *Yu Hsüo*. In any case, I fear that a whole cart-load of *T'ang Shus* would fail to make me believe that 炙手可熱 can possibly mean 'Put your hand on him and it will burn.' It means 'By toasting your hands you can make them warm,' and this, according to the commentary, means either that four individuals whose names are given derived their influence from relying upon the powerful Ts'ui Hsüan, or that people who wished to advance themselves relied upon these four men. Perhaps some one will ferret out the passage in the *Tang shu*, which I have not at hand.

P. 165. No. 2. Mr. Lockhart translates 斷送老頭皮 by 'you will part with your old scalp.' But 頭 obviously belongs to 老 and not to 皮, which latter must therefore be taken to mean the skin of the whole body and not of the head only.

P. 168, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart translates 土木形骸 by '(Ch'i K'ang had) a clay and wooden body,' and 不自粧飾 by 'which he did not adorn.' The feeble

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logic of this might have told Mr. Lockhart that he was on a wrong track. Whatever could be the meaning of 'having a clay and wooden body?' The words 土 and 木 here fulfil the function of verbs, and the sentence means 'Ch'i K'ang clayed and wooded his corporeal frame,' *i.e.* 'regarded his corporeal frame as so much clay or wood, and would not condescend to adorn it.'

P. 168, No. 5. The character 腸 is omitted in the translation.

P. 170, No. 5. Mr. Lockhart translates 冠玉 by 'capped with jade.' In his note he says that some render it by 'superior to jade.' Those 'some' are right and Mr. Lockhart is wrong.

P. 171, No. 2. '周勃 and 蕭何 were both great men, but they were not able to give expression to their thoughts would they have been as ready-tongued as this gardener.' This is a grammatical conundrum.

P. 174, N. 1. 衰 is a mistake for 裒. Mr. Lockhart translates 皮裏春秋 'having the Spring and Autumn Annals in one's skin 心中自有褒貶 means an inbred ability for praising and blaming.' This looks right; but the commentary explains it by 外無臧否而內有褒貶也, meaning that his praise and blame were not bestowed openly but secretly, to himself. If Mr. Lockhart rejects the commentary in favour of an interpretation of his own, he ought to warn his readers that he is doing so.

P. 175, No. 7. My commentary says clearly that the phrase here quoted was used by the first Emperor of the Han dynasty in reference to 桓置 Huan Chih.

P. 181, No. 1. Mr. Lockhart translates 阮籍作青眼厚待乎人 'Yüan Chi made green eyes when he treated people generously.' This is obviously nonsense. 青 means here, as in many other cases, *black*; and the phrase means simply that when Yüan Chi wished to treat people with consideration he turned towards them the pupils of his eyes. Otherwise, he showed them the whites; *i.e.* he turned his head contemptuously away.

P. 184, No. 5. Mr Lockhart translates 老當益壯寧知白首之心 'in old age should become stronger to make it known better that gray hairs have a mind.' The text will not bear this strain; neither is the result sufficiently epigrammatic to justify the wrench. 寧知 could never mean 'to make it known better that;' nor could 白首之心 mean 'gray hairs have a mind.' I have not 王勃's text to refer to, and the commentary gives no help. The sentence seems, however, to me to mean, 'As age comes upon us we should apply ourselves still more, and not suffer ourselves to be conscious of the gray beard's (worn out) mental powers.' This makes 壯 refer to the mind and not to the body, and treats 寧 as an interrogative = how?

P. 185, No. 1. In this, which is the complement of No. 5 on p. 184, Mr. Lockhart translates 青雲 by 'azure clouds,' leaving the student entirely unaided as to what 'ambition for the azure clouds' may mean. Luckily for the student, he can find the explanation in my Dictionary.

P. 190, No. 4. 幾虱 are not 'fleas,' which could easily escape from the threatened hot water bath, but 'lice,' which move less rapidly.

P. 197, No. 2. Mr. Lockhart has here fallen into a trap. He renders 五代弘肇 by '弘肇, who lived in the time of the Five Dynasties,' evidently taking 史 as the 'history' of that period. But 史 is the man's surname. (*See* 姓氏族譜 s.v.)

P. 199, No. 6. Mr. Lockhart says 'Gluing the keys to play the flute.' But first of all 瑟 is not a 'flute' but a kind of guitar; and secondly, 柱 are not 'keys' but the nuts by which guitar-strings are tuned.

P. 198, No. 2. Mr. Lockhart says 'Fans are called 便面 the face refresher.' This is truly funny. 便面 means something to screen the face with and prevent recogni-

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tion by friends. If a Chinaman does not want to stop in the street and speak to an acquaintance, he holds his fan up to his face and pretends not to see. Such too is the quaint use of the large fans carried in mandarin processions. Why did not Mr. Lockhart translate the commentary which stared him in the face?

P. 200, No. 3. 'This expression was used by 醮王承.' I can find no record of this gentleman, simply because 醮 is not a surname.

P. 203, No. 1. Mr. Lockhart takes exception to my translation of 桔槔 (*Chuang Tzŭ*, p. 181). Though the phrase undoubtedly means a 'water-wheel,' that rendering would make nonsense of the passage in question, where it can only mean a 'well-sweep.'

P. 205, No. 3. 西門豹 should not appear as 'Hsi Mên-p'ao' but as 'Hsi-mên Pao.'

P. 206, No. 2. 'Wang Hsien' for 王衍 Wang Yen is another of the myriad false transliterations left unnoticed by Mr. Parker.

P. 206, No. 3. There was no such person as 'Hêng Ch'ü.' The individual alluded to was 張 Chang Hêng-ch'ü.

P. 216, No. 2. Ch'in Kuei sent no 'ambassador' to Yen Tun-fu, nor was there any question of the latter's 'yielding.' All this gives quite a false impression of the story on which the phrase is based. It will be told correctly in my new *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*.

P. 229, No. 1. Mr. Lockhart completely spoils this fable by putting the cart before the horse. He is at great pains to make the tiger precede the fox, but of course it was the fox who preceded the tiger.

P. 233, No. 3. In this and several other cases (*e.g.* P. 216, No. 4) the reference should be to *Chuang Tzŭ*, which would be somewhat more useful to students than Mr. Lockhart's pretensions. '*See* 盧坦與李渤書 (T'ang dynasty).'

P. 234, No. 1. Not 'guests' but 'retainers.'

P. 237, No. 2. Not 'struck the horns of one of his team of oxen' but 'beat time on the horns etc.'

P. 240, No. 4. Not 'a supposititious case' but 'a suppositious case.' The former word has a totally different meaning.*

P. 242, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart translates 投鼠忌器 by 'afraid of aiming at the rat on account of the thing to be thrown.' This is a serious mistranslation. The phrase is common enough; and rather than tell the poor student that 'the proverb is quoted by 賈誼 in the 治安策'—Mr. Lockhart would have done well to translate it correctly. It means, as given in my Dictionary, p. 999, 'when you throw at the rat, beware of the vase,'—lest you break it.

P. 245, No. 1. By translating 'when I become rich I will never forget this hard work,' Mr. Lockhart completely misses the point. It should run 'I will never forget *you*.' The man's name was 陳勝, not 陳涉.

P. 252, No. 4. The character 沐 has been left untranslated. In my edition it is not Han Shêng who uses these words, but 項籍 Hsiang Chi. As Mr. Lockhart says (p. ii) that 'several commentaries have been consulted,' it would have been more scholarly to point out all such discrepancies.

P. 255, No. 1. 風馬牛 This blunder seems to die almost as hard as 吞金 'swallowing gold' or 好殺是他人 'it is good to kill another.' Mr. Lockhart leaves the last nine characters untranslated.

* NOTE.—Here, as elsewhere, the apodictic certainty with which the writer propounds his opinions, is apt to impose upon the unwary reader. The latest English Dictionaries, the Century Dictionary and I. K. Funk's Standard Dictionary, give 'suppositious' as merely an obsolete form of 'supposititious,' admitting not a shade of difference in meaning.—EDITOR, *China Review*.

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P. 261, No. 5. After transliterating 晏子 by 'An Tzŭ,' Mr. Lockhart refers to Mayers, No. 977 (a misprint for 917) where the first character is correctly given as 'Yen.'

P. 261, No. 6. What 石崇 Shih Shung (*sic!*) appears to have had was not a 'screen of the length of forty *li*' but a 'carpet' of that length. This is made clear in the commentary by the use of 步障.

P. 264, No. 1. 'Shun of Yü instituted the upper and lower robes in order to invest the virtuous.' Another conundrum!

P 266, No. 2. This is one of the comic entries. Mr. Lockhart says, 'Before Wang Chang had succeeded in life, he and his wife had to sleep during the cold night under an ox's coverlet.' Of course the puzzle is to find the ox's coverlet. What is an 'ox's coverlet?' During many winters in the north of China, I never heard of oxen being covered up at night. Turning to the Chinese, the student finds 牛衣, literally, ox-clothes. But the only covering the ox has is the long grass in which he lies down at night, and 'ox-clothes' is figuratively used for 'grass.' In plain language, Wang and his wife slept out in the open air, *à la belle étoile*, as the French say, which is not usually translated 'at the beautiful star.'

P. 273, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart translates 半菽不飽 'my hunger cannot be satisfied with a mixture of half peas.' What are 'half peas,' and what is a mixture of them? And why can they not satisfy hunger? At any rate, Mr. Lockhart's version will hardly satisfy the rawest student. The phrase means, simply enough, 'My hunger cannot be satisfied with a split pea,'—forcibly reminding one of Thackeray's famous lines, which I quote from memory only:—

Now they had not got much further than
the equator
When all they had left was one split pea.

P. 274, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart says that when poor people entertain guests, they can only 'pass their hands across the moon and clutch at the wind.' To my mind this conveys absolutely no meaning, though Mr. Lockhart says it means that the 'poor family has nothing substantial to offer.' The Chinese is 抹月披風, and I think Mr. Lockhart has mistranslated it. I have not Su Tung-p'o's works at hand, but the phrase seems to me to mean that poor people can but 'polish up the moon (for a dish or plate) and put on the wind (for their dinner dress);' in fact, make no preparations at all.

P. 287, No. 2. Wang I-pu (*sic*) and 王衍 Wang Yen are given in the Index as if they were two different persons.

P. 300, No. 4. The text of the poem sent by Han P'u to his brother Han Chi (洎 not 泊) is not given. Mr. Lockhart makes a sad mess of it. There is nothing whatever about 'different documents from your palace,' and altogether the point is completely missed. Some friend sent Han P'u a present of paper, and this he forwarded on to his brother, with the cutting remark that it was of no use to himself but might help towards the adornment of the Five Phœnix Tower.

P. 302, No. 6. Mr. Lockhart translates 青錢萬選 'the copper coin selected out of ten thousand'—is an expression for one's compositions being passed whenever examined. Mr. Lockhart does not condescend to explain how such a sentence as 'the copper coin selected out of ten thousand' could by any possibility have such a meaning. It is a gross mistranslation. The sentence means 'Every single *cash* a good one,' and is used of essays which are all successful at the examinations, referring to a candidate who passes everything he goes up for. 萬選 is elliptical for 萬選萬中'=ten thousand chosen, ten thousand pass muster.

P. 305, No. 1. 機杼一家 does not mean 'the loom is of a special class,' but that it forms a class of its own, a new 'school,' so to speak. The quotation given

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by Mr. Lockhart is mistranslated as follows: —'Literature must proceed from oneself making a special loom and shuttle. How can one live sharing his personality and bone and sinew with others?' The real meaning is 'A man's writings should issue from his own particular loom, and in style should form a distinct school of their own, and not belong to a common level of uniformity.'

P. 312, No. 2. 'When' should be 'and that.' 'Chieng' should be 'Chiang.'

P. 318, No. 2. 問策 does not mean 'to set an essay' but 'to set a paper of questions.'

P. 326 is a record page for careless typography.

P. 333, No. 6. 'Shên T'u' and 'Yü Lei' are not mere orthographical mistakes, but misreadings of well known combinations. They are correctly given in my Dictionary.

P. 343, No. 6. Mr. Lockhart does not explain in his note how the fish in the moat suffered when the city gate took fire. One explanation is that the water got too hot for them! Another, and more plausible one, that all the water was used to put out the fire and that the fishes of course died.

P. 350, No. 3. Not 'He who is fond' but 'A fondness for.' Not 'a land maniac' but 'the land craze.'

P. 355, No. 4. 'The cooking-pot of Fan Tan produced a frog; his broken cooking-pot was covered with dust.' That is all Mr. Lockhart gives on that entry, except a reference to the 後漢書, which few students have on their shelves and which still fewer can read.

P. 360, No. 1. What is the 'stopper of a carriage wheel?' 軔 should have been translated by 'skid.'

P. 365, No. 4. Mr. Lockhart fails to bring out the origin and meaning of this phrase. Instead of the useless reference to the *Han Shu*, it would have been quite easy to explain that Ch'ên Fan and Chou Chü used to say 'If we don't see Huang Hsien for several days, our vulgarity and meanness bud again.'

P. 367, No. 2. Mr. Lockhart translates 幸爲先容 by 'kindly get me admitted first.' This is a bad mistranslation. The words mean 'kindly say a word for me before I arrive.'

P. 367, No. 3. Mr. Lockhart says that Dr. Legge translates 運斤成風 by 'whirling his axe so as to create a wind.' If so,—for I have not his *Chuang Tzŭ* at hand—Dr. Legge has made a very grave mistake, which Mr. Lockhart ought to have seen. The phrase means 'was very skilful with his axe,' having practised until the use of this had become a second nature to him. 風 has nothing to do with 'wind.'

P. 369, No. 1. Throughout his book Mr. Lockhart shows a want of uniformity. Quotations in prose and poetry are sometimes translated and sometimes left untranslated. This entry contains a verse of four lines, the last two of which would floor a good many sinologues. Why leave the student to grapple with them unaided? Perhaps Mr. Lockhart was wise after all.

P. 376, No. 3. 'When two things do not fit into each other, it is a case of the (square) handle and (round) chisel.' We are carefully told where in Chinese literature we shall find the text of this remarkable translation, which I venture to think is of far less importance than the real meaning of the words, which by the way lies on the surface. 鑿 here means not a *chisel* but a *hole*, and the phrase may be compared with our own 'square man in a round hole.'

P. 419, No. 5. 'Shih Wang of the Ch'in dynasty' is presumably the so-called 'First Emperor.' Why did he call his 12 copper men 'Wêng Chung'? This is how Mr. Lockhart guides the student:—'See 索隱, a commentary on the 史記, etc., etc.' In case Mr. Lockhart himself does not know, he will have a chance of finding out in the forthcoming Biographical Dictionary, mentioned above. At any rate, in a professedly exegetical work, it seems somewhat

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out of place to dispose of difficult points by referring the groping student to another place.

In conclusion. I am not so satisfied with this work as Mr. Watters, who has gone out of his way to testify to its unqualified merits.* At the same time, I am truly sorry that there is no more to be said in its praise.

To translate, print, and publish such a volume as Mr. Lockhart's is no mean undertaking. The plan of the book is good, and the *Index* (with reservations) is excellent; but the execution is faulty, and betrays an insufficient knowledge of the Chinese language. A full and accurate translation of the *Yu Hsüo* and its commentary is a boon which yet remains to be conferred upon the sinological world.

HERBERT A. GILES.

The Editor, *China Review.*

May 3rd, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—Herewith I beg to return to you Giles' Notes on Lockhart's translation of the Book of Quotations. I have perused the whole of the notes carefully and the result is roughly as follows:—About ⅓ is correct and consequently valuable; another ⅓ on doubtful or trivial points not altogether right; the remaining ⅓ is totally wrong.

At present I have not the time to write much and I send you back the paper without delay.

I remain, Yours very truly,

HO KAI.

* NOTE.—No request having been addressed to Mr. Giles, to forward this contribution to the *China Review*, it is clearly he himself who has gone out of his way, whatever may have been Mr. Watters' case. Although the combination of an uncalled for philippicon like this with the re-iterated advertisement of 'my Dictionary' and 'the forthcoming Biographical Dictionary' is a matter of questionable taste and propriety, we have, in the interest of truth, consented to insert the above, but publish at the same time the brief opinion expressed at our request by a competent native scholar, the Hon. Dr. Ho Kai, and the reply of the author. In our own opinion, such is the peculiarity of Chinese metaphorical style that in some cases the divergent interpretations of both the author and the reviewer may be equally justifiable.—Editor, *China Review.*

To the Editor, *China Review.*

Hongkong, 4th June, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for kindly affording me an opportunity of reading Mr. Giles' critique of my translation of the *Ch'êng yü k'ao* and Dr. Ho Kai's letter, dealing with Mr. Giles' strictures. I have neither the time nor the inclination to review my reviewer nor to consider in detail what Mr. Giles has written. He certainly does not appear to be in love with my translation, which perhaps is natural as he says some of the renderings of the entries in his Dictionary, taken from the *Ch'êng yü k'ao*, are at variance with those given by me. He also seems angry with Mr. Watters for having dared to speak well of my work, though it is difficult to understand why he should have selected Mr. Watters, as other sinologues, such for example as Dr. Legge and Mr. Parker, have praised it even more highly. I am afraid he will not be mollified when he reads that Dr. Ho Kai, who, perhaps even Mr. Giles will acknowledge, possesses more than 'an insufficient knowledge of the Chinese language,' considers one third of his so-called corrections of my humble efforts as totally wrong, one third as correct, and one third, dealing with doubtful or trivial points, as not altogether right. This, of course, does betray 'insufficiency' on the part of Mr. Giles, so far as his knowledge of Chinese is concerned, but it shows at least that Homer sometimes nods, and that to err is human ever is the case of one so 'cock sure' as Mr. Giles invariably is.

I am much obliged to Mr. Giles for his corrections when they can be really regarded as such, and if my work ever reaches a

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second edition, which is not very probable, I will not fail to make use of them.

As Dr. Legge, yourself, Dr. Chalmers, Mr. Watters, Mr. Parker, Dr. Ho Kai, and Le Père Coventin Petillon have seen fit to write favourably of my work, and in view of Dr. Ho Kai's summary of Mr. Giles' critique, perhaps I may be excused if I am not convinced that the translation of the *Ch'êng yü k'ao* is quite so bad as Mr. Giles has tried to make out.

Yours very truly,
J. H. STEWART-LOCKHART.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

THE OLD CHINESE LANGUAGE.—By J. Edkins, D.D.—In Vol. XXI of the *China Review*, No. 4, p. 276, this subject is introduced by Mr. Parker.

Mr. Parker shews quite plainly why he has not found his way to believe in the ancient Chinese pronunciation of the characters. He obtains all his information at first hand. Surely this is an error in method. Life is too short to obtain a knowledge of science all at first hand. It is better to see what knowledge has been acquired already and add to it as much as we may be able. Before any of us now living were in China, native scholars traced out the difference between the old and the new pronunciation. I did what I could to make this fact known. What we have to do is to build on this foundation. Proved science is safe against the attacks of opponents. Why should not the syllabic spelling of the Tang dynasty and before and after that dynasty be taken as an index to the pronunciation of Chinese at the time when that spelling was made? To this there is but one answer. Why should we run counter to the teaching of such dictionaries as Kang hi tse tien? My system agrees with the system of Kang hi. Then why should Mr. Parker call it mine and condemn it? If it were not the native system taught in all the dictionaries and supported by the history of Buddhism and the transcriptions of all the neighbouring nations, I should not call it the ancient Chinese pronunciation, but a hypothesis of my own. It is not however a hypothesis but the resultant of regular and painstaking research into the history of the language by native and foreign scholars, during the last few centuries.

We can understand in the case of Mr. Parker, why he ignores the ancient pronunciation. It is because he accepts nothing but what he has found at first hand as he puts it. But why should he in a dictionary of ambitious aim, such as that of Mr. Giles, when writing a philological essay on the Chinese language as a preface to it ignore what is really the pith of the whole matter? Nothing can be made of the language without some knowledge of the ancient pronunciation which Mr. Parker stands alone in rejecting.

Mr. Parker gives as a reason for his opinion that he finds the utmost irregularity in Sanscrit words: thus for the 7th of the seven precious things of Buddhism, Musalagarbha, a red coloured precious stone he finds in Eitel 牟娑洛, 摩沙羅, 謨薩羅, 目娑羅. If we know from what book these names are taken by Dr. Eitel, we can find out in what part of China and in what century the book was translated. Then the differences would be explained. We can read from the Chinese names as they stand that the Sanscrit ori-

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ginal must be musals. Then Mr. Parker's logic breaks down with the test he has himself chosen.

Those who use Mr. Giles' dictionary expect in an initiatory essay such as that of Mr. Parker to see broad outlines of the whole subject of Chinese philology, briefly sketched. These they do not find but only the results of Mr. Parker's own inquiries. I should have liked to read there a recognition of the merits as discoverers of *Ku yen wu*, *Kiang yung*, *Twan yü ts'ai* and other native philologists. The syllabic spelling is based on the Sanscrit alphabet and by reading the sound of old words by its light, the learner is helped forward.

Let us take the character 木 'wood.' In Kang hi we are told that in the Tang and Sung dynasties it was read mok; or take 未 'not yet,' Kang hi says in the Tang and Sung dynasties it was read *mi* in the departing tone; or let us take 朮 a glutinous millet, says the *Shwo Wen*. (But this seems doubtful and Dr. Bretschneider takes no notice of it). Mountain thistle, that which grows on plains, is called 薊 *chi*. As to sound, Kang hi says in the Tang and Sung dynasties it was read *zhut*, 薊 was *ki*. The white* and red† varieties are used in medicine. From the sound we learn that 朮 is the same as 藷 *shu*, used for mountain taro, what is now called *Shan yo*, the Chinese *yam* or Dioscorea Japonica. This last is sounded by Kang hi *tu* and *zhu*; also we have 薥 *yü*, probable old sound *dut*, which is also a tuberous edible root. I suggest that all these three names are one originally, that is an edible tuber. But *zh* comes ultimately from *d* and consequently this root, meaning tuber in Chinese and now called *shu* and *yü*, may very well be our word root, radix, ῥιζα, Heb. shoresh Manarsun, because *d* also changes to *r*. Now in pursuing an investigation of this kind, we need to know the ancient pronunciation of Chinese characters. This is the very thing of which Mr. Parker wishes to deprive us. When we know this old sound, we can prosecute our inquiries into the relations of the Asiatic languages to each other.

I am sure Mr. Parker would not knowingly obstruct the progress of investigation, but is he not doing so when he practically insists that the Tao tê king and the Lun yu were read 2,200 years ago as they are now read in Honan and Shantung?

The fact is that they were read not with any modern sounds at all, unless the modern sounds happen to be quite like the ancient, as they might be in a very few cases.

What should the student do to know the old sound of a character? He looks in the tables of sounds in Kanghi. There are thirty-six initials viz. *k k' g ng, t, t' d n, ch, ch' dj, ni, p, p', b, m, f, f, v, v, ts, ts', dz, s, z, ch ch', dj, sh, zh, y, h, y, h, l, j.* The sounds as I give them are known by the Sanscrit alphabet. The reason of there being a repetition of *ch, ch', v, f, dj*, is that dialects differed at the time when the syllabic spelling was settled. The object was to find room for dialectic differences in the general scheme of the dictionaries from which Kanghi took the spelling. Those dictionaries were intended to be used all over China. The reason why *y* and *h* are repeated is that it was necessary to distinguish these initials as surd and sonant. In the tables there are four tones and four only, shewing that in the Tang dynasty a thousand years ago the modern tone systems of China were not yet in existence.

Take as an example 隻 *chak*. The indicators are 之 *chi* and 石 *zhak* single, one. Used in speaking of birds.

I add more examples 雀 *tsiak*, indicators 卽 *tsik* 略 *liak*, a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of men. 集 *dzip*, birds collected in a flock on a tree. Gather, indicators 秦 入 *dzin nip*. 雜 *dzap* mixed. Indicators 徂 *dzu* 合 *gap*.

In the last of these the sound is that of the 廣韻 *Kwang yün*, a dictionary made

* Atractylis ovata Thbb.
† Atractylis lancea.

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in the sixth century and intended for use in all China. There were dialects then as at present, but they were not so wide apart as they are now. On the whole *dzap* represented very well the character 雜 in all China, in the sixth century. The two Japanese pronunciations in the dictionary 三音四聲字貫 are *sa fu*, *so fu*. The Corean transcription in Medhurst's 'Comparative vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean, and Japanese languages' is *tsap*. The Coreans obtained their transcription in part at least from North China, so that final *p* was in the language of North China when the Corean transcription was made, which was more than 1000 years ago. In the Dictionnaire Coréen Français we find 雜 written *tjap* that is *tsap*. We find there *tsap mat* 雜味 different tastes. *Mat*, a taste, is here the old form of 味 which is given in tonic dictionaries in the departing tone only and not in the short tone. Here the Corean transcription registers an older form of the word. It means *sentir*, *odeur*. It is therefore our own word smell on which Skeat says 'allied to Du. smeulen, Low Ger. smelen, to smoulder.' I find it also in Hebrew *vosem* smell, *vasam* smell sweetly; one of the wives of Esau was Basemath, the sweetly smelling. Balsam is a sweetly smelling plant. In these words *m* is a suffix. The Persian is *bui* sweet odour, Russ. *obonyat*, to smell. This root was, in the struggle for existence with other roots such as *od* in odor and *nas nasus*, worsted and expelled from large areas, but it held its ground in China, Persia, Western Asia, and England.

In the Hebrew for *divers colours*, in the song of Deborah we have *tsa bag* occurring three times in Judges 5, 30. The third radical is a suffix. 'To Sisera a spoil of *divers colours*.' In Jeremiah it means a *speckled* bird. The origin of the root is dapple; a spot on an animal, says Skeat, is in deep, dip, Danish duppe, a hole, where water collects. I suggest that dap is a spot because dipping or dropping causes a spot or spots. Hence *dzap* variegated, diverse, in Chinese, dapped in English, *tsa bag* speckled in Hebrew, all proceed from a single word dip in the primaeval Asiatic vocabulary.

The great advantage we derive from a knowledge of the old pronunciation, as registered in Kanghi, is that we can use that knowledge in comparisons farther afield. It is quite within the grasp of the student of Chinese to perceive and to prove the identity of the eastern and western vocabularies. Some men prefer to stay outside the temple of knowledge, but for those who go in, the revelations are both satisfying and beautiful.

J. EDKINS.

NOTES BY MR. E. H. PARKER.

In my note upon the character 犵 the *China Review* has omitted a whole line. It should run:—'Students may assume, when they see *a bare reference to another character* for dialect forms, that the character is not known.'

There is one point in which Giles is distinctly inferior to Williams. Williams begins all sounds with the first and then the second even tone; then goes on to the rising tone, and ends with the departing tone, so that words can be very easily found; but Mr. Giles' tones are all jumbled up together, which becomes the more serious when we reflect that in Pekingese (his standard) the entering tones are jumbled up too. A very bad instance of this jumbling occurs with the sound *hsi*. It detracts from the scholarly side of the work.

In Giles' dictionary under the character 牌 I notice that the reader is referred for dialect forms to the same character. This of course is absurd. The reference is to 簰.

蓋 *kai*' figures amongst Mr. Giles' surnames, but in this sense it is given in the dictionaries as 古沓切 which means that the sound is *koh* or *kop*,—the same as that of 鮯. In the Surname Biography the sound is said to be 閣, i.e. *kok* instead of *kop*.

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There is some misprint or slip about the character 髑: the Cantonese is certainly not *tok*; the dictionaries say tuk_2, but I found it called $shuk_2$ and $chuk_2$. So also the Foochow dictionaries have tuk_2, but I could not get any one to confirm it. I have no record of Hakka or Wênchow. It must be remembered that I give no dialect forms whatever unless I have confirmed them myself. I have no 'mandarin' forms for this word either; but that is no reason why there should be any guess-work. The fact is the word is little known, and we can only assume that it *ought* to be like 獨.

Mr. Giles translates 助紂爲虐 (which means 'to out-Herod Herod'). To help Chou is to be cruel oneself, which is practically what Williams says, but in slightly different words. It is a question, moreover, whether such an English word as 'oneself' exists, or can be justified in any other form than 'one's self,' as it is pronounced.

The character 刺 in Giles' Dictionary is much used promiscuously with 喇. Used in the local sense of 'to cut,' the Pekingese tone is the second, *i.e.* $_{2}la$ (or la^2 in Wade's system). Used in the sense of *lama* it is the third, *i.e.* $_{3}la$ (or $'a^3$ in Wade's system). Used in the sense of 'chatterbox,' it is first, *i.e.* $_{1}la$ (or la^1 in Wade's system). Students of Pekingese may just as well set this right.

Under the character 纔 Mr. Giles omits a very important literary use of the word, *i.e.* 'barely,' 'scarcely,' *e.g.* 纔二萬人 'barely 20,000 men.' In the old histories 財 and 裁 are often used in the same sense. In modern despatch style it is always safe for an elegant writer to use the word in this sense; but he must be elegant or he will look silly.

In Giles' Dictionary the Cantonese pronunciation of 涸 should be $k'ok_6$ and not $k'ok_5$, which latter sound does not exist in that dialect (unless it be in some out-of-the-way vulgar characterless word). Students of Cantonese should make the alteration. It is the 中上入 and not 上上入 tone.

The Golocks visited by Miss Taylor are the 郭羅克, of whom we have quite a complete history in preparation. The tribe governed by a female is evidently the 女國 or 東女國 of 1,000 years ago. Dr. Bushell gives a fair account of it in his history of Tibet under the T'ang dynasty.

Under the characters 踐 and 餞 in Giles' Dictionary the four mandarin forms should all be marked *chien*^{3}, *chiei*^{3}, &c., in the sinking tone. It is only in the south that the rising tone is used.

There is a mistake under the character 紇 in Giles' Dictionary. It should be 'Entering *Lower*' (not Upper).

It is not easy to understand why Mr. Giles has omitted the dialect forms under the character 粥: they are C. & H. *chuk*; F. *chöük*; W. *ciu*; M. & Y. *tsuk*; Sz. *chu*. For general purposes the character is equivalent in sound to 祝: but in the combination 獯粥 meaning 'Huns' it must be read as 育 or 鬻.

Under the character 咄, Mr. Giles has confused 叱咄 with 咄嗟, which last he has omitted altogether. The standard phrase is 非咄嗟所能立辦 'It cannot be done just by uttering an order to do it.'

To the Editor, *China Review*.

In Dr. Edkins 'Proofs of Ancient Chinese Sounds' in No. 5, Vol. XXI of the *China Review*, I think he has made a mistake in saying that jin seng (人參) is so called because the root resembles the character 人. In Korea a root of the wild gin-sing, which is the variety that is considered most valuable, is always the very exact image of a man, all the limbs and external

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organs being distinguishable. Is not this therefore the reason why it is called jin seng? The cultivated variety on the other hand, which is the one Dr. Edkins has most rightly seen, can be said to resemble the character 人, the root being usually forked, but I am inclined to think that the origin of the name is due to the above.

E. B. LANDIS, M.D.

Chemulpo, Korea.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS,

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 7. La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou. Première Partie. Fac-simile de l'Inscription Syro-Chinoise. Par Le P. Henri Havret, S. J.

The first part of the above work, which we have just received, is well worthy of that high reputation for Chinese scholarship for which the Jesuit Fathers in China have so long been famous, and cannot fail to be of interest to all those who are students of the history of missionary enterprise in the Farther East. The Nestorian tablet, of which Le Père Havret now gives the fac-simile accompanied by an introduction, has received the attention of not a few European Chinese Scholars, including the veteran Dr. Legge. But, though we have not yet seen the second part of Père Havret's work, which is to contain a history of the tablet, we think we may safely say that Father Havret will be *the* authority on the interesting subject which he has made the object of his learning and research. A full review of the work will appear when the second part has been published.

L.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 8. Allusions Littéraires. Première Partie par Le P. Corentin Pétillon, Première Fascicule. Classiques 1–100.

This work is based on the 幼學求源 and the supplement by 鄒聖脉, which is almost double the origiual work. 'Toute la première série' says the author, 'que doit compter 500 pages environ, comprendra uniquement cette collection semi-classique. D'autres, ou l'on veillera à ne pas se répéter, suivront, on l'espère, et fourniront au sinologue la solution de nombreuses difficultés.' We have received the first half of the first series and, whilst refraining from reviewing it until the whole of the first series has been published, we in the meantime congratulate Le Père Corentin Pétillon on the success of his labours which, to judge from the fascicle now before us, gives every promise that the author will prove a useful and reliable guide to those who tread the thorny paths of Chinese literary allusions.

L.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 7. La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan Fou. First Part. Fac-simile of the Syro-Chinese Inscription. By Father Henry Havret, S. J.

This volume opens with a phototype of the celebrated tablet, so clear that, in spite of its microscopic character, it is possible for a good eye-sight to decipher the Chinese inscription without aid; with a glass almost every character is clear. The rest of the book reproduces page by page both the Chinese and the Syriac characters in absolute fac-simile, only the relative position of the columns having been changed so as to permit of pagination.

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The introduction explains that when Ricci visited Chinkiang in 1599, he had no conception that three centuries earlier there had already been Christian temples in that city, or that Peking (the Khan-balikh of the Mongols) had, over 200 years earlier, been an archiepiscopal see. Yang-chow, Hangchow, and Zaitoun had also had considerable Christian communities in Mongol times. [Father Havret, following Yule, identified Zaitun with Ts'üan Chow; but it must not be forgotten that Mr George Phillipps has brought forward what he considers convincing evidence in favour of Chang Chow.] Not only had every trace of the earliest Christianity disappeared in Ricci's time, but, a century later, when Father de Fontaney, founder of the Freneh Mission, arrived in China, he discovered with surprise that no vestige of the later Christianity, or of the Jesuit Church mentioned by Martini, was to be discovered in Ningpo after a break of only thirty years. The city chronicles of Ningpo, as also those of various towns in An-hwei known to have had Christian establishments a century ago, are, as though by conspiracy, absolutely silent touching the past existence of European religious zeal. In Father Havret's opinion, the same thing would long ago have happened to Buddhism had not this latter shewn itself more accommodating than Roman Catholicism to Chinese literary prejudice. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Nestorians who preached to the early T'ang Emperors in the 7th century, together with the Jesuits who preached to the early Manchu Emperors in the 14th century, should have been alike consigned to utter oblivion so far as the conspiracy of silence entered into by the conceited and infatuated literary class was able to accomplish that end. But this literary imposture was confounded fifteen years after Ricci's death by the discovery of the world-renowned Si-an Fu Tablet now under notice, and the Chinese literates of the time, only too proud at that moment of Christian triumph to be dubbed Christians, vied with each other in their zeal for circulating rubbings of the inscription far and wide. The remarkable thing is that, whilst fanatics in the west were declaiming against the 'pious fraud' of the Jesuits, not a single Chinese critic (in a nation of critics) has ever thrown the shadow of a doubt upon its authenticity.

The work to which Father Havret has now set himself is to put finally on record the inscription as it now actually appears; to give the history of it, and to resuscitate the living physiognomy of the Church in China.

The unfortunate thing is that there are no copies or rubbings obtainable of a date anterior to 1859, the date upon which the officious Han T'ai-hwa cut a palimpsest upon part of the left side of the stone. Father Havret loses no time, however, in recognizing the merit of the Protestant missionaries who have recently published a collection of rubbings. We have now, therefore, quite a number of trustworthy records for all time, shewing each character as it actually appears on the stone. In the present work the modern forms are given in the margin wherever anything unusual or antique appears in the original, but there has been no 'touching up' of anything; the whole appears exactly as it is seen upon the stone.

As we are informed that the translation of the inscription will form the third part of the present work, we must assume that the history of it takes up the second. We need hardly say that every student of Chinese who takes an interest in history, or appreciates exact knowledge, will look forward with intense interest to the appearance of the other two parts.

Father Havret gracefully acknowledges the assistance he has received from the learned Father Hwang, a native Jesuit of vast erudition, one of whose best works has

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recently been translated (with but mediocre success) by Mgr. de Harlez, who does not even mention the learned Father by name, alluding to him merely as a 'native Christian.'

Finally, Father Havret asks whether the wonderful Si-an Fu stone is destined to perish miserably, after having so miraculously survived eleven centuries of vicissitudes, or whether it is destined sooner or later to find a Lord Elgin to transport it into a British Museum. He consoles himself, in any case, with the reflection that its physiognomy will probably survive in the present book.

The miscellaneous work being done by the Jesuits of Siccawei, and of late given to the world in the shape of *Variétés*, is of very excellent quality, may be thoroughly relied upon, and deserves to be widely brought to the notice of the reading public. It will be time enough to lavish the encomiums they are certain to deserve upon the second and third parts when they shall appear. Meanwhile it is impossible to say more of the first part except that it reaches as near perfection as is possible within its scope, and that all students of Chinese should get it at once.

In the fly-leaf of *Variété* No. 7 is an advertisement or proof-sheet specimen of *Variété* No. 8, being Allusions Littéraires based upon the *Yao-hok-k'ao-yün*, (*Yo-hsio-ch'iu yüan*), partly a concordance and partly a dictionary. It promises excellently, and we shall have more to say of it when it appears in full.

E. H. P.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 5. Pratique des Examens Littérair s en Chine, par le P. Etienne Zi (Siu), S.J. Printed at the Catholic Mission T'u-sé-wé, Shanghai.

In No. 5 Vol. XXI of the *China Review* we had already published a few notes upon the above subject. On that occasion the name of Father H. Havret was erroneously given as being the author. Moreover our notice was confined to Part I, which takes the reader only as far as the *k'o-k'ao* or preparatory examination for the licentiate. The volume is now complete in 276 pages, Parts II, III, IV, with appendices, tables, and lists of *errata*. The whole forms a most thoroughgoing study of the subject, and as we previously observed will be for all time the standard authority upon the Chinese Educational Curriculum in a European language. But the most remarkable thing is the extraordinary zeal with which the Jesuit Fathers of Siccawei have newly set themselves to thresh out one subject after another: if this goes on, as every Chinese student must trust it will, the incomplete knowledge we formerly possessed will soon be revolutionised or put upon the shelf as so many quaint antiquities.

In introducing his subject (Part II of the work) of the *hiang-shï* or *kü-jên* examination for the licentiate, Father Etienne Zi as usual enters into a chronological history, and illustrates his subject with excellent diagrams, the plan of the Nanking *Kung-yüan* or examination-hall being a masterpiece in its way, and certainly the very first publication of the sort having any pretence to exactitude. It will surprise many readers to learn that the Grand Examiners are themselves examined for their appointments. Also that the copyists in red ink, of whom there are 2,200 for Kiang Nan, are marked upon both arms with stamps in order to prevent impersonation. It is to be noticed that Father Etienne Zi always writes or romanises 卷 as though it were aspirated, thus *K'iuen*: this, however, is a mistake in at least eight, if not in all dialects. The index of technical expressions at the end of the book enables the student to continually refresh his memory as to the meaning of many familiar but hitherto unexplained qualificatory terms. The first thing that strikes one is the extent of tinkering which the *hwei-shi* examination machine has undergone, and the need for simplification: but

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here, as in commerce, complication is dear to the Chinaman's heart, as it leaves numerous back doors for intrigue, besides giving work to armies of needy clerks. Chapter 2 of Part II, treating of the entry of the examiners and the precautionary measures taken, is very interesting, but there are several misprints. Chapter 3 is elucidated by excellent illustrations. There is, however, one point not quite clear and that is whether the 'transcription in cursive' is or is not in addition to the rough draft. Surely not? Nor is it explained in Chapter 4 how the copyist who receives double pay for a *kwan chüan* puts in his claim without leaving some mark which might convey the information to a corrupt examiner. Morrison's extraordinary statement that the governor makes three obeisances whenever he reads out a successful candidate's name is very properly ridiculed. Chapter 4 is unusually clear and interesting; but Father Etienne produces no fresh evidence to shew that Morrison was not right when he said that the examination of imperial family candidates was a quite farcical operation. Chapter I of Part 3 opens with the startling bit of news that it is only a vulgar error to apply the term *tsin-sz* to those who have passed the *hwei-shï* examination: the strict title is only *kung-shï*. Chapter 2 also tells us something new when it says that a doctor or licentiate deprived of his degree loses also the degree or degrees next below those. Chapter 5 introduces to our notice two kinds of supplementary promotion of which we had never heard before. Part IV includes a very clear map of the Imperial Palace from which it is easy to see in what places foreign ministers ought to be received by the Emperor. As the *tienshï* examination only takes place once in three years, the same year as the *hwei-shï*, it is not plain how as stated in Chapter 2, there could be licentiates dating from 1889 and 1890 as well as from 1892. Were these *én-k'o*? The four pictures shewing the different costumes do not seem to have been named correctly in note 3 of Page 192. The *li-fu* and *kung-fu* would seem to be one, whilst the *ch'ang-fu* and *pien-fu* are the other. Upon Page 197 the opening formula *ngan* is translated 'conformable to,' but a reference to the cases in which this is used in official literature will prove that it almost invariably means 'I would submit.' The history of the final or imperial examination is very clear, and elucidates several obscure points in a way which has never been recorded before.

With reference to the remark made by Father Etienne Zi, in Appendix II, that the impartiality of the examiners is proved by no Manchu ever having been appointed *chwang-yüan*, *pang-yen*, or *t'an-hwa*, we believe that a rule of the dynasty forbids any Manchu aspiring to the post of *chwang-yüan*, though it is said Ch'ungli, or one of the Manchus whose name begin with Ch'ung, and who was related to an Empress, was a notable exception. Whether the prohibition also extends to *pang-pen* and *t'an-hwa* we cannot say. Possibly our memory may be at fault, and that Ch'ung-k'i, the Mongol Bannerman of 1865, is the one apparent exception to the general rule *k'i-jên wu chwang-yüan*, 'No Bannerman may be *chwang-yüan*.'

Father Zi's work is interesting even to the general reader, and as a work of reference it is of priceless value to all students of official matters.

E. H. P.

Variétés Sinologiques, No. 6. The Philosopher Chu Hi and his influence. By Father S. le Gall, S.J. Printed at T'u-sé-wé.

We merely mention this work here but shall revert to it again in detail before long.

E. H. P.

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Chulakantamangala, or the Tonsure Ceremony, as performed in Siam. By G. E. Gerini. Bangkok, 1895.

Mr. Gerini has produced in this brochure of 187 pages a careful and exhaustive monograph on the ceremony of the Buddhist tonsure, as practised at the present day in Siam. But he has paid much attention also to the historic derivation of the whole complicated ceremonial. A large number of illustrations is supplied to assist the reader in understanding the purport and realising the scenic effects of the ritual. To readers in China, where the tonsure has become, in a simplified form, a national custom applied to almost every infant, and where the sacred topknot, as still used by Taoist priests, had probably its primeval home, this book will prove specially instructive.

E. J. E.

The Currency of China. A short enquiry. By James K. Morrison. London, Hongkong and Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, 1895.

This is a pamphlet of 40 pages of technical rather than general interest. Whilst written with reference to the generality of investors in Chinese Government loans, the scope of this essay is exclusively confined to the English banker's special difficulties in connection with the exchange values of the Canton tael, the Haikwan tael and the Shanghai currency tael, in relation to the weight tael of bar silver and to the British India standard. In this respect the publication under review is of considerable value. It is written by an experienced hand, and moreover there is no other book in existence which so fully and lucidly summarizes and digests the practical experiences of the foreign banker in China in his dealings with sycee and makes them, by ample explanations, so intelligible to any exchange operator in England. Incidentally, the author refers to the past history of the Carolus dollar, the Mexican, the former Hongkong dollar and the failure of both the American trade dollar and the Japanese yen. He doubts whether any practical good will result from the Canton Mint and its subsidiary coinage towards establishing a silver coin acceptable all over China, but hopes that the new British dollar will find its way into the interior and take the place of the Mexican dollar. The credit of China and the securities it may have to offer as a guarantee for future loans are not included in the scope of this essay.

E. J. E.

Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XXVIII, No. 1. Kelly & Walsh. 1894.

This latest issue of the Journal of the China Branch R.A.S. has, apart from its sinological aspects, some special features of interest at the present juncture of affairs. With an army landed on Shantung promontory *en route* for Peking and another army on the Liao-tung peninsula ready to be transported to any point of Chihli nearest to Peking, the question among all interested in or watching the struggle now is, on both sides, what is the direction and the condition of inland communications in China. And this is the very question with the solution of which the present volume of the R.A.S. Journal is principally occupied. In 1860 the Council of this Society started a very sensible symposion by addressing to every European missionary, consul or customs officer residing in China a printed series of questions as to the existing main roads, ancient roads, bridges, trade routes, etc. connecting the province of the addressees with the interior, with the capital, and with the coast. Further questions were added, the sending in of road maps was invited, and as the invitation was cordially responded to from all parts of China, the symposion developed into a pile of papers which it has taken some years to digest into the volume now before us. No doubt the Japanese Embassy at Peking also made a study of the roads of North China. But they did not

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send any contribution to the present volume. We have here an excellent map of the Liao-tung peninsula, giving all needful details as to roads leading from Port Arthur to Newchwang. There is next a very poor map of the Shantung province, giving the principal places but no road connections. Finally we have a splendid map of the Signan plain in Shensi, indicating the principal cart roads and mule tracks of that populous region. But the South-west of China monopolizes all the other maps, as indeed the greater part of the letter-press. Out of 176 pages describing the roads of China, the northern provinces have but 30 pages of descriptive matter allotted to them, and Shingking is dealt with in a single page. The fact is, North China is poorer in the sphere of roads than the rest of China, which is about the worst country in the world as regards road communications. China has always preferred the natural water-ways and artificial canals to highroads. A few Emperors of the Yuen dynasty and the first of the Mings did build some grand roads. Individual communities also have occasionally by fits and starts interested themselves by way of self-glorification in the meritorious work of building roads and bridges. But the universal rule in China is, in the matter of highways as in the matter of ironclads and Krupp guns, to obtain them as an opportunity for peculation and to leave their maintenance to the care of Heaven, and if Heaven is pleased to destroy roads and bridges surely it may be sacrilege to tamper with them. However, bad as things are in China in the matter of roads, and neglectful as the Chinese are of their natural roads of communication, the spirit of European enterprise is now invading China and has, in the case of the volume before us, taken stock of the roads of China such as they are. We would counsel every would-be traveller in China to study this volume for his profit. And if any Chinese patriot should read these lines, we would urge him to read this volume and blush for his country, if it were not a physiological impossibility for a Chinaman to blush for anything whatever. A most interesting sketch of Corea's place in Chinese philology, from the learned pen of Mr. Scott, concludes this valuable publication.

E. J. E.

My Diary in a Chinese Farm: By Mrs Archibald Little (A. E. N. Bewicke). Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore and Yokohama.

Of the making of books there is no end. We wish there were, for it is difficult to conceive the faintest reason for the publication of this Diary. Certainly the very slight picture it gives of rural life in the interior of China, is not in itself sufficient justification. It is written in the customary slipshod English of the average Diarist; to make use of one of the inelegancies of the authoress we might say there is 'a whole lot' of things to which objection might reasonably be taken by the reader, for before a book is published a certain amount of consideration ought to be given to the reader. It is not enough that the writer's whim of seeing herself or himself in print is to be gratified. For instance, what earthly interest is it to the general reader to know that 'Our poor black pointer pup has become nothing but skin and bone. We do not know what is the matter with him, but we are trying a Chinese cure of liquorice. The long-haired terrier was washed to-day, and the soldier coolie and I spent some hours over taking animals out of him. Between each pair of toes he had at least two ticks, between some, three or four. I spend hours over him every day, but have not looked at his paws, thinking he would be sure to walk lame, if there were anything the matter with them.' Or, 'When I got up at 7 found it still so cool, the thermometer marking only 79, I thought I would take a few minutes' stroll before breakfast, but the air is so moist that I came back soaked with perspiration and had to change

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everything and rub myself dry. A very heavy day!' All this may be realism, but is it edifying or entertaining?

The book purports to be the record of a missionary's sojourn in a farm house near Chungking 'the commercial capital of Sze-chuan,' from July to October, 1893. It contains many beautiful pictures from photographs taken on the spot, and is beautifully printed and bound in Japanese fashion with an illustrated cover. As a birthday book it will probably find its way in the book market, and it may even be recommended as a reflection in its way of foreign missionary life in China, but to compare it with Arthur H. Smith's 'Chinese Characteristics,' as we have seen it compared, is to mislead the public and to indulge in extravagant and unjustifiable praise.

T. H. R.

Ashton's Essentials of Obstetrics. Translated into Chinese by Dr. Wan Tün Mo, for the Medical Missionary Society, Canton. With seventy-six illustrations from electrotype plates.

We are pleased to note that Dr. Kerr and his assistants at the Canton Hospital are continuing the good work that has so long been in progress there, in the direction of translating into Chinese for the use of native medical students some of our standard works on medicine and surgery. There has just been added to the now considerable list of such text-books a translation by Dr. Wan Tün Mo of Ashton's 'Essentials of Obstetrics,' illustrated by seventy-six prints from electrotype plates, copied from the original work.

The material of the book is a question for the professional journals, and need not concern us here; but, by way of suggestion in view of forthcoming translations, we would call attention to certain facts concerning the style of this new work, and the merits of the book as a translation. It is an axiom, that the scientist may not be restricted in the use of terms to convey his facts fully and clearly. Yet scientific language ever aims at precision. The first thing needful is, as we are told, *precision*, and the second *precision*, and the third *precision!* We venture to think that canons of accuracy are in some danger of being violated in the book before us.

We will confine our illustrations to one short chapter in the second volume. This chapter bears the title 論悶臍生. The precise meaning of this heading we might leave a doctor to determine, (though we suspect that the second character is a misprint) were it not for the small characters appended. These are added to make the title of the chapter clear beyond all possibility of doubt. These characters are 卽嬰絕氣. It is clear from the context (but only from the context) that the chapter treats of the stoppage or interruption of breathing in the new-born infant, and the means that should be used to produce respiration. But surely 絕氣 means in the first place a cutting off of the breath, not a mere suspension, and most readers of the title will, we think, conclude that the chapter treats of some method of dealing with an infant the thread of whose existence is cut and who is therefore beyond the reach of what Mr. Weller called 'any reviving and scientific invention.' Why use 絕氣, when the resources of the Chinese language are equal to marking unmistakably the distinction between life and death?

In the same chapter we find the phrase 手行呼吸諸法. The average reader, (we mean the uninitiated,) would take this to mean breathing through the hands. The hands, however, are the hands of the medical practitioner; the breathing is to be done by the infant the thread of whose existence is, as explained above, not cut off after all, but in a state of happy continuity. Surely precision and perspicuity require 手令其行呼吸. We might even say the sentence, as it stands, is unintel-

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ligible, the meaning having again to be gathered from the connection in which it appears.

The same short chapter will serve to illustrate another remark we feel it our duty to make in reference to the rendering into Chinese of proper names which in this book means the names of eminent medical practitioners and authors. Not having seen the original, we can only infer from the characters 阿庶頓 that the name of the gentleman who wrote this book is Ashton. Would it not have been more satisfactory to have printed this name in foreign letters before or after or by the side of the characters used to transliterate; and what are we to say concerning such combinations as 嗯哩喊吐啦 and 吐咖嗻喔吐? The first (Sz Li Wai Sz T'a) is probably Sylvester? who the second (Sz K'au Lo T'ai Sz) is must be left to conjecture. He may be a German Professor doomed for the time being to hide his light under the bushel of Chinese transliteration. Canton type-cutters can form a few foreign letters with facility and correctness: surely it would be better to print these names in their unadulterated form, especially when the owners of these long names are the originators (apparently) of methods for causing an infant to respire! It seems to us, too, that the introduction of such English letters for proper names and also for technical words, when such are retained in their original form, would not in any way interfere with the use of these books by the foreign-trained students who are meant to use them, and might do something towards obviating the main objection to this whole series—we mean, the use, or rather abuse, of them by ignorant quacks, who are found attempting to practise departments of medicine after mere perusal of these translations.

If the printing in English letters of their names be too much to ask, let us urge the humble plea of consistence in printing them in Chinese. When two eminent medical scientists with long names have the mouth sign at the side indicating that the characters are used for names, a third distinguished individual named 喇士奇 has not such marks by the side of his name. What has he done that he is made to suffer this deprivation? and is it not highly desirable, with a view to that precision which we have always been taught is the chief charm of a scientific work, to pay attention in translating to the little points we have here indicated and illustrated from one short chapter in this new work on obstetrics.

J. C. T.

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